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THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY

CONDUCTED BY

J. A. SINGMASTER, D. D. FREDERICK G. GOTWALD, D. D.
JACOB A. CLUTZ, D. D.

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THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JANUARY, 1912.

ARTICLE I.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.[1]

BY REV. ELIAS D. WEIGLE, D.D.

We are assembled as the representatives of our Seminary, in the presence of the West Pennsylvania Synod, to engage in a very important service—officially to induct into high and honored position as Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, the Rev. Herbert C. Alleman, D.D., who was duly elected at a special meeting of the Board in June, 1910, to fill the vacancy in the faculty caused by the resignation of the Rev. Thomas C. Billheimer, D.D., who, in recognition of his long and efficient services in the same chair, has been made professor-emeritus.

In obedience to constitutional requirement and in harmony with time-honored custom, it becomes my duty, as President of the Board of Directors, to deliver the charge to the professor-elect, after which, having taken the obligation required by the constitution of the Seminary, he will pronounce his inaugural.

In charging a professor-elect, there are two ways open: the one is to dwell upon such qualifications and capacities in an instructor, and such things as are suggested by the subjects to be taught, in a manner to emphasize the high importance of studious, industrious, and conscientious fidelity, in meeting the obli-

1 An address delivered by the President of the Board of Directors of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., on the occasion of the inauguration of Professor H. C. Alleman, D.D., October 9th, 1911.

gations and the responsibilities of the trust accepted; the other is to discuss the theme, and let the discussion suggest to the one charged the lines of thought, and the fidelity to the high trust accepted, demanded in the right ordering of the work of the chair to which he has been called. The latter method being less direct and more to our taste and, we believe, equally effective, we have decided to discuss a theme: "The Present Status of Theological Thought," hoping in this way to bring to your attention the things which contain a direct relation to the subjects of your chair, and have deep claims upon you as the director of the thought and the decisions of the young men under your care.

It is needless for me to dwell, at any length, upon a well-known fact, that, for the last forty or fifty years, theological thought has been, to say the least, in a condition of unrest, if not in a state of flux. The progress of a feverish civilization, under the impulse of a materialistic conception of the reality of things, has caused not a few to think that the fundamentals of faith and life are outgrown and have become obsolete. Science and the applications of the mechanical arts to the utilities of life are achieving that which, until recently, has been among the avowedly impossible. Our palatial railroad trains, climbing the mountains, if not piercing through them, measuring off the prairies in a way which almost annihilates distance and time, the multitudinous ministries of the mysterious power in nature, which we call electricity, the wireless telegraph reducing the dangers of travel by sea to the minimum, making its independence of visible means an aid to Christian faith, the aeroplane, making possible the delivery of goods at sea, which may be purchased by means of wireless telegraphy, are among the things, in the sphere of the material which approach the miraculous. The trolley, the telephone, and rural free delivery, in the ready transmission of person and information, the stimulation of intelligence and the increase of knowledge, are bringing to the doors of our inter-urban and rural population that which in point of advantage and privilege, is rapidly making of every community, and of the world at large, a brotherhood, a vast co-operative society.

But while the progress in the domain of the material is so great, so multitudinous, and so utilitarian and constant, as to

cause little astonishment, we must not forget that there are fundamentals in nature which have ever remained the same, such as light, air, heat and water. It is likewise in the sphere of the moral and the spiritual. We can never get beyond the need of a gracious God, a sin-atoning Savior, a quickening Spirit and the means of pardon and salvation as set forth in the living and eternal Word of God. The three Rs, ruined by sin, redeemed by Christ and regenerated by the Holy Ghost must never be eliminated from our thought, teaching and living. Some things in nature and grace are fixed. In the sphere of grace, we must ever hold to the Divine and human in inseparable union, in the revealed will of God, in the incarnate Christ—His person and work—in the Church of the living God, in the hearts and the lives of Christians, in no unreal sense, in the providence of God, and in unfolding history. The maintenance of the supernatural in revelation and life, in harmony with a sane and safe conservatism coupled with a recognition of the changed conditions of life and progress, is demanded to-day as much as ever.

In studying the present situation touching the Bible there appear, at least, three general classes, the radical or destructive higher critics, the less radical or constructive, and the extreme conservatives, who are satisfied to hold the traditional views of the Bible, but encourage textual and historical studies within certain limits, and in harmony with an acceptance of the Bible as the divinely inspired Word of God. The negative or destructive critics approach the Bible as an ordinary book of philosophy, science or literature, and from the standpoint of textual and historical criticism, and usually to adapt it to the theory of evolution, in accounting for the method of creation, dissect it, putting it to the test of severest analysis. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the first three chapters of Genesis and the fall of man as historical, the unity of authorship of the prophecy of Isaiah, the historicity of the Book of Jonah and a part of the book of Daniel are denied. The errancy and fallibility of the Bible are boldly declared. A new Bible out of what is left is constructed. Everything distinctly supernatural is eliminated. The human element in the Bible is made supreme; and as a basis of authority the Bible is thrown to the winds. The New Testament has been subjected to a similar process and the Christ of the Bible and the Savior of men has

been treated likewise. It has come to pass that a book has been written, and issued from the press of Berlin, whose aim is to prove that the historic Christ never lived, and was only a myth. The latest plan of these destructive critics has revealed itself in an attempted control of the Sunday School literature, the purpose being to poison the minds of the rising generation with doubts, by negative teachings, touching God's Word.

If there were no other reasons for rejecting such views of the Bible, these two of a practical nature,—the loss of the sense of sin and the lack of appetite and reverence for the Bible, the Church, and prayer, in those who hold them, should suffice, to say nothing of the way the need of a sin-atoning Savior, and the importance of a vigorous discipline of the Christian life, the fact of a moral order in the universe, as well as a belief in God's benevolence, are lost sight of. None of us will ever know the evil destructive criticism has done. "It is responsible for disturbing the faith of earnest Christians, for undermining the foundations of religious institutions, and for setting people adrift upon a sea of uncertainty, skepticism and secularism. Nor can we deny that there is some truth in these allegations," says the writer from whose work we have quoted the above, (The New Application of the Bible. Selleck), "I can well understand how a writing of the first century may have contained much that a modern Christian's appetite can never assimilate as genuine Christian food," says one of the more conservative critical writers, (Clarke). This, it seems to me, is easily understood, if the Bible is a revelation of God's unchangeable will. What makes the Bible so precious to the believing heart is the fact that it is a book which is adapted to meet the needs of the present just as well as of those of the first century—a book for all times, all climes and all conditions of men. Moreover, the adaptation of what has been uttered many centuries ago, to any age and clime is clear evidence of the supernatural character of such utterance. Here we touch upon a mark of the divinity of the Bible. Life is too short, its mission too responsible to justify a search through huge piles of chaff in order to find a grain of wheat, here and there, now and then, when the rich abundance of pure wheat is easily accessible. At the time of the Reformation "a Christian heart-hunger craved the bread of life in the form of translations of the Bible into the mother-tongues of the differ-

ent peoples, especially those of Teutonic stock." (Selleck). This is ever the case. The Bible is not so much a book to be criticised; it is needed to satisfy this heart-hunger.

The theory of evolution, so plausible, but only a theory, is responsible for the strenuous efforts which have been made in recent times to reconstruct the Bible. Those statements of the Bible not fitting the theory, must be changed, rearranged and reconstructed to meet the demands of the theory. Here is the crux of the problem, which modern thought has thrust to the fore. Conservative thought welcomes textual study, historical investigation, and careful analysis of the various books of the Bible, and of the Bible as a whole, but it will never agree to have the Bible rewritten, reconstructed and robbed of its supernatural character, to give standing to a theory of the universe, and reject that part of the Bible which emphasizes the same as a mighty creation of God. It is impossible to believe in and accept the theory of evolution and the results of the higher criticism, especially in its negative aspects, and retain in its integrity the Bible as the Word of God,—perfect, infallible, and eternal. The creation of matter, life and spirit, and the consequent fall of man, made in the image of God cannot be accounted for upon a theory of evolution. While evolution may have been the method of creation, within the sphere of secondary causes, the Great First Cause, a personal God, must never be lost sight of in any theory seeking to account for God, man, and the world, together with their relations. So scholarly an apologete as Mr. Bruce admits that the canon of Scripture, however it came to be, will not be reconstructed and that the acceptance of modern views of the Bible, to meet the demands of advanced thought in its efforts to harmonize the teachings of the Bible with an evolutionary hypothesis of the universe, are not necessary to a man's salvation. In view of this admission on the part of a high authority, and the fact of the non-agreement of the critical scholars, we who are satisfied to rest our hopes for time and eternity upon the revelation of God as we find it in the Bible, may be allowed to feel grateful.

The unity of the Bible, with the redemptive purpose palpitating throughout it from Genesis to Revelation, is marvellous. A composite book, consisting of sixty-six separate books, the productions of almost forty authors, covering in its coming to be

what it is more than fifteen hundred years, this is itself a mark of the divinity of its origin. It is a most ungracious imposition, at this late day, to have this Bible chopped in pieces, by an unfriendly criticism, setting aside that part of Genesis which tells us of the creation, man's subsequent fall, and the promise of redemption, denying the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, urging the dual authorship of Isaiah, declaring the book of Jonah unhistorical, and parts of the New Testament of doubtful authenticity. This is all the more trying when we remember that all this has come about in an attempt to adjust the records of divine revelation to meet the demands of a theory as to how the universe has come to be. If men would study the revelation God has made of Himself, man and the world as reverently and as devoutly as they labor to bring it into harmony with their preconceived notions, it would be well for theological thought on the one hand, and for the best results of science on the other. The Bible is its own best witness and it should be heard in its own defense, when its very life and the highest welfare of humanity are in the balance. In matters of material interest, in the last analysis, before conviction, or acquittal, is reached, the accused is heard in his own behalf. But how is it with God's Word? Its severest critics, for the most part, know the least about it, in its deeper meaning and gracious purpose, as a word of light, hope, love, joy, peace, truth and righteousness. Their supreme effort seems to be to nullify its commands, and to misinterpret its overtures of redeeming love to sinful man by eliminating every trace of the supernatural through their rationalizing efforts, making the divinely inspired oracles of God a mere ordinary book of literature, story, poetry and history. There is a modernism emphasized touching the treatment which is accorded the living, eternal Word of God, which, in meeting its demands, would give us a new, a reconstructed Bible, having no guilty sinners needing a sin-atoning Savior, no moral order calling for discipline in righteousness, no eternal joy in the conscious possession of eternal life, and no eternal death in separation from God. But radical destructive criticism has almost run its course, and the noble defense of the faith it has called forth, justifies in a measure, a spirit of forbearance toward its annoying vagaries.

There are some pre-suppositions, or safe, and sane assump-

tions, which should be held in mind, as we approach the study and exposition of the Bible. Among these we may name the fact of a personal God, at once transcendent and immanent in His creation; of a divine revelation which is the expression of His will concerning man; of man coming to the study of the Bible with an open, docile mind, a sincere, prayerful heart, and a child-like reverent spirit, with the recognition of the truth, that here we have the divine and the human in inseparable union, the divine keeping the human from error in making the record of the Divine-human product. God has been pleased to use and honor human personality in revealing Himself and His gracious doings to the children of men. We should come to the study and exposition of the Bible, remembering that it is a translated book, and in no unreal sense, genuinely historical. The human factor in the Bible, together with the relations of time, place and circumstance, need not be overlooked, much less, eliminated, in maintaining its supernatural character. Just as we need not, and should not, minimize the real humanity of Christ when we uncompromisingly hold to His absolute deity. It had to be a translatable book, easily communicating its truths to every clime and nationality, to meet the needs of peoples, so polyglot in character, so various in nationality, so diverse in many things, and yet so alike in the need of redemption. That which the Holy Ghost accomplished miraculously, at Pentecost, enabling the infant Church to declare in many tongues or languages, the wonderful works of God, is now done in an ordinary, but not less real way by the Holy Ghost operating in and through the truth, by the ministry of the Church as the bearer of the means of grace, quickened by the same Holy Ghost, in the salvation of the world. It is a comforting thought this wondrous Book of God in whole or in part, is the means of saving men, in the revelation of sin and salvation, in over four hundred languages to-day.

In the application of redemption, the objective and the subjective in religion must be held in right relation; the former must issue in individual experience in order to individual salvation. Christ for us must become Christ in us the hope of glory. The transcendence of God no less than His immanence must be held to in evangelical thinking, since a right relation of these must keep the heart from landing itself in the frigid atmosphere

of an inhospitable deism on the one hand, and the impersonal region of deluding pantheism on the other. God, at once immanent and transcendent, in and above His creation, is a reality, but an undue or a one-sided emphasis on one or the other leads to eccentric thinking and erroneous action. The distinction and difference between divine inspiration and mere human genius must be insisted on. There is much loose thinking and unfortunate expression touching divine inspiration. Inspiration is accorded to great geniuses, such as Shakespeare in the creation of the drama and Luther in the work of the Reformation. A very liberal brother in the ministry once said to me: "When you compose a sermon you are as really inspired as was the Apostle Paul." In this extreme case it may be seen how very ordinary ability in sermon-making, to say nothing of genius, may be confounded with divine inspiration as it existed in the prophets and the apostles of whom it is written, that they spake and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Where there is a putting of the inbreathing of God on the low plane of human genius one can see at once what becomes, not only of any theory, but of the fact of divine inspiration. as well.

Higher criticism has been discounting the value of its results by its intemperate impatience with the supernatural in revelation and the Christian life. It ever has been the supreme effort of the more radical critics to make of the Bible a mere ordinary book. A believer in the divine and human in revelation, in the Christ of history and the supernatural in Christian life, will never be able to understand or appreciate this attitude. God's redemptive purpose is found in pulse-like constancy and precision, throughout the Bible from the beginning of Genesis to the close of the book of Revelation. What we have in type and shadow in the Old Testament we have, without figure in the New, for the latter lies concealed in the former, and the former is revealed in the latter. In the New Testament we have open and unhindered access to God's heart of love, an intercessor in Christ, who is able to prevail at the court of heaven in our behalf, a name which in its prevailing power, carries with it the potencies of the Godhead, a ministering Spirit who makes real the Gospel of Christ, as the power of God unto salvation, a love of the Father which, in the mediation of the Son and the advocacy of the Spirit cannot let the yielding sinner go, an assurance

of victory over the world, sin and death, in fellowship with Jesus Christ, and a legacy of peace which nothing can disturb, much less take from us. The entire Bible is the revelation of God's will to man, whose central purpose is man's salvation.

It is a matter of profound interest that co-temperaneous with the assaults upon the Bible was the discovery, with pick and spade, of the buried treasures of ancient cities. With these exhumed treasures has come a large amount of testimony corroborating the statements of revelation. Students of archaeology tell us that these have in no instance contradicted the Bible narratives. An analogy is found in the world's coal fields. When the surface fuel became partially exhausted, coal in largest quantity was discovered. In nature and in all history, when need is present the vindicating testimony is at hand. God ever cares for, and fortifies His Word against the possibility of its destruction.

There is a revulsion against the restraints of authority which is astounding. The legalism of the Old Testament is arrayed against an apprehended liberty of the New in a way to annihilate the power of law and to attenuate the force of love in its real characteristics of mercy and justice in wedded harmony. Modern speculative thought has gone the length of averring that to no Church, no Bible, nor Jesus even, but to the individual moral consciousness we must look for authority. If this dictum should ever be generally accepted there would little be left for your chair, and for our great Church, which, as no other, holds both to the material and formal principle of the Reformation. Such a position, touching the basis of authority, loses sight of the essential place of the subjective in Christianity and results in a license which leaves nothing to a so-called liberty, but an empty name. It is because of this that the Bible is so hated. It is a book of authority. It has its shalls and its shall nots. The Savior's teaching was with authority. He must be accorded leadership over mind, heart and life. The making of the individual consciousness, without any regard to what is objective in religion, the basis of authority, as many do these days, in the last analysis becomes subversive of all authority. Emerson, in one of his essays, urges: "Young man, be strong," without admitting the only source of strength, which is the Lord. This young man found no comfort until he discovered in the Bible

the source of all strength, and it displaced for him the entire set of man's philosophies and empty deceits. At Athens, Paul met the philosophers on their own ground, in the hope of reaching a point of agreement, from which he and they might travel together to the apprehension of the world-saving cross, but with the smallest success. At Corinth, he adopted the better way. He came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto them the testimony of God. He determined not to know anything among them save Jesus, and here his success was phenomenal. It is the great part of an education to learn that every other book which has in it that which endures, ministering blessing adown the centuries, has had its inspiration from the Bible.

The Bible is its own best witness. It is, at once, light, life, love, joy, peace, hope, mercy, justice, truth, righteousness. An owl, closing its eyes, and turning towards the sun, might say, "It does not shine." It is thus with men, when they discredit the light, life, love and truth of the Bible in the blindness of sin, and with their hearts turned away from the sun of righteousness. But to the heart of faith, above the world's philosophies, its theories of evolution, and the severe analysis of revelation stands the cross, as the world's mightiest magnet and its profoundest hope. The world can know nothing really and truly touching man's origin, mission and destiny until it has found the manger, Calvary, the empty tomb and an enthroned humanity, in first-fruits, in the glorified Christ.

The radical critics claim the scholarship of the Christian world but why reiterate this fact so much, if it is as manifest as they say it is? This claim will not bear analysis. Real scholarship is modest, not so self-assertive. Historical and textual criticism is of greatest value when the search for a right understanding of the truth, in all its relations, is the motive. This kind of criticism all true scholarship welcomes as long as its purpose is to make plain and establish positive truth in a positive way. The sainted Dr. Valentine, in his inaugural, on assuming the chair of didactic theology in this Seminary, plead for positive preaching, positive instruction of the young, and a positive Christian life and work. Negative thinkers and actors never serve their day and generation well. It is comparatively easy, but a most ungracious business, to live and labor, in order

to destroy. It is pleasant to record, that the report of the committee on foreign correspondence, at the last General Synod, was refreshing because of its conservative tone, touching evangelical Christianity in the Fatherland.

I congratulate you, my brother, that you are being placed in a position in which all your energies of body, mind and heart will be occupied with the mastery and the teaching of the one book which in its contents, meaning and purpose has challenged the best endeavors of the noblest and the most consecrated of the ages. You, a comparatively young man, are charged to instruct, with all devotion, earnestness and patience, that too small portion of the young manhood of the homes and the congregations of our enlarging Church, in the things of God, of man and of the world, and their relations, not from the standpoint of a cold philosophy, but of a biblical and Christian theology, in order that they may find access to God's heart through Jesus Christ in the power of the Spirit-quickened truth. And having thus come into vital communion with the Triune God, they shall go into the world accredited ambassadors and promulgators of the Gospel of salvation to perishing sinners.

The younger men who, in the nature of things, have had to meet the vagaries of much of modern thought, touching the supernatural character of the Bible and the Christian life, and who have come through it with an unshaken faith, are deserving of great credit. If true to the faith of God as revealed in His Word, and unfolded in Providence and history, they are all the stronger for the conflict and the testing, having come out of the fog of uncertainty into the exhilarating atmosphere of Christian assurance. Admitting the need of an acquaintance with current thought to be rooted and grounded in the fundamentals of the Christian faith, is the thing of supreme concern.

In carrying out the purposes of your chair, bringing your students into the possession of the exegetical knowledge which a careful mastery of the Old Testament in the Hebrew language involves and secures, along with an examination of the negative thought which, from time to time, and especially in the more recent years, has assailed the evangelical positions of the Bible, as the Word of God, is it possible also to lay special emphasis on a familiarity with our Bible in English? The tercentenary of the authorized version so generally celebrated

during the past year, together with the American standard version which is winning much favor, ought to give a new impetus to the mastery of the Bible in the language of the people. You will do the young men in training for the ministry an invaluable service, if you shall succeed in opening the inspired book to them and for them in the language in which they shall proclaim its message of salvation. For to be a minister of the Word a thorough knowledge thereof is a great prerequisite.

You will agree with me, when I affirm that the personal inspiration of a teacher is of the utmost importance in the teaching profession. I need not dwell upon this fact here, only to say, that a part of your work is to inspire young men with a love of truth as you unfold and impart it, in a way to win their respect and confidence. Your influence and example, as well as what you say, must make the young men who sit at your feet, students of the Bible. Strong conviction, beautiful devoutness, absolute sincerity and unconquerable industry will go far to produce the same in those whom you instruct. It is a great, a tremendously responsible thing, to occupy a chair in a Theological Seminary, to be a guide of the thoughts, and a moulder of the Christian characters of candidates for the ministry of reconciliation. It is not enough to know the subjects to be taught. Human nature in the largest possible way should be known.

I bespeak for you many years of service to the Church in our Seminary. May you live to see a vigorous ministry occupying our pulpits, in preparing whom for the noblest work that can engage the thought and the energies of man, you had a liberal share. You will now take the constitutional obligation involved in the acceptance of the chair tendered you by the Board of Directors of our Theological Seminary.

Mechanicsburg, Pa.

ARTICLE II.

THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE THEOLOGICAL CURRICULUM.[1]

BY PROFESSOR HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, D.D.

It is with unfeigned diffidence that I assume the responsibility with which I have been honored in my election to this professorship. I follow in a succession of teachers who well met the demands of their day upon the department, and I succeed to it at a time when the demands are peculiarly exacting, The whole curriculum of theological education is in a state of flux, while historical criticism has ploughed the field of Old Testament study, with its familiar and well-worn paths, into new furrows, so that it is difficult for one who has not kept in close touch with the subject to find his way through the literature which scholarship offers to-day. The solicitude of the Directors of the Seminary, as voiced by their President on this occasion, cannot be greater than my own eager desire wisely to meet the opportunities and responsibilities of my position in the new educational era upon which we are entering. It is fitting that I should discuss some phase of my task, in response to your charge, and I therefore propose as my subject "The Study of the Old Testament in the Theological Curriculum."

As has been intimated, we are in a new era of education. Education performs a two-fold function in human civilization. We may say of it what our Lord said of the children of His kingdom—it is the salt of the earth, and it is the light of the world. Part of its service is the conservation of the best of the past; part of its service is blazing the path of progress. To maintain the proper balance of the two is the problem of education. From Plato to Erasmus there was practically no advance in educational method. Then, after the thousand-year-long night of the Middle Ages, with the Renaissance and the Reformation came the culture program of the humanists, which

1 An address delivered by Dr. Alleman at his inauguration as Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., Oct. 9, 1911.

continued to be the norm of higher education until our day. The close of the nineteenth century witnessed the ascendency of science and with it the dominance of practical and utilitarian tests of knowledge. The balance of the nineteenth century has not yet been struck, yet a large contribution of new facts and methods has gone into the account of the new century and made a permanent place for itself in our educational programs. The classical curriculum, identified for centuries with intellectual discipline and culture, has been superseded in popularity by utilitarian courses until academic degrees are no longer a guarantee of literary scholarship. In this educational revolution Germany set the pace. Until the year 1900 only the graduates of the Gymnasium—the Latin and Greek school—were free to study under any of the four facultiees of the University—theology, law, medicine or philosophy—the last alone being open to graduates of the Realgymnasium and (since 1892) of the Oberrealschule. In November, 1900, however, Emperor William, as King of Prussia, when at Kiel, issued his famous rescript. declaring "classical" and "real" education of equal value for the culture of the mind and throwing university studies under all the faculties save theology (and classical philology under the philosophical faculty) open to graduates of Realgymnasia and Ober-realschulen. The Gymnasium curriculum was also modified by the substitution of English and modern studies for Greek in certain courses.[2] The significance of the rescript can scarcely be appreciated on this side of the Atlantic. It was the sweeping away at a stroke of the right wing of classical education. Nearly all of the Federal States have followed Prussia's example, as have the universities of France and the newer universities of England. It has meant what has been tersely denominated "the passing of Greek" in European education.

For such a change America, notwithstanding her traditions of nearly three centuries, was ready by reason of her own experiment. In a land whose natural resources have been profligately wasted before middle-age, as Rudyard Kipling has pictured us, the obvious motive of utility in education was captivating to the popular fancy, and the arts and sciences which give bread-winning power easily dominate our educational ideals. With

2 Educational Rev. XXIV, pp. 48 ff.

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an enormous increase of students in our schools there has been a steady decline in the number of those pursuing the humanistic studies until the schools which were established for fitting in these studies have been compelled either to readjust their courses or close their doors. On the authority of the United States Commissioner of Education the decrease of classical students between 1895 and 1904 was at the rate of fifty per cent. There is practically no demand for Greek in our High Schools, while our colleges are not only admitting students without Greek as an entrance requirement but are graduating them with the B.A. degree without it.[3]

It was inevitable that the theological school should feel the effect of this revolution in our educational ideals and the domain of theological encyclopedia be invaded by the Spencerian sympathizers. Though we may be far from approving the utilitarian trend of education we have to reckon with the fact that a passion for practical training has swept over our divinity schools. Nor can it be said that the contention for it was without force. Scholastic theology has surely seen its day. Our complex civilization would seem to call for a different method of theological training than that which sufficed for the Middle Ages or even

3 In 1909-10, students of Greek were reported in only 353 out of 10,213 public high schools; that is, in twenty-eight twenty-ninths of our public high schools there was no Greek at all. The number of students of Greek among the 915,061 students in public high schools was 5,511, of whom 3,079 were boys. In the private secondary schools at the same time 5,228 students were taking Greek, of whom 4,395 were boys. In the Lawrenceville Academy the number had fallen from 143 in 1897 to 66; in Phillips Exeter Academy, from 200 to 100. Prof. Francis W. Kelsey of Ann Arbor, Michigan, who has made a profound study of the significance of Latin and Greek in our educational courses, says: "The chief cause of the decline in the number of our students of theology lies in the lack of adjustment between religious and secular education. To how great an extent education in the stages below the college and university has become secularized is not generally understood, on account of the rapidity with which the secularization is going on. Though the choice of a career is, in most cases, not definitely fixed while the student is in the secondary school, his field of choice is so restricted by his selection of studies in this period as to confine him, in respect to facility of professional preparation, within narrow limits. This is particularly the case with theology, for the advantageous pursuit of which the student must have a previous knowledge of Greek." He estimates that of the 512,580 boys pursuing secondary studies in 1909-10, only 50,000 were in that class of secondary schools in which it may be presumed that the claims of the ministry were kept before them, and in which the course is so laid out as to lead easily to the study of theology. And he proposes as a remedy, the support of such schools by taxation in view of the service they render to society in furnishing an adequate leadership on the religious side.

the emerging period of the sixteenth century. By compulsion of the *zeitgeist* applied Christianity has been raised from a second to a first place in the theological curriculum. Such subjects as psychology, sociology, pedagogics and ethics have been knocking for admission. But the curriculum is already full. What is to be done? The larger theological schools, following the experiment of our colleges, have drifted into the elective system. But the elective system in a professional school can at best have but limited application. And not a few of those seminaries which have given it a fair trial have come to feel that "a man is not adequately prepared for the work of the Christian ministry who has spent three years of graduate study in a more or less theological atmosphere and in pursuit of any subject not altogether foreign to religion and theology which he may happen to have elected." The result of an unrestricted application of the elective system has been an obscuration of the chief function of the ministry of the Gospel. For while the importance of an understanding of the *zeitgeist* is not to be denied, nor the value of practical training to be minimized, let it be remembered that the Christian minister is, first of all, a minister of the oracles of God. There has been an over-emphasis of the preacher's relation to his age and the consequent limitation of his responsibilities. It sounds axiomatic—so often have we heard it—that the all-important thing for the theological student to know is the world of to-day, what it is and what it needs, in order to be able competently to minister to it. Those who take this position seem to assume that the business of the Christian minister is simply to help the world in any way he can, quite without regard to Christian thought and what it may have to offer, or that it is so easy to understand Christianity that its theory may be assumed and all the student's time be spent upon the technique of being useful in the world. The christian minister is not a mere philanthropist or social reformer. He is of course, in the broadest sense of the term a Christian man—whose motto must be *"Homo sum, nihil humanum a me alienum puto"* —but he is a man with a specific mission and task in the world. He is a preacher of the Gospel, a minister of the Word. He must know his Bible. Whatever else is desirable, this is imperative. No other knowledge or training will compensate for ignorance here. He is an ambassador of Jesus Christ. Without

Jesus Christ there is no such thing as Christianity. The minister must know his Lord. He must therefore know his Lord's words, His revelation of God, His conception of religion, the experiences and training which made Him the Messiah. He must know the Bible of Jesus Christ, which means that he must know the Old Testament. Our interest in the Old Testament Scriptures, centers in their relation to Jesus Christ. Historically they were His text-book of divine revelation. Out of them He learned His mission. Lk. 4:18-20; Matt. 9:13). They gave Him the prophecy and prospectus of His work—the law to which His life, His death and His resurrection conformed. "Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself." (Lk. 24:27). "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me." (Lk. 24:44). "Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day." (Lk. 24:46). Not only does Jesus quote frequently from the Old Testament as having its fulfilment in Himself, but He uses it as the sword of the divine Spirit. It was His weapon in temptation and controversy, the stay and support of His soul. (Matt. 4:4, 7, 10; 9:13; 5:21, 27, 31; 15:4, 8; 19:18; 21:13, 33, 38, 43; 22:44; 27:46; Lk. 4:18; 23:46). Christ's use of the Old Testament is followed by the apostles and other writers of the New Testament. They treat the Old Testament Scriptures not only as historically and prophetically true but as fulfilled in Him. How large a place this conception fills will appear from a brief summary of the facts of Jesus' life in which they find predictions realized:—Jesus is born of a virgin in Bethlehem, and as an infant returns from Egypt to Nazareth; His public ministry is heralded by John the Baptist; He begins His work in Galilee by claiming the endowment of the Holy Spirit; and in Judea by showing His zeal for God's house; in His acts of healing He takes upon Himself the burdens of men's infirmities; as befits the servant of the Lord He is humble, silent, patient; He is compelled by the stupidity of the people to speak in parables; He enters Jerusalem in lowliness, seated upon an ass; He is greeted as coming in the name of the Lord; His message is not believed; He is rejected by the leaders of the people; He is be-

trayed for money; He is forsaken by His followers; He is reckoned among transgressors and is hated without cause; His garments are divided; His bones are not broken, though His side is pierced; He is not suffered to be holden of death; He is exalted to God's right hand. (Cf. *H. B. D.,* Ext. 321).

There is more for the minister to know—very much more—the institutions of Christianity, the whole history of the Church and its theology—but just as the physician must have his materia medica before he is prepared to write a prescription so the minister must know his Bible before he is prepared to preach.

Accepting it then as practically conceded that the Old Testament offers material of first importance for theological education, it is fair at once to raise the question, In the preparation for the work of the ministry is the study of Hebrew worth while? It is a fair question. It is absolutely certain that the student cannot compass the whole curriculum of theological education, and, as one of the effects of the age-demand for a practical theological training, the proposition has been made that the study of Hebrew be dropped. I have seen and heard it said by very influential men that the demands upon the minister, especially if he is in charge of a city church, leave no time for delving into Hebrew; that this is not to be regretted as he has little need to know Hebrew, with the excellent translations and expositions at hand in his vernacular; that the learning of the language requires time that can be more profitably invested in other pursuits; that a Hebrew class-room is far removed from the living world; that the language is, after all, a subject for Semitic specialists.

Now there is much that is true in these objections—and much is not true. Let us not forget that, whatever else a minister may become in the readjustments of our civilization, he is going to continue to be a preacher of sermons based on Scripture. The preacher—at least in our Lutheran conception of the ministerial office—is fundamentally a teacher of revealed religion, an interpreter of the oracles of God. These oracles are contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Our proposed Confessional Basis declares these Scriptures to be the very Word of God. The Protestant minister is a specialist in Biblical interpretation. This responsibility is thrust upon him by the Protestant theory of authority. By ecclesiastical canons the

Greek and the Roman Churches shut themselves up to a translation—in the one case the Septuagint, in the other, the Vulgate. But the churches of the Reformation said, to state it in the words of Luther, "The Church cannot give more force or authority to a book than it has in itself. A council cannot make that to be Scripture which in its own nature is not Scripture." In other words, authority for the Protestant resides only in the original tongue, and normally only in the original text. Whether that fact leaves us without a charter of authority or lays us open to the charge of Bibliolatry is not a matter which we need here discuss. Our point is, it were a poor preparation for the responsible position of a teacher of God's Word either to neglect or to refuse a training in the languages in which the divine oracles were given. If, as we believe, those two great languages were providentially selected for the purpose of revelation, then a knowledge of them is more than an incidental advantage—insofar as it is possible, it is a duty. In a letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of the cities of Germany in behalf of Christian schools in 1524, Luther wrote:

"The languages (Hebrew and Greek) are the scabbard in which there sticks the Sword of the Spirit, and when we let them go we shall not only lose the Gospel, but we shall finally come to such a pass that we shall not be able to read or write even Latin or German correctly."

Those are strong words—perhaps too strong and rhetorical to be exactly true. Nevertheless there is a large element of truth in them. I speak now only of Hebrew. In what sense is it true that if we let it go we shall lose the Gospel and not be able to construe it correctly in our own vernacular? First of all, the Gospel has an oriental setting. As born of Mary and of the seed of David, as brought up in the home and taught in the school at Nazareth, as seeking His knowledge of God in the Scriptures of His people and observing their ordinances, and as linking His precepts with their teaching and His claims with their authority, Jesus was a Hebrew. Aramaic, the Hebrew vernacular of His day, was His mother tongue; His speech is saturated with oriental imagery. Now it is a well-known fact that the Semitic mind reverses nearly all our habits of thought and life, e. g., in vocabulary, grammar and syntax our English usage is reversed. All that enters into that indefinable thing which we

call the genius of a language—social tradition, custom, habits of life—conveys itself only to those who have at least a reading acquaintance with it. Exegesis is a most delicate science of interpretation, and just as only those who have been trained to read air-currents and clouds and meteoric signs can interpret atmospheric conditions, so only those who know the forms of Hebrew thought can interpret the contents of Hebrew literature. In this sense Luther's words are true. The gist of his whole Reformation lies here; the individual believer may be an authoritative interpreter of God's Word. It is his right to go to the sources and know for himself what God says. But circumstances may prevent his going for himself to the fountain. He is busy with his daily toil or burdened by his cares; he has not the leisure, and the chance is he has not the equipment. So he associates himself with a company of men and women similarly situated and having common desires. This congregation elects one capable and qualified in heart and mind, to whom they say: We have chosen you to be our teacher and minister and to this end we set you apart, freeing you from the burdens and cares which distract us. You shall go to the oracles and bring us their message. That is the Lutheran theory of the office of the minister of the Gospel, and what shall we say of that minister who has never laid his hand on the prophet's heart and heard it beat, who has never seen the features of his face as he calls, upon whose ears the music of his comfort has never fallen? We might almost say that the preacher who has had no Hebrew has never gotten farther than the court of the Gentiles. John Knox was more than forty years of age when he was so impressed with its value to the preacher as an interpreter of the word of God that he took the time from his busy days to acquire it. No matter how excellent a translation we may have, it stands to reason that much of the flavor—and indeed the finest part of it—must be lost if one, having no knowledge of the original, cannot appreciate the fine points of the translation. Any one fairly familiar with the Hebrew text has but to listen to the reading of the Old Testament at the hands of one totally ignorant of it to appreciate the force of this statement. To my mind this answers the objection of those who say that there are better uses for the theological student to make of his time than the study of this dead language. People who call a man to be their religious instructor

and spiritual guide have a right to expect competency. The ignorance of many ministers with regard to the Old Testament is little short of a scandal. It is a minister's business to know some things of which he is ignorant. And for men who bear the name of Luther, and in Luther' name, exalt the Word of God and make its authority a shibboleth, such ignorance is tragic. One cannot escape the suspicion that some of our present-day much-vaunted reverence for the Word of God, so strenuously insisted upon as an ecclesiastical passport, is made a cloak for intellectual laziness. In no way is Protestantism so much in danger of shifting the emphasis of authority from the Word of God to the Church itself as by lowering its entrance requirements of scholarship for its ministers while multiplying its confessional tests. It is a travesty on Lutheranism to insist on the tithing of symbolic mint, anise and cummin while neglecting the weightier matters of the Torah.

Moreover, the proposal to abandon the study of Hebrew in our seminaries is ill-timed. There has been a great revival in Semitic study in recent years. The Semitic revival of the 19th century constitutes one of its glories. Not only has the original text of the Old Testament Scriptures been studied with a scrutiny unmatched in any other age, but the spade of the excavator has unearthed a new literature which has shed light on many a page of the sacred record. From the time that the Swedish Orientalist Akerbald succeeded in disciphering the demotic letters of the Rosetta stone in 1802 to the publication of the Assoan Papyri by Sachau in 1911, the field for Semitic scholarship has been steadily widening. Semitic epigraphy is a field in itself. As to the Hebrew language, the character of Old Testament studies during the past century has been such as to render it more than ever necessary that those who would form a valid and first-hand judgment upon the historical, literary and theological questions which are now forced upon us by the higher criticism of the Scriptures should have a working knowledge of the original tongue. The issues of higher criticism are not to be determined by pulpit invective, ecclesiastical rescript or *a priori* reasoning, but by the principles of sound scholarship. The labors of great grammarians and lexicographers have made available a scientific method of determining the claims of criticism, and the Church does not escape its responsibility with regard to these claims

either by ignoring or anathematizing them. The antidote to destructive criticism is constructive criticism. Men are more eager to be convinced that the Scriptures are true than that they are false, but they do not easily excuse their theological teachers for ignoring questions about which the whole world is astir. The responsibility upon the teacher of the preesnt generation is very grave. Young men of serious purpose, on the threshold of their life-work, are not to be dismissed when they come with their difficulties and perplexities, with a Podsnappian wave of the hand. Criticism has its theories. There is a laboratory in which its theories can be tested, and that laboratory is the Hebrew classroom in a close textual study of the original documents. Constructive scholarship has nothing to fear, and is not dismayed. Its goal is truth. Its anchor is faith in the great historical facts of revelation. Its norm is Christ.

There is another reason why the proposition to drop the study of Hebrew is ill-timed. Israel is central in the world's religious history. Of them came the Messiah. To them belong the glory and the promises. And they are returning to their native land. Already they have bought up a large part of the whole Ghor, or Jordan Valley, and their flocking thither seems almost, if not indeed, the fulfilment of prephecy. After twenty-five centuries Hebrew is again to become a living tongue. Schools having in view the establishment of Hebrew as a compromise vernacular for the polyglot Zionists have been established in Palestine; and Sepharrdim, Ashkenizim and the remaining endless divisions of the Goluth may in less than ten years make the tongue of David and Isaiah as much a living language as German or Russian. *"Kumah, wenaahleh Jerushalaimah,"* "Get up, let's go to Jerusalem," a recent tourist heard some children say. In view of this movement, confirmed by the recent Zionist Conference at Berne, it would seem as if the suggestion to eliminate Hebrew as a subject is at least ill-timed.

But it is to be admitted that all men are not linguists and all theological students do not easily acquire Hebrew. The question may properly be pressed, Is the study of the Old Testament in the theological curriculum to be limited to the Hebrew text? Our theological schools have come to see that they have not discharged their duty to their students simply by offering them instruction in Hebrew. At best the average student does not ad-

vance beyond a lexicon acquaintance with the language, and in the limited time that can be given to this department only a very small portion of the Old Testament can be read in the original. And yet the student has a right to ask that his theological school open to him the whole field of revelation and explicate the historic movement in which Israel played its unique part. The area of Old Testament study must be extended. If no more time can be given to it in the curriculum then the time allowed must be husbanded. No department of Biblical study has had such immense and varied learning lavished on it. Philology and exegesis have been illuminated by archaeology. We live in another world from that in which the Biblical writers moved; hence the associations suggested by a given word, which were obvious at once to those who originally used it, or heard it used, are often not apparent to us; and they have to be recovered by the help of geography, archaeology, life and manners in the East, if the Bible is to speak even approximately to us as it did to those to whom its various parts were originally addressed. Philology and exegesis, assisted by such ancillary studies, from the foundations of sound Biblical knowledge; but the next aspect under which, if it is to be intelligently understood, the Old Testament must be studied, is the historical. The Old Testament is the embodiment of a historical revelation. If there is one thing which the higher criticism of the Scriptures has done for theological study, and which even those who reject all its conclusions will do well to admit, it has restored the emphasis where it belongs in a right idea of such a revelation as we have in the Old Testament, namely upon the historic movement of which the literature is but the record. And that is a sound Lutheran principle. One must be dense indeed who does not catch the spirit of Luther's handling of the Scriptures. Few of his followers have interpreted and commented upon them with the freedom habitual to him. The reason was, he recognized that the books were but the shell of which the kernel was the redeeming love of God fulfilled in Jesus Christ. The redeeming love of God was the great thing, the book was but the shell. If the book did not contain the kernel he was ready to discard it. "Ecclesiastes has neither boots nor spurs, but rides in socks, as I did when I was in the cloister." On the other hand, he highly prized the Psalter "because it so clearly promises Christ's death

and resurrection and prefigures his kingdom....., so that it may well be called a small Bible wherein all that stands in Scripture is fairly and briefly comprehended." Luther, in short, recognizes that God had an end to secure in making a revelation, and this end is to bring near to them His will for our salvation. "If evolutionary thought has taught us anything," says Moberly, "it has taught us not to exclude the end, *ex hypothesi,* when we want to understand the nature of the beginning." This is what gives us true historic perspective and a working possession of that principle the importance of which has long been recognized by theologians, "the progressiveness of revelation." Revelation is a stream whose well-springs are to be found in patriarchal worship, but whose tide sweeps on in the legislation of a nation-builder, in the triumphant battles of a colonizing people, in the sufferings and shame of a nation's rebellion, in the deliverance of heroes and kings, in the visions and sermons of prophets and in the judgment of captivity, until it loses itself in the ocean of the Son of God Himself. The external history afforded the occasion for the internal revelation, but a clear apprehension of the external history makes it plain that on no satisfying hypothesis does it account for the revelation. "That this progress is to be regarded as a merely natural evolution is a conclusion which no results of a legitimate and sober literary criticism warrant." (Garvie). If the early conditions of Israel ally themselves to those of Arabian nomads, "the more delicate and rare becomes our apprehension of that divine relationship which by its perpetual pressure lifted Israel to its marvellous supremacy and which by its absence left Arabia to be what it is to-day." When Prof. Kittel, in the course of his lectures to the school teachers of Saxony, was asked the relation between the Babylonian Penetential Psalms and those of the Bible, he replied, "The relation between the Biblical and the Babylonian Psalms is no other than the relation between the Biblical and the Babylonian ideas of God." And that, in a word, is the contribution which historical criticism has made to Bible study. It has shown the uniqueness of Israel's God as the core of Israel's religion. The Bible has not lost but gained in authority over the intelligent minds of our generation. Historical criticism has not silenced our oracles, or set them aside, but enhanced them. On the occasion of the Centenary Celebration of the British Bible Society, March 6,

1903, Mr. Balfour said: "In my view, for whatever that view may be worth, the increasing knowledge which we have of the history, not only of Israel, but of the nations which influenced, or were influenced by, the Jewish people, our better knowledge of the texts..... these things, so far from rendering the Bible less valuable to us, or less interesting to us, from a religious point of view, greatly augment the value which it must have for an educated community. These researches make it far more of a living record of the revelation of God to mankind than it ever was or ever could be to those who, from the nature of the case, had no adequate conception of the circumstances in which that revelation occurred, or the people to whom it was vouchsafed. And I most truly think that not only is the Bible now what it has always been to the unlearned, a source of consolation, of hope and of encouragement, but it is to those who are more learned, but not probably nearer the kingdom of heaven, augmented in interest, and not diminished, and a more valuable source of spiritual life, than it was, or could have been, in the pre-critical days." Influentially the Bible is a greater book to-day than it ever was before—a greater book for preachers, a greater book for laymen. It is to tempt to a profounder study of this old book in this new age that I conceive to be my task under your call. It is a joy to undertake such a mission in the bosom of a Church whose apprehension of the nature, function and authority of the Scriptures is so sane and consistent as that of the Church of Luther. It may be restated in a word. These Scriptures are a special revelation of God objectively made, our sole authority in matters of faith and life, on the one hand against ecclesiastical tradition, on the other hand against the uncertain and indeterminate inner light. They are authoritative, not because of what the Church has said about them, but because of what they have said to the Church, in their revelation of salvation through Jesus Christ. By the example of her founder, as well as by the declaration of her Confession, the Lutheran Church is committed to the Scriptures. She accepts it as her mission to bear witness to their truth. This mission I accept as my commission.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE III.

A STUDY IN THE MYSTICISM OF LUTHER.[1]

BY REV. PAUL HAROLD HEISEY, A.M.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MYSTICAL ELEMENT IN LUTHER.

Many and varied influences converge in the religious experience of Luther. It is in his early training that we must seek the roots and the beginnings of his religious life. Both the family and the community life of Mediaeval times were distinctively religious. Luther's parents, Hans and Margaret Luther, were of a deeply religious nature, and early devoted attention to the religious training of their son. There was much in the religious thought of the times that was primitive and crass, but the religion in general has been characterized as "simple, unaffected, and evangelical."

By heredity, Luther was of a religious turn of mind, and grew up in a religious atmosphere. Luther's father had a great reverence for the Church and religion. It is reported that upon one occasion friends found Luther's father engaged in prayer while bending over the child Martin in the cradle. Luther's mother was even more religious and devout than his father. She constantly had in mind the religious training of the child. She early taught him to pray. Luther's first religious instruction included the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. This instruction had a life long influence upon him, and he has handed down to posterity explanations of these norms of religious instruction which are used to this day. The religious life of his mother, common to the times was marked by superstitions and fears. She is described as having been "imaginative, and sensitive, the prey of all kinds of conflicting emotions." Upon one occasion she thought that herself and children were bewitched. These early impressions lingered long in the life of Luther.

The temperamental traits of the mother are seen in Luther.

1 A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College, of the State University of Iowa, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

He was at all times sensitive to religious influences and impressions. "He was a dreamy, contemplative child; and the unseen world was never out of his thoughts." (Lindsay).

Early in life Luther was sent to the community school, and his instruction included a study of the Psalter, and classical religious hymns. Religious exercises played an important part in the daily program of the school.

An early mystical influence that entered into Luther's experience was the instruction he received while attending school at Magdeburg, in 1497, when fourteen years of age. The school was conducted by members of the "Noll Brothers." This society was associated with the mystical organization known as the "Brethren of the Common Life." The teachings and the views of this organization have been termed the "new mysticism."[2]

When one considers the life and work of Luther, he can see how they conformed to the ideals of this "new mysticism," the roots of which were planted in the young mind while at school at Magdeburg. The writings of members of this group had a great influence upon Luther in his later studies.

After spending a year at Magdeburg, Luther was sent to Eisenach for the furthering of his education. At the school of St. George's Church he proved to be a good student. In addition to the excellent instruction he received at this school, two strong influences entered into his life; the parental attention and religious instruction he received in the Cotta home, and also the presence of the order of the Franciscans in the city.

In 1501, Luther entered the University of Erfurt. As a preparation for law studies he was trained in Philosophy. The works of Aristotle were the chief text-books. The influence of the mystical element in this classical philosopher is seen in Luther's discussion of the topic of *Christ as the Word of God.* In this he enters into a philosophical discussion maintaining "the unity of essence between the Father and the Son, together with their difference in person." In this discussion Luther availed himself of the philosophy of Aristotle with which he was acquainted.

In Erfurt, Luther also studied the works of D' Ailly, Gerson, Biel and Occam. All these authors strengthened the mystical

2 For a characterization of this organization see Jones' *Studies in Mystical Religion.*

element in Luther. Luther held Gerson in high esteem and looked upon him as one who had attained a true understanding of the Gospel. He commends the writings of Gerson because they dealt with spiritual temptations as apart from those of the flesh. He places Gerson even above St. Augustine in this matter.

William of Occam was Luther's favorite scholastic. Occam, together with Biel and D' Ailly were the exponents of nominalism, and this philosophy appealed to Luther. Dr. Jacobs writes: "To Luther the mystical side of nominalism was attractive; since it taught that, as subjects can be known only individually, all other truth must be remitted to the domain of faith."[3] The teachings of nominalism when applied to the Church emphasized the individual Church above the Papacy. Both Occam and D' Ailly had spoken against the authority of Rome. The influence of these teachers and this philosophy—especially its mystical tendency—upon Luther is seen later in his attitude toward the supremacy of Rome.

As a result of a vow made during a mystical experience, discussed later in this study, Luther entered, on July 17, 1505, the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt, with the hope of securing peace for his soul through living a monk's life. Many elements in his monastery experience tended to deepen his mystical tendency.

The first of these elements which we mention is the *asceticism* of the monastic life. It was characterized by humility, often of a false kind; by a strict self-denial, mortification of the body, fasting and other disciplines. Luther writes: "In truth I have often fasted until I became sick and was almost dead." Of his faithfulness to the rules of the monastery he writes: "Verily, I was a devout monk, and followed the rules of the order so strictly that I cannot tell you all. If ever a monk entered into heaven by his monkish merits, certainly I should have obtained entrance there. All the monks who knew me will confirm this; and if it had lasted much longer, I should have become literally a martyr, through watchings, prayer, reading and other labors."[4] He even pursued some of his studies "alone for the practical end that, by subjection to this discipline, he might find peace of con-

3 Jacobs: Martin Luther p. 16.
4 Morris: Quaint Sayings and Doings concerning Luther, p. 33.

science in assurance of salvation." In many of his efforts it was this mystical "assurance of salvation," and spiritual peace that Luther desired. He constantly sought personal experience.

In the monastery, Luther's *studies* were a continuation of the authors he followed in the University, chiefly Gerson, Biel, D' Ailly, and Occam. A treatise by St. Bernard was placed in his hands from which he gained immediate and lasting benefits. During his spiritual struggles the aim of his friends was to show him the personal application of the Gospel and to call upon him to experience personally the message of the Scriptures. In the treatise by St. Bernard, the emphasis was placed upon the word *"tibi,"* "for thee." The comfort Luther received from this treatise can be seen in the fact that he reflects its influence in his explanation of the Lord's Supper, in his *Small Catechism* (1529) emphasizing the personal experience. He writes:

Who is it, then, that receives this Sacrament worthily?

"Answer. Fasting and bodily preparation are indeed a good external discipline; but he is truly worthy and well prepared, who believes these words: 'Given and shed for you, for the remission of sins.' But he who does not believe these words, or who doubts, is unworthy and unfit; for these words: 'For you,' require truly believing hearts."[5]

Upon entering the Augustinian Order Luther received the name, "Brother Augustine." The writings of St. Augustine formed the basis of the constitution of the Order and his works were carefully and faithfully studied. In these writings Luther found comfort and support for his faith. Luther claims that he followed the example of St. Augustine in going back to the sources of the Christian faith rather than accepting the word of the Fathers. He constantly appealed to the writings of St. Augustine as for instance at the Leipzig Disputation. He held St. Augustine to be the highest among the Church Fathers, and referred his friends to his writings.

Two *personal friends* came to Luther's aid in his spiritual conflicts, the Father Confessor of the monastery, whose name has not been preserved to history, and the Vicar-General of the Order, John von Staupitz. The former brought comfort to Lu-

5 Jacobs: The Book of Concord. Vol. I, p. 374.

ther by making personal application of the Gospel, a particular instance of which is given in another part of this paper.

Dr. Staupitz is described as being "of a deeply mystical type of Christianity," also that he stood "upon the basis of the hitherto practical mysticism."[6] Luther acknowledges the influence of Dr. Staupitz upon his life when he writes: "If Dr. Staupitz, or rather God, through Dr. Staupitz, had not aided me in this, I would have been long since in hell." Staupitz emphasized the love of God, the inward turning of the soul to God, and other teachings savoring of the mysticism of Tauler, and other German mystics. He taught Luther that much in his convent experience and life was useless, especially the attempts to experience God through the so-called righteous works. He taught Luther that repentance was not so much an act, or succession of acts as a state of heart and life. This latter thought is echoed in the first of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses which were published in 1517: "Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ in saying: 'Repent ye; etc.' intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence."[7]

The Augustinian Order required diligence in the *study of the Holy Scriptures.* Luther was very faithful in this study, giving special attention to the Psalter, Romans, and Hebrews. His study of Romans and other writings of Paul gave him comfort. After he had gained a true conception of the righteousness of God as portrayed by Paul, he began to find peace. Paul's words "the just shall live by faith," brought peace to his troubled soul, and it was this phrase that entered into a number of the mystical experiences of Luther. One reason that Luther found comfort in the writings of Paul was that there is a marked similarity between the religious experiences of the two individuals. The teachings of Paul dominated the later thought of Luther, and furnished the central doctrine of the Reformation, "Justification by faith."

Luther found comfort in the mystical character of Paul's experience, and teaching. For instance, we can take Paul's words in Galatians 2:20: "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of

6 Koestlin: The Theology of Luther. Eng. Tr. Vol. I, p. 68.
7 See Luther's Primary Works, edited by Wace and Bucheim.

God, who loved me and gave Himself for me." Commenting upon this verse, Luther writes:

"He [Christ] is my form, my furniture and perfection, adorning and beautifying my faith, as the colour, the clear light, or the whiteness do garnish and beautify the wall. Thus we are constrained grossly to set forth this matter. For we cannot spiritually conceive that Christ is so nearly joined and united unto us, as the colour of whiteness is unto the wall. Christ therefore, saith he, thus joined and united unto me and abiding in me liveth this life in me which now I live; yea, Christ Himself is this life which now I live. Wherefore Christ and I in this behalf are both one."[8]

Luther gives a far more extensive treatment of this verse, but the above excerpt suffices to show Luther's perfect harmony and sympathy with the mysticism of Paul.

The *prayer life* of the monastery was formal and lacked the warmth of personal religion. It consisted, mainly in conformity to "hours" and the repetition of the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria. It is true that Luther found little or no comfort in this prayer life but it opened the way for a true prayer life which became a strong factor in Luther's later life.

Upon the recommendation of his monastery friend, Dr. Staupitz, Luther was called to be a professor at the University of Wittenberg. His first duty was that of lecturing upon the *Dialectics* and *Physics* of Aristotle. From the very first Luther had a dislike for philosophy, and preferred theology to philosophy. He availed himself of the opportunity of introducing Scriptural studies along with the studies in Aristotle. He continued to study St. Augustine, the "patron saint" of the university. Also, he paid considerable attention to the study of the writings of St. Paul, who was the theological guide of the university teachers. It was during Luther's incumbency as a professor at Wittenberg that he made the journey to Rome, and met with such disappointment. On this journey he experienced a mystical state treated in another portion of this paper.

His studies in the Scriptures centered about Paul's letter to the Romans, and the Psalms. In the former he found the doctrine of Justification by Faith which was to mean so much to him later.

8 Luther's Commentary on Galatians. (S. S. Miles edition), p. 267.

In the Psalms he found that the writer had experiences similar to his own, and the record of the struggles and spiritual conflicts of the Psalmist came as a relief to Luther's heart. He paid particular attention to the penitential Psalms, and he himself sought the "*inward* imparting of the forgiveness of sins." In his treatment of the Psalms we see the effort of Luther *to experience* the message of the Scripture. In his lectures upon the Psalms which he gave in 1513, and then again in 1517, he made use of the writings of Bernhard, Hugo of St. Victor, and Bonaventura, all of whom were of a deep mystical nature.

During this time, Luther was reading the mystical writings of Tauler. Luther's appreciation of Tauler's worth is seen in these words from a letter Luther wrote to Spalatin in 1516: "If you take any pleasure in reading the ancient and pure Theology in the German language, read the sermons of John Tauler. For neither in the Latin, nor the German language, have I found purer and more wholesome theology, nor any that so agrees with the Gospel."[9] Again, "Although he is unknown to the theologians in the schools, nevertheless I know that I have found more pure doctrine therein than I have found or can be found in all the books of the Scholastics at all universities."

Through the writings af Tauler, Luther was attracted to a work known as the *Theologia Germanica.*[10] It became one of the chief sources of his mysticism. According to Winkworth this work was probably written in 1350. It is the "literary gem" of the religious movement known as the "Friends of God." The author of the work is unknown, but this is not strange when we know their principle of self-abnegation. The work was brought to light by Luther, who published a portion of it in 1516, under the title, "*Was der alte und neue Mensch sei.*" In 1518 he issued a second edition to which he added a preface giving his estimate of the work. Among other things he wrote: "Next to the Bible and St. Augustine, no book hath ever come into my hands, whence I have learnt, or would wish to learn more of what God, and Christ, and man and all things are."

9 Jacobs: Martin Luther, p. 45.

10 Theologia Germanica. Tr. from the German by Susanna Winkworth. London: Macmillian Co., Ltd. Prof. Reuss, the Librarian of the University of Wurtzburg, discovered a manuscript of the Theologia Germanica bearing the date of 1497, which has been published by Prof. Pfieffer of Prague.

We close this portion of the study dealing with the mystical influences entering into Luther's life, with the comment of Koestlin: "The influence of mediaeval mysticism in giving shape to his general conception of doctrine is very marked."

II. EVIDENCES OF LUTHER'S MYSTICISM.

1. Mystical States.

There is no doubt that Luther experienced "mystical states," and that these had a powerful influence upon his life and action. His so-called "conversion" is the first of any importance. He was on his way from Mansfield to Erfurt, when he encountered a severe storm. He became frightened, and as was common to him and his day, he saw the hand of God in this manifestation of nature. He constantly realized the Unseen in the works of nature. "In an instant a flash of blinding splendor seemed to kindle the world, and a deafening thunderclap shook the ground. It was as if death leaped upon Martin. He sank down, and so soon as he regained a clear consciousness of life, he cried out, "Help, sweet Saint Anne; save me, save me, and I will become a monk."[11] This incident occurred on July 2, 1505. And against all the protests of his father and friends he entered the Augustinian cloister, on July 17th, thus carrying out the vow he made during the storm, and following what he believed to be the Divine Will.

While in the monastery Luther had a constant spiritual struggle. He was constantly fretting about his sins and misdoings.

In his classification of mystical states and experiences Professor James mentions first, "the deepened sense of the significance of a maxim or formula which sweeps over one."[12] It is interesting to note that he uses an experience of Luther to illustrate this type. Luther writes: "When a fellow-monk one day repeated the words, 'I believe in the forgiveness of sins,' I saw the Scripture in an entirely new light; and straightway I felt as if I had found the door of Paradise thrown wide open."

A similar experience is brought out in this record from Luther: "I often confessed to Dr. Staupitz, and put to him, not trivial matters, but questions going to the very knot of the question. He answered me as all the other confessors have answered me: *'I do not understand.'* At last he came to me one day,

11 Bayne: Martin Luther. Vol. I, p. 142.
12 James: Varieties of Religious Experience.

when I was at dinner, and said: 'How is it that you are so sad, Brother Martin?' 'Ah,' I replied, 'I am sad indeed.' 'You know not that such trials are good and necessary for you, but would not be so for any one else.' All he meant to imply was, that as I had some learning, I might, but for these trials, have become haughty and supercilious; but I have felt since that what he said was, as it were, a voice and an inspiration of the Holy Spirit."[13]

Luther's "second conversion" is also illustrative of the mystical element. The thoughts of Staupitz, "acted upon, helped Luther gradually to win his way to peace, and he told Staupitz long afterwards that it was he who had made him see the rays of light which dispelled the darkness of his soul.. In the end, the vision of the true relation of the believing man to God came to him suddenly with all the force of a personal revelation and the storm-tossed soul was at rest. The sudden enlightenment, the personal revelation which was to change his whole life came to him when he was reading the *Epistle to the Romans* in his cell. It came to Paul when he was riding on the road to Damascus; to Augustine as he was lying under a fig-tree in the Nutan Garden; to Francis as he paced anxiously the flag-stones of the Partincula chapel on the plain beneath Assissi; to Suso as he sat at the table in the morning. It spoke through different words: to Paul, 'Why persecutest thou, me?' to Augustine, 'Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh'; to Francis, 'Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, no wallet for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes nor staff'; to Suso, 'My son, if thou wilt hear my words.' But though the words were different, the personal revelation which mastered the men was the same."[14]

A truly mystical state with an auditory experience was the instance in the Church at Wittenberg. He had just begun explaining the Epistle to the Romans. When he came to the thought the "just shall live by faith," the idea penetrated his mind, and it seemed to him that he heard these words spoken aloud several times.[15]

13 Table-Talk.

14 Lindsay: The Reformation. Vol. I.

15 Lombroso: The Man of Genius.

In 1511, Luther made a journey to the Holy City, Rome, on business for the Order of which he was a member. His disappointment at the things he saw and heard had a telling effect upon his entire life, and hastened his break with the Catholic Church. It was while on this journey that Luther experienced what was virtually a mystical state.

He was climbing the twenty-eight steps of the so-called judgment seat of Pilate, on his knees, that he might secure the treasure of indulgence by this act. While ascending the stairway there was a flash came to his mind and thought, that bore the message of his deep study of the Scripture, "The just shall live by faith." The words "came to him as though uttered in tones of thunder."

2. Natural Mysticism.

There is a deep strain of mysticism in Luther's view of nature. It is true that Luther had nothing in the way of a scientific view of nature but he advanced beyond the prevailing thought that only the Evil One was manifested in nature. He held this to be true, as was common to his time, but he also saw God in nature. Natural mysticism may be defined in these words from Inge, "Nature is the language in which God expresses His thought; but the thoughts are far more than language."[16] Luther saw a deep significance in nature. He saw the life of God reflected there, as in his words, "God is in the smallest creature, in the leaf, or the blade of grass."[17]

His interest in nature and his sympathetic interpretation is brought out in the following: "That little bird has chosen his shelter, and is quietly rocking himself to sleep without a care for to-morrow's lodging, calmly holding by his little twig, and leaving God to think for him."[18]

Pfleiderer says of Luther: "His feeling of nature was of a fineness, fervour, and sensibility such as belongs genuinely to poetic natures..... In his reflective contemplation and sympathetic vivification of nature no one stands nearer to Luther than Goethe."[19]

3. Symbolism.

16 Inge: Christian Mysticism.
17 Pfleiderer: Evolution and Theology, p. 72.
18 Table-Talk.
19 Pfleiderer: Evolution and Theology.

The study of mysticism reveals the fact that in all ages it has found expression in art and symbolism. Luther's father had a coat-of-arms composed of a bow and arrow flanked by two small roses. Luther adopted for his use a coat-of-arms using as its basis the rose, but he enlarged upon it in order to carry out his religious ideals and views. Jacobs speaks of Luther's design as "an emblem of his theology." The depth of meaning Luther places in each element of his design is characteristic of mysticism.

Writing from Coburg, to Lazarus Spengler, Government Clerk at Nuremberg, who was a friend of Luther, he gives the following description of his coat-of-arms: "As you desire to know whether my seal is correct, I will give you my first thoughts, for good company, which I intend to have engraven upon my seal, as expressive of my theology. The first thing was to be a cross (black) within the heart, and having its natural color, to put me in mind that faith in Christ crucified saves us. 'For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness.' Now, although the cross is black, mortified, and intended to cause pain, yet does it not change the color of the heart, does not corrupt, *i. e.,* does not kill, but keeps alive. 'For the just shall live by faith,'—but by faith in the Saviour. But this heart is fixed upon the center of a white rose, to show that faith causes joy and consolation and peace, not as the world gives peace and joy. For this reason the rose is white and not red, because white is the color of all angels and blessed spirits. This rose, moreover, is fixed in a sky-colored ground, to denote that such joy of faith in the spirit is but an earnest and beginning of heavenly joy to come, as anticipated and held by hope, though not yet revealed. And around this ground-base is a golden ring, to signify that such bliss in heaven is endless, and more precious than all the joys and treasures, since gold is the best and most precious metal."[20]

4. Diabolical Mysticism.

"Diabolical mysticism" is a term used by Görres, in his five volume work on mysticism.[21] This term includes witchcraft and diabolical possession. It covers the so-called manifestations of the Evil One in nature. Professor James writes of it as "re-

20 De Wette, 4:79 *sqq.* Quoted by Morris: Quaint Sayings, p. 175.

21 Inge, Christian Mysticism.

ligious mysticism turned up-side-down." In common with the beliefs of his time, Luther held many superstitions and false views in regard to the works of nature, and the diseases of the human body. The following paragraphs from Luther will show that his thought was saturated with this phase of mysticism. One day when there was a storm abroad, Luther said: " 'Tis the devil who does this; the winds are nothing else than good or bad spirits. Hark! how the devil is putting and blowing."[22] Again he writes: "Idiots, the lame, the blind, the dumb, are men in whom devils have established themselves; and all the physicians who heal those infirmities as though they proceeded from natural causes, are ignorant blockheads, who know nothing about the power of the demon."[23]

"There is no proof," writes Ireland, "that the delusions and hallucinations to which the German reformer was subject did in any way alter or modify his religious views."[24] But, surely, this type of mind, and temperament was a determining factor in the formation of his views.

5. Religious mysticism.

A. General Conceptions.

a. Faith.

In any genuine religious faith there is a mystical element. To Luther, as to St. Paul, faith was not merely historical assent, but a warm religious experience. It was not mere acceptance of the historicity of Christ and the Gospel, but a real communion, and spiritual union with God and Christ. Faith to Luther, was "life in God."[25] "a gift of God,[26] Christ "standing in our hearts."[27]

Luther taught that "through faith" a Christian man "passes above himself into God; out of God he passes beneath himself through love, and yet remains ever in God and the divine love."[28]

He distinguishes two kinds of faith. "There are two kinds of believing: first, a believing about God which means that I believe that what is said of God is true. There is, secondly, a believing

22 Michelet's Life of Luther. Tr. by Hazlitt.
23 Ibid.
24 Ireland: The Blot upon the Brain, p. 55.
25 Pfleiderer, p. 53.
26 Ibid, p. 179.
27 Lenker ed. 11:355.
28 Primary Works, p. 131.

without any doubt that He will be and do to me according to the things said of Him. Such faith, which throws itself upon God, whether in life or in death, alone makes a Christian man."[29] The thought of throwing one's self back upon God is a thought expressed by many mystics.

Faith is at the basis of God working in a Christian. "The way of the Lord, as you have heard, is that he does all things within you, so that all our works are not ours but his, which comes by faith."[30]

b. Reason.

Luther's attitude towards reason was that of a mystic. He subordinated reason to faith. It is true that the object of faith in Luther's case differed from that of the extreme mystic. Luther's faith was grounded upon the message of the Holy Scriptures, while that of the extreme mystics was grounded upon the revelations received directly, personally, and intuitively. Luther held that reason had no share in things eternal, spiritual, and heavenly. When it attempts to interpret these things it should be designated as "Frau Hulda," "Harlot," etc.[31] He held the 'feeble' knowledge of God attainable by reason to be "not a whit better than no knowledge at all."[32]

"It is not possible to understand even the smallest article of faith by human reason; so that no man on earth has ever been able to catch or grasp a proper idea, or certain knowledge of God."[33] His approach to the Scripture is indicated in his words: "Just shut your eyes and say: What Christ says must be true, though no man can understand how it can be true."[34] Luther contended that a thing might be false in philosophy and true in theology. "In theology, so much must be heard and believed, and established in the heart, God is truthful, however absurd the things He declares in His Word may appear to reason."

In his sermon for Ascension Day, where he discusses Christ's Ascension into Heaven, he writes: "Reason cannot comprehend how this can be. Therefore, it is an article of faith. Here one

29 Er. 22:15. Lindsay, p. 429.
30 Lenker, 10:124.
31 Koestlin, Theology of Luther, Vol. I, p. 216.
32 Ibid, p. 263.
33 Ibid, p. 264.
34 Ibid, p. 265.

must close his eyes and not follow reason, but lay hold of all by faith. For how can reason grasp the thought that there should be a being like ourselves, who is all-seeing and knows all hearts and gives all men faith and the Spirit; or that he sits above in heaven, and yet is present with us and in us and rules over us? Therefore, strive not to comprehend it, but say: This is Scripture and this is God's Word, which is immeasureably higher than all understanding and reason. Cease your reasoning and lay hold of the Scriptures, which testify of this being—how He ascended to heaven and sits at the right hand of God and exercises dominion."[35]

In his view of reason, Luther imbibed the spirit of the older theologians who were wont to quote as their guides: "credo ut intelligam"; and "credo quia impossibilis."

c. Prayer.

Prayer to Luther was "not an ascending of the mind (mentis) but an uplifting of the soul (animae)."[36] In prayer the believer's heart mounts up to God. The power of prayer, Luther taught, must be learned through experience.

His familiarity with God, and his consciousness of His presence is brought out in this prayer offered by Luther at the Diet of Worms: "O, God, O Thou, my God, do Thou, my God stand by me, against all the world's wisdom and reason. Oh, do it. Thou must do it. Yea, Thou alone must do it.....O God, dost Thou not hear me, O my God? Art Thou dead?.... Hast Thou chosen me for this work? I ask Thee how I may be sure of this. Thou art my God, where art Thou?"[37] The entire prayer offered under the trial of the occasion of which the above is but an extract breathes the same fervor and devotion and nearness to God.

His own practice in prayer is suggested in his words written from Coburg to his friend Spalatin: "I am here like a hermit, and like a land without water. I am unable to produce anything which I consider worth writing about to you, except that with all the might of prayer, with prayerful sighs and groans, I endeavor to reach heaven, and, though wicked, knock at the gate

35 Lenker, 12:191.

36 Koestlin, Vol. II, p. 472.

37 Jacobs, Martin Luther, p. 196.

of Him, who has said, 'Knock, and it shall be opened unto you.' "[38]

Veit Dietrich writes of Luther: "He prays as devoutly as one who is conversing with God, and with such hope and faith as one who addresses his father."[39]

d. Mystical Method.

Practically every mystic, and especially those who can be looked upon as leaders, laid down some plan or formula for the attainment of the highest states of mystical consciousness. St. Theresa had a methodical plan. The *Thelogia Germanica* contains suggestions of such methods. The nearest approach to such a mystical formula on the part of Luther is his statement, with its explanations: *"Oratio, Tentatio, Meditatio faciunt Theologum."*[40] *Oratio,* Luther explains in this manner: "Kneel in thy closet, and with real humility and earnestness beg God that through His dear Son He will give His Holy Spirit to you to enlighten you, guide you, and give you understanding; as thou seest that David in the 119th Psalm continually begs: *Teach me, Lord; show me; guide me; instruct me;* and the like. Even though he had the text of Moses, and well knew other books and daily heard and read them, yet did he wish to have the real Master of the Scripture also that he might not be left to his own reason and be his own teacher."

Commenting upon *Tentatio,* he says: "As soon as God's Word has free course through thee, Satan will visit thee to make a real doctor of thee, and by means of temptation to teach thee to seek and to love the Word of God."

Luther explains *Meditatio* thus: "Not only in the heart, but externally to study and analyze the spoken and the written Word, to read it and read it again, with diligent attention and reflection in order to discover the meaning of the Holy Ghost in it."

This is truly a mystical "ladder" suggested by Luther for the approach to God.

e. Self-abnegation.

A trait characteristic of Luther's mysticism is that of self-surrender even to the point of self-abnegation; an approach to

38 Morris, p. 128.
39 Ibid, p. 129.
40 Gerberding, The Lutheran Pastor, p. 200.

"the Augustinian feeling of human nothingness." Luther advises believers to "lower and despise" themselves.[41] He refers to himself as "a poor offensive worm of the dust."[42] He suggests to believers: "despair not of God's grace but of your own unworthiness.[43] "There is nothing but demerit and unworthiness on your side."[44] How like the message of the *Theologia Germanica* is the following: "Behold, here is the beginning of your salvation; you relinquish your works and despair of yourself; because you hear and see that all you do is sin and amounts to nothing."[45]

The feeling of "human-nothingness: extends to despair: Despair follows when man becomes conscious of his evil motives, and realizes that it is impossible for him to love the law of God, finding nothing good in himself."[46]

This spirit of self-abnegation implies humility: "Therefore man must humble himself, and confess that he is lost and that all his works are sins, aye, that his whole life is sinful."[47]

This sense of human depravity is gained through faith: "For faith immediately teaches that everything human is nothing before God. Hence they despise self and think nothing of themselves."[48]

It is through self-surrender and self-abnegation that one overcomes trouble and finds peace: "They are the true and real pupils, who keep the law, who know and are conscious that they do evil, and make naught of themselves, surrender themselves, count all their works unclean in the eyes of God, and despair of goodness and all their own works. They who do this, shall have no trouble, except that they must not deceive themselves with vain fruitless thoughts and defer this matter until death; for if anyone persistently postpones until death, he will have a sad future."[49]

f. Quietism.

Quietism is that form of mysticism which seeks "to attain to

41 Lenker, 10:12.
42 Ibid, 14:243.
43 Ibid, 10:22.
44 Ibid, 10:25.
45 Ibid, 10:26.
46 Ibid, 10:98.
47 Ibid, 10:132.
48 Lenker, 10:165.
49 Ibid, 11:367, 368.

a perfect repose of the soul in God. Every desire and motion of the will is to be mortified. The will of God alone is to be active."[50]

The passive, inactive side of mysticism never appealed to Luther, but he sought for, and gained peace of mind and heart. This is shown in his every-day life, and in times of greatest storm and stress. He constantly felt the care of God about him, and showed his peace of soul by his indifference to worldly goods and possessions. This spirit is clearly shown in one verse of his famous "Ein Feste Burg":

> "Destroy they our life,
> Goods, fame, child and wife?
> Let all pass amain,
> They still no conquest gain,
> For ours is still the Kingdom."[51]

Under trying circumstances we find that Luther possessed this peace of soul, and constantly felt he was doing God's will in his great reformatory efforts. Indicative of this spirit and peace of soul are his memorable words at the Diet of Worms: "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. God help me."

Luther makes the peace of quietism the mark of true faith. This is brought out especially in a sermon upon the lesson for the First Sunday after Trinity: "Among the fruits of faith are these: peace and joy... For the fruit of faith is peace, not only that which one has outwardly, but that of which Paul speaks to the Phillipians (4, 7) saying it is peace that passeth all reason, sense, and understanding. And where this peace is, one shall not and cannot judge according to reason."[52]

This peace is the mark of true Christians: "Thus we have the fruit whereby we know that we are true Christians. For he who has no peace in that in which the world finds nothing but unrest and is joyful in that in which in the world is nothing but gloom and sorrow is not yet a Christian, and does not yet believe....." He continues this thought in commenting upon an Easter hymn of the day, and accepts the message of the hymn by his words: "Christ will be our consolation, that we can and shall have no other consolation but Christ. He wants to be it

50 A. G. Voight, Lutheran Cyclopedia Article.
51 Book of Worship.
52 Lenker, 11:355.

himself and he alone, that we should cling to him in every time of need; for he has conquered all for our benefit, and by his resurrection he comforts all troubled and sad hearts."

g. Imitation of Christ.

The imitation of Christ has been a favorite discipline and theme of mystics. In fact, the work of Thomas a Kempis bearing this title has been termed the "finest flower of Christian mysticism." Luther mentions that he studied Thomas a Kempis, and his influence is seen in Luther's writings. He writes, Christ "is the sun and is set for our example, which we must imitate. For this reason there will always be found among us some who are weak, others that are strong, and again some that are stronger; these are able to suffer less, those more; and so they must all continue in the imitation of Christ."[53]

This is also brought out in his sermon for the First Sunday after Easter: "The Lord desires to say: You have received enough from me, peace and joy, and all you should have; for your person you need nothing more. Therefore labor now and follow my example, as I have done, so do ye. My Father sent Me into the world for your sake, that I might serve you, not for My own benefit. I have finished the work, have died for you, and given all that I am and have; remember and do ye likewise, that henceforth ye may only serve and help everybody, otherwise ye would have nothing to do on earth."[54]

h. Interpretation of Scripture.

In his interpretation of Scripture Luther followed to a great extent, especially in his early life and work, mystical lines of explanation. This method may be defined as one that seeks for a meaning "which is not immediately signified by the inspired words." In using this method Luther was following a method that had been in common use previous to and during the time of the Reformation, and is found at the present time.

In his *Annotations Upon the Psalter* he followed the traditional method of the old school of theologians and looks for a three-fold sense in Scripture, the allegorical, the tropological, the mystical. In his interpretations of the Psalms he constantly seeks for, and diverges from the literal meaning to find "declarations of Christ concerning Himself."

53 Lenker, 11:212.
54 Ibid, 11:359.

The same is true in his *Church Postil,* his sermons on the pericopes for the Church Year. Here he does not follow a scheme of interpretation of the Psalms, but adds to a literal explanation of the text a "spiritual meaning" of the passage. In beginning his interpretation of the lesson for the First Sunday in Advent, he writes: "Let us now treat of its hidden or spiritual meaning." Similarly, in opening the explanation of the lesson for the Second Sunday in Advent, he writes, "Finally, we must find also a hidden or spiritual meaning in this Gospel."

As an example of his mystical interpretation we give his interpretation of Matthew 21:8, which reads, "And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strewed them in the way."

In explaining this, Luther writes: "The garments are the examples of the patriarchs and the prophets, and the histories of the Old Testament. For, as we shall learn, the multitude that went before, signifies the saints before the birth of Christ, by whom the sermon in the New Testament and the way of faith are beautifully adorned and honored. Paul does likewise when he cites Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; and Peter cites Sarah, and, in Heb. 11, many patriarchs are named as examples, and by these are confirmed faith and the works of faith in a masterly way. The branches mean the sayings of the prophets, one of which is mentioned in this Gospel, which are not stories nor examples but the prophecy of God. The trees are the books of the prophets. Those who preach from these cut branches and spread them in the way of Christian faith."[55]

B. Formal Doctrines.

a. Conception of God.

Luther's conception of God was influenced by mysticism. This influence is seen in the following: "But the God who does have a meaning for us is the one whom the Scriptures show us as our God, for He gives us His presence, light and law, and talks with us."[56]

Again, "Since heaven is his throne, so does he extend far over the heavens; and since the earth is His footstool, so must

55 Lenker, 10:54.

56 Walch 1:2324. Quoted by Walcot, Lutheran and Kantian Elements in Ritschl's Conception of God, p. 8.

He also be in the entire world. He fills everything and must be everywhere present."[57]

The entire doctrine of the Trinity is deeply mystical; teaching the oneness in essence of the three Persons. Luther found evidence of the Trinity in nature. The following involves both symbolism and natural mysticism: "The Trinity is discoverable throughout all creation. In the sun co-exist body, brilliancy, and heat; in rivers, body, current, and strength; the same is true of the arts, and sciences. In astronomy there are motion, light, and influence; in music, the three notes, *re mi, fa;* and so on. The schoolmen have neglected these important signs for frivolities."[58]

b. The Holy Spirit.

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit wherever found is mystical. It constantly implies "divine intervention." Luther depended upon the Holy Spirit to make clear the meaning of the Scripture. In addition to this thought he taught that the Spirit attests truth, leads men to action, applies the law, awakens faith, and dwells in the believer. In study and meditation he suggests that "the presence of the Holy Spirit" be sought. Luther conceived the Church as being comprised of believers who "have with them the Holy Spirit who sanctifies them and works in them by the Word and sacraments."[59]

c. The Scriptures.

Besides a tendency towards the mystical interpretation of the Scriptures, Luther displayed a mystical trait in his general view of the Scriptures; as to its value and use to the believer. Characteristic of his warm religious views is the following: "As the meadow is to the cow, the house to the man, the nest to the bird, the rock to the chamois, and the stream to the fish, so is the Holy Scriptures to the believing soul."[60]

Luther found God in the Scriptures. The Word came as spiritual food and nourishment to the soul of the believer. He writes: "We see that in all things it is not the food, but the Word of God that nourishes every human being."[61]

57 Ibid, p. 6.
58 Michelet, p. 268.
59 Lenker, 14:249.
60 Lindsay, Vol. I, p. 211.
61 Lenker, 11:140.

d. The Church.

The Church to Luther was a mystical body. Each believer was united to Christ; and thus they were united one to another, by all being united to one common Head. In partaking of the same sacraments, mystical in their character, the members become a "community of saints." In a sermon for the "Second Christmas Day" he writes: "Now the Church is not wood and stone, but the company of believing people; one must hold to them and see how they believe, live and teach; they surely have Christ in their midst."[62]

e. Justification by Faith.

Luther's "basal principle was ever justification by faith in Christ, as set forth by Paul and experienced by himself."[63] While he held justification to be a forensic act upon the part of God, yet the believer was to experience it; and was to feel that he stood justified in the eyes of God. This justification the believer appropriated through faith, which is a mystical relationship. Faith is the hand by which the believer reaches out and takes hold of justification.

f. Baptism.

Using the word "symbol" in the sense of "something which, in being what it is, is a sign and vehicle of something higher and better," Inge classifies the two sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist, as truly mystical symbols. "Both are symbols of the mystical union between the Christian and the ascended Lord."[64] In this sense and even in a deeper sense these sacraments had a mystical content in the view of Luther.

The simplest statement from Luther bearing upon Baptism is from his *Smaller Catechism*: "Baptism is not simply water, but it is the water comprehended in God's command and connected with God's Word."[65]

In the view of Luther the benefits of Baptism also reveal its mystical character: "It worketh forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil, and confers everlasting salvation on all who believe as the Word and promise of God declare."[66]

62 Lenker, 10:170.

63 Koestlin, Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.

64 Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 256.

65 Book of Concord, p. 370.

66 Ibid, p. 370.

In explaining how baptism produces these effects, Luther writes: "It is not the water indeed that produces these effects, but the Word of God which accompanies and is connected with the water, and our faith, which relies on the Word of God connected with the water. For the water without the Word of God, is simply water, and no baptism. But when connected with the Word of God, it is baptism; that is, a precious water of life and a 'washing of regeneration in the Holy Ghost.' "[67]

The same thought is emphasized in his *Larger Catechism*. He insists that Baptism is more than water. "The substantial part in the water is God's Word, or command, and God's name."[68] A sacrament receives its validity by its connection with the Word: "When the Word is joined to the element, or earthly constituent, the result is a sacrament, that is, a holy divine thing, and sign."[69] "Therefore, I admonish that these two, the Word and the water, be by no means disunited and considered separately. For when the Word is taken away the water is no different from that which the servant uses for cooking purposes; baptism under that condition might be called a bath-keeper's baptism. But when the Word is present according to God's ordinance, baptism is a sacrament and it is called Christ's sacrament."[70]

Baptism brings about a changed and renewed life. "Grace and righteousness are first *imparted* at Baptism.[71] "It is then necessarily true that as one comes from his baptism he is clean and without sin, perfectly sinless."[72]

The presence of God in baptism, Luther teaches in these words: "To be baptized into God's name is to be baptized, not by man, but by God."[73]

The height of mysticism in Baptism is seen in the thought of union with God. Luther recognizes this union and the high position it holds in the interpretation of the doctrine of baptism, in the following: "Now, we come to the correct understanding and conception of Baptism. The benefit of the sacrament of baptism is this, that therein God unites Himself with

67 Book of Concord, p. 371.
68 Lenker, 24:160.
69 Ibid, 24:161.
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid, 24:313.
72 Ibid, 24:316.
73 Ibid, 24:159.

you and he becomes one with you in a gracious, comforting covenant."[74]

g. Lord's Supper.

The mystic Meister Eckhart, speaking of the Lord's Supper, said, "I would never desire to eat and drink thereof, if there were not something of God in it."[75] Luther's doctrine of the "Real Presence" implies this same thought. In his *Smaller Catechism,* Luther defines the Eucharist as "the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the bread and wine, given unto us Christians to eat and to drink, as it was instituted by Christ Himself.[76] Similar to this is the explanation in the *Larger Catechism,* "it is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in and under the bread and wine which Christians are commanded by the Word of Christ to eat and to drink."[77]

Baptism remains the initiatory Sacrament, the Lord's Supper is the food and nourishment for the soul, therefore the believer receives it occasionally.

Luther explained the presence of Christ in the Supper by saying, that Christ was "in, with, and under" the Bread and the Wine. In defense of his view he writes in his *Greater Confession*: "If the text was, *In* the bread is the body, or *With* the bread, or *Under* the bread, then would the fanatics have cried, See, Christ does not say 'The bread is My body, but *In* the bread is My body.' Gladly would we believe a true presence, if He had only said 'This is My body.' That would be clear; but He only says, '*In* the bread, *with* the bread, *under* the bread, is My body.' It consequently does not follow that His body is there. If Christ had said, *In* the bread is My body, they could more plausibly have said, Christ is in the bread spiritually, or by significance. For if they can find a figure in the words, This is My body, much more could they find it in the other words, In the bread is My body: for it is a clearer and simpler utterance to say, This is my body than to say In this is my body."[78]

Luther's view found expression in a practical and popular way in his sermons. He writes of "having received the Lord and all that he is in the Lord's Supper."[79]

74 Lenker, 24:318.
75 Remensnyder, Mysticism, p. 16.
76 Book of Concord, p. 375.
77 Lenker, 24:175.
78 Krauth, Conservative Reformation, p. 819.
79 Lenker, 11:211.

In a sermon on the Lord's Supper he echoes the teachings found in the catechisms, "We believe that the true body and blood of Christ is under the bread and wine, even as it is."[80]

h. The Mystical Union.

The mystical union is that doctrine which teaches "that in Christ the very life of God has been given to man, and that those who truly receive that life are really and truly united with God."[81] This teaching is found throughout the writings of Luther. He taught "the indwelling of Christ." The mystical union is closely associated with Luther's view of faith. It is through faith that the mystical union is realized. "This faith no condemned or wicked man has, nor can he have it, for the right ground of salvation which unites Christ and the believing heart is that they have all things in common."[82]

Again, this union is taught by Luther in these words: "Therefore, it is through faith that Christ becomes our own, and his love is the cause that we are His. He loves, we believe, thus both are united into one."[83] "Faith in Christ makes us one with Christ and gives us for our own all that is Christ's."[84]

Among the most mystical of Luther's writings and the one that bears out this teaching of the mystical union is *"The Freedom of a Christian Man."*[85] This was one of the three works of Luther that opened the way for the Reformation. According to Kölde, this work is "perhaps the most beautiful of Luther's writings, more the result of religious contemplation than theological work, a writing full of deep mystical thoughts, which, notwithstanding its peculiar reverence to the real relations of life, ever recurs to the world of thought of the mystic."[86]

A characteristic teaching of this work is: "The third incomparable grace of faith is this, that it unites the soul to Christ, as the wife to the husband; by which mystery, as the Apostle teaches, Christ and the soul are made one flesh. Now if they are one flesh, and if a true marriage—nay, by far the most perfect of all marriages—is accomplished between them (for human

80 Lenker, 11:213.
81 Lutheran Cyclopedia.
82 Lenker, 10:143.
83 Lenker, 10:145.
84 Lenker, 10:147.
85 Wace and Bucheim, Luther's Primary Works.
86 Quoted by Jacobs, Martin Luther, p. 165.

marriages are but feeble types of this one great marriage), then it follows that they have become theirs in common, as well good things as evil things; so that whatsoever Christ possesses, that the believing soul may take to itself and boast of as its own, and whatever belongs to the soul, that Christ claims as His."[87]

The thoughts expressed by Luther in this early work, are reflected in his later writings. In a sermon for the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity, he writes: "It must indeed be a great, fathomless and inexpressible love of God to us, that the divine nature unites thus with us and sinks itself into our flesh and blood, so that God's Son truly becomes one flesh and one body with us, and so lovingly receives us that He is not only willing to be our brother, but also our bridegroom, and turns to us and gives us as our own all His divine treasures, wisdom, righteousness, life, strength, power, so that in Him we should also be partakers, of His divine nature."[88]

He, again, carries out the idea that this union is similar to a marriage, in these words: "The union and the marriage are accomplished by faith, so that I fully and freely rely upon Him, that He is mine..... This is a marriage and a union in the sense that they become one flesh."[89]

The mystical union is a fruit of the resurrection of Christ: "My Lord Christ has by His resurrection conquered my need, my sin, death and all evil, and will be thus with and in me."[90] Luther's admiration for and harmony with the mysticism of St. Paul, on the thought of the mystical union is seen in the following: "Just as we interpret the words of Christ, when He says: 'I am the life,' so also should we interpret these words, and say nothing philosophically of the life of the creatures in God; but on the contrary, we should consider how God lives in us, and makes us partakers of His life, so that we live through Him, of and in Him. For it cannot be denied that through Him natural life also exists, which even believers have from Him, as St. Paul says: 'In Him we live, and move, and have our being; for we are also His offspring.' "[91]

87 Wace and Bucheim, Luther's Primary Works, p. 111.
88 Lenker, 14:239.
89 Lenker, 14:232.
90 Lenker, 11:357.
91 Lenker, 10:188.

III. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LUTHER'S MYSTICISM.

1. Union with God.

Luther's experience of union with God was not the experience of the supreme mystical state of ecstacy. His sense of union is not characterized by transiency. Prof. Geo. A. Coe quotes Brother Lawrence, a Carmelite Monk, as follows: "It was a great delusion to think that the time of prayer ought to differ from other times; that we are as strictly obliged to adhere to God by action in the time of action, as by prayer in the time of prayer."[92] This latter expresses the spirit of Luther's sense of union with God.

An element of transiency is found in the sacrament of the Eucharist. Christ comes to the believer in an especial manner upon each partaking of the Lord's Supper.

However, in his theological conceptions of faith, mystical union, and other doctrines, Luther thought of this union as perpetual.

2. Search for peace.

Luther entered the monastery and was faithful in the performance of its disciplines in the hope that he might find peace for his mind and soul. He first found this peace upon such occasions as when the truth of "the forgiveness of sins," and "the just shall live by faith" came upon him. It was in these mystical states of consciousness that new light and peace broke in upon him.

Meditation and prayer played a great part in bringing "mental peace" and "intellectual unity."

3. Assurance.

Closely associated with the search for peace is the desire for "assurance" of the forgiveness of one's sins and of one's acceptance with God. Luther taught that although 'assurance' may not always be felt yet it *should* be felt. Köstlin writes: "Luther is horrified that the Pope 'should have entirely prohibited the certainty and assurance of divine grace.' "[93]

Luther's position is summed up in the following: "I am particularly to be certain that the word of absolution, which pledges forgiveness to me individually, is the Word of God, I am to be

92 Coe, The Religion of a Mature Mind, p. 225.
93 Köstlin, Theology of Luther, vol. ii, p. 462.

fully assured that since I am now in Christ and cleansed from sin by faith my life is also pleasing to God."[94]

4. Inner Witness.

Luther constantly sought the inner "witness of the spirit." One is to be inwardly prepared by the influence of the Holy Spirit. Then, too, the spirit within us should bear out the truth of the Scriptures and God's message to us. "Faith is also based on the inner witness which the spirit of God bears to believers in the right use of the Scriptures, not merely as regards its authority but also its content, so that he considered himself permitted to distinguish the higher character and value of individual books included in the Bible."[95]

In this connection it should be said that Luther did not do away with the external Word nor did he exalt the inner word above the Scriptures as the extreme mystics did; but he occasionally declared, "In the same Word comes the Spirit and gives faith where and to whom He will."[96] It was through the Spirit that each believer was able "to realize *within himself* that it (the Word) is truth."[97]

Again, he writes, "The Word, of itself, must satisfy the heart, must so enclose and lay hold upon the man, that he, though ensnared in it, feels how true and right it is."[98]

In a sermon on the "Method and Fruits of Justification," Luther brings out clearly the thought of inner witness: "Christians may perceive by this whether they have in themselves the Holy Spirit, to wit, the Spirit of sons; whether they hear His voice in their hearts: for Paul saith, He crieth in their hearts which He possesseth, Abba, Father; he saith also, 'We have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father.' Thou hearest this voice when thou findest so much faith in thyself that thou dost assuredly without doubting, presume that not only thy sins are forgiven, but also that thou art the beloved Son of God, who, being certain of eternal salvation, durst, both call Him Father, and be delighted in Him with a joyful and confident heart."[99]

94 Ibid.
95 Köstlin, Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.
96 Köstlin, Theology of Luther, 1:500.
97 Ibid, ii:226.
98 Ibid, ii:227.
99 World's Great Sermons, vol. i, p. 139.

5. Sense of Presence.

Throughout his life Luther experienced the presence of the Unseen. He was governed by the impulse that God was with him and that he was doing God's will. This sense of presence gave him inspiration and courage for his work, and confidence in his final victory. In times of storm and stress he was especially confident of the presence of the Divine. He faced conference and Diet fearlessly in the light of this experience.

6. Experience.

Religious experience was a dominating thought in the life of Luther. His conversion was a personal, real experience. He came to a knowledge of the foremost tenets of his theology by "experience." His religious experience was a warm, vital, living part of his daily life. These experiences worked in two ways: an experience led him to a doctrine; or a teaching led him to an experience.

7. Pantheism.

Many mystics have taught a pantheism in their conception of God and the universe. But a pantheistic view of God is not essential to mysticism. Professor Everett suggests that pantheism differs from mysticism in that the former conceives God as immanent, and the latter conceives God as both immanent and transcendent.[100] There is very little evidence in Luther's theology of a pantheistic tendency. Walcott suggests that Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper savors of pantheism.[101] Luther thought of God as both immanent and transcendent.

IV. PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

1. Factors contributing to Luther's mysticism.

a. Temperament.

By heredity, Luther had a tendency toward subjective-mindedness. This is characteristic of mystics. Prof. Leuba describes it as "the preponderance in their consciousness of the sensations, ideas, and feelings of subjective origin, to the detriment of the sensations, ideas, and feelings determined more or less directly by, or referring to the outside world."[102]

100 Everett: Psychological Elements of Religious Faith.

101 Walcott: Kantian Lutheran and Elements in Ritschl's Conception of God.

102 Leuba: The Psychology of a Group of Christian Mystics. Mind, 14:15.

As a youth Luther was serious minded. "He had been piously trained, and religion was very real to him. His imagination was peopled with angels and demons, and his life was lived in constant dependence upon the aid and protection of saints. He was emotional by temperament, subject to fits of depression, and exposed to attacks of anxiety and dread as to his fate which at times almost drove him wild. Even as a child he was frequently distressed by his sins and terrified by the fear of eternal punishment."[103] In early life he was haunted by "inner voices." He constantly had an alarmed conscience. The speculative talent was strong in him. These characteristics of youth influenced the entire life of the reformer and prepared him for a mystical theology.

Ribot mentions Luther as an example of his classification of "sensitive-actives."[104]

b. Sensitiveness.

In addition to the general suggestions under the topic of temperament a special characteristic of Luther's nature was his sensitiveness, a "delicacy of appreciation."[105] This is seen in some features of his natural mysticism.

He writes: "I lately saw two signs in the heavens. I looked from my window in the middle of the night, and saw the stars and all the majestic vault of God sustaining itself, without my being able to perceive the pillars on which the Creator had propped it. Nevertheless, it crumbled not away. There are those who search for these pillars and who would fain touch them with their hands; but not being able to find them, they lament and fear that the heavens will fall. They might touch them, the heavens would never be moved. Again, I saw heavy clouds floating over my head like the ocean. I saw no prop to sustain them; and still they fell not but saluted us gladly and passed on; and as they passed I distinguished an arch which upheld them,—a splendid rainbow. Slight it was without doubt, and delicate; one could not but tremble for it, under such a mass of clouds. So with us and our opponents. Our rainbow is weak; their clouds are heavy; but the end will tell the strength of the bow."[106]

103 McGiffert, Century Magazine, Dec. 1910.
104 Ribot, The Psychology of the Emotions.
105 Baldwin, Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology.
106 Clarke, Events and Epochs in Religious History, p. 258.

Luther constantly interpreted nature in a warm and delicate manner. He brought this spirit along with his religious experience to the translation and interpretation of the Scriptures. Dr. Gottheil, a Hebrew scholar, bears this testimony to Luther as a translator: "I have often occasion to admire his intuitive guesses at the truth, and to follow him rather than the learned commentators. He was in fullest sympathy with the writers, and understood them by touch, if I may say so, where sight forsook him."[107]

This trait in Luther has often been commented upon as a "kind of inspiration." It was this insight that gave him the key to human nature and life problems.

His sensitiveness is seen in his love for music. He often said: that "whoever did not love music could not be loved by Luther." He writes: "Music is a delightful and lovely gift of God; it has so often excited and moved me, so that it quickened me to preach." He held that "music is a good antidote against temptation and evil thoughts."

Music "banishes Satan," and renders men joyful; it causes men to forget all wrath, uncharity, pride, and other vices."

c. Suggestibility.

Luther was of a highly suggestible nature. This characterized him from early youth. A striking event bearing out this point is seen in a monastery incident. "As the Gospel lesson containing the account of the man possessed of the devil (Matt. xvii) was being read in the Church at Erfurt, Luther fell down in the choir and raved like one possessed."[108]

Similar to the choir incident, in the effect produced upon Luther, was an incident at Eisleben, which Luther describes in this manner: "When I was young, it happened, that at Eisleben, on Corpus-Christi day, I was walking with the procession, in my priest's robes, when suddenly, the sight of the Holy Sacrament, which was carried by Dr. Staupitz, so terrified me (thinking in my blindness, that it was Jesus Christ Himself the Vicar-General was carrying—that Jesus Christ in person was there before me) that a cold sweat covered my body, and I believed myself dying of terror. The procession finished I confessed to Doctor Staupitz, and related to him what had happened

107 Ibid, p. 260.
108 Köstlin, Theology of Luther, vol. i, p. 58.

to me. He replied, 'Your thoughts are not on Christ: Christ never alarms—He comforts.' These words filled me with joy, and were a great consolation to me."[109]

A more normal suggestibility we see in such instances where a truth comes over him with new force, as for instance, when a brother monk pointed out the words of the Apostles' Creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins," adding, "but we are not merely to believe that there is forgiveness for David or Peter; the command of God is, that we believe there is forgiveness for our own sins." This followed a conversation in which Luther was telling of his spiritual struggles. Luther then applied the message personally.

In a similar manner he faced the question "Do you, then, not know that the Lord Himself has commanded us to hope (i. e. in His forgiving grace)?" In this case it was the word 'commanded' that brought the results. He realized that he ought to believe in absolution.

Auto-suggestion is seen in his attempts to realize in his own experience truths presented to him. He constantly aimed to apply himself in a practical way the ideals that he discovered in study, and by other means.

An element of "contrary suggestion" also appears in Luther's mental frame. He was suggestible both positively and negatively. A simple case of the play of contrary suggestion is seen in an incident in the family circle. Luther was in a melancholic spirit and was in despair, feeling that God had forsaken him. His wife remarked: "No, Martin, there is no God." The suggestion awakened a lively faith in God, and drove away the melancholy.

d. The Subconscious.

The subconscious played an important part in the mysticism of Luther. The thunder-storm incident which resulted in the vow which led Luther into the monastery illustrates the subconscious activity. The thought of serving the Church lingered long in his mind, and the incident brought to a focus the under currents of his mental processes, the subconscious activities.

The message "the just shall live by faith" which came upon Luther with a suddenness and as a result of a mystical state of consciousness also demonstrates the working of the subconscious.

109 Morris, Quaint Sayings and Doings concerning Luther.

The message gained in the monastery came to him again and again, as for instance when in the pulpit at Wittenberg, and also when climbing the stairway at Rome.

2. Contradictory Characters.

It would be futile to attempt to harmonize the contradictions in Luther's nature. To use the phrase of Ribot there is evidence of "successive contradictory characters," in Luther.[110] The line dividing these characters is his first conversion, which led him into the monastery. This turned all his ambitions and strength from a desire to succeed in public life (in law), to service to the Church and to devotion to the religious life. The 'second conversion' which was brought about by the message, "the just shall live by faith," changed his effort to gain peace through works to an effort to gain 'experience' and to trust for salvation and assurance through faith.

In addition to this feature of "successive contradictory characters" in Luther's nature there is evidence of "simultaneous contradictory natures." We find him one moment the joyful individual, rejoicing in religious peace and comfort, and having a deep sense of assurance; in the next he is melancholic and marked by remorse and despair. One moment he is sure that God is on his side and the next moment he feels that God has forsaken him.

On the one hand he is marked by the spirit of self-abnegation. He considers himself a 'poor worm of the dust.' But soon he recalls the great work he is engaged in and there comes upon him a sense of exaltation. He is sure that God has selected him for the particular task; and he feels inspired by God 'to reveal His will to men.'

He proclaims upon one occasion the necessity of imitating Christ; and in turn shows the spirit of independence in stating that in all things we cannot imitate Christ; and should only in those things which are especially emphasized.

He was a man of warm sympathy for his friends and bitter hatred, in some cases, for his enemies. He contended constantly that he was anxious to have peace with his enemies; but occasionally aimed at vexing them. Upon one occasion he made a special effort to appear young and well before a Papal legation.

110 Ribot, The Psychology of the Emotions.

His barber said: "Dear Doctor, that will gall them." Luther replied: "For this very reason I am doing it. They have vexed us more than enough: serpents and foxes must be treated in this manner."[111]

These, and like contradictions appear throughout the entire life of Luther. In some cases they can be explained upon apparent reasons; in others they seem irreconcilable. These seeming contradictions in milder form gave poise and balance to Luther's nature; in their extreme form they prove unfavorable.

3. Activity.

Linked with Luther's sensitiveness was a high degree of activity. His sensitive nature shunned passiveness and contemplation for a life of action. Herein he differed from the extreme mystic. In 1516, he said to Lang: "I have full employment for two secretaries. I do scarcely anything all day but write letters. I am preacher to the convent, reader of prayers at table, pastor and parish minister, director of studies, vicar of priory (that is to say, prior ten times over), inspector of the fish-pond at Litzkau, counsel to the inns of Herzberg at Torgau, lecturer on St. Paul and commentator on the Psalms."[112]

The activity of Luther is seen in many lines. In the Reformation movement he stands out as the leading figure and moving force. D'Aubinge says: "The Reformation sprang living from his own heart." Many prepared the way for the Reformation and many in the time of Luther were ready for the step but only Luther was prepared in heart and mind to make the step. He fearlessly nailed his Ninety-Five Theses upon the Church door at Wittenberg and just as fearlessly burned the Bull of the Pope. In the face of opposition and contrary to the advice of friends he carried on his work. "Protestantism and Martin Luther are synonymous terms," writes Forthingham.

Luther was a voluminous writer. We have about one hundred and thirteen volumes from his pen. It was the effort of his pen that had a great influence in the Reformation movement. His commentaries are used to this day. Delitzch writes: "In respect to experimental, mystical, and yet healthy knowledge of the meaning of Scripture, he is incomparable."

His writings furthered the Reformation, not only in Germany

111 Morris: Quaint Sayings and Doings Concerning Luther.
112 Morris, p. 44.

but in other lands. An instance of the effect of Luther's writings is seen in the words of John Wesley: "In the evening, I went unwillingly to a society (the Moravians) in Aldersgate where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

Early in his work, Luther saw the need of education upon the part of all classes. He advocated the founding of public schools and urged parents to attend to the education of their children. In 1524 Luther addressed a "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of all the Cities of Germany in behalf of Christian Schools." Among other things he wrote: "the welfare of a city does not consist alone in great treasures, firm walls, beautiful houses, and munitions of war..... But the highest welfare, safety and power of a city consists in able, learned, wise, upright, cultivated citizens, who can secure, preserve, and utilize every treasure and advantage."[113]

Luther's catechisms were prepared in the light of the need of religious education of both young and old.

Hurst sums up the influence of Luther upon education in the following: "Public schools, though crude at first, were introduced into Germany directly through Luther's labors. The intermediate schools between the primary and the highest education were soon established. The German gymnasium of our times owes its origin to the period of the Reformation."[114]

Closely associated with the idea of popular education is that of the public library. Having written a library of one hundred and thirteen volumes, we find Luther urging the founding of public libraries. D'Aubinge writes: "Luther's attention was not limited to the education of ecclesiastics—he was desirous that learning should no longer be confined to the Church alone; and proposed to extend it to the laity, who had hitherto been barred from it. He suggested the establishment of libraries,

113 Quoted in Lutheran Literature, vol. i, No. 3, p. 59.
114 Quoted in A Miracle among Men, p. 8, by M. L. Peter.

not limited merely to works and commentaries of scholastic divines and Fathers of the Church but furnished with the productions of orators, and poets, even though heathens, as also with books of literature, law, medicine, and history."[115]

Luther's interest was not confined to the homeland. His interest included all nations. He was anxious that lands beyond Germany should enjoy the fruits of his movement. "Luther seizes every opportunity offered by a text of the Divine Word in order to remind believers of the distress of the'Heathen and the Turk' and earnestly urges them to pray in their behalf, and to send missionaries to them."[116]

His contribution to language and literature was also important. He gave form to the German language. Heine writes: "He translated the Bible from a language which had ceased to exist, into one which had not yet arrived..... Our dear master's thoughts had not only wings but hands; his faults have been more useful to us than the virtues of better men; how Luther got the language into which he translated the Bible is to this hour, incomprehensible to me."

In like manner he left his impress upon poetry and music. Luther himself was no mean poet and hymnist. He translated and remodeled Latin hymns and also sung his own German compositions, which he set to music. He was often spoken of as "the Wittenberg Nightingale." His "Ein Feste Burg" is sung in many languages. His hymns had a great power in his work. The Jesuit Adam Contzen says "the hymns of Luther have ruined more souls than all his writings and sermons."

From a popular point of view, no result of Luther's work stands out so prominently as modern civil and religious liberty. Frederick the Great wrote: "Had Luther done nothing else but liberate the princes and the people from the servile bondage under which the dominion of the Roman papacy held them, he would deserve to have a monument erected as the Liberator of his country."

His stand for freedom of thought at Worms and also his fearless ignoring of the Papal Bull were steps towards modern religious and civil freedom.

His activity involved the idea of courage. This rests back

115 Peter, p. 11.
116 Schaff-Herzog.

upon his practical mysticism, "the ordering of the life of an individual upon the basis of the sensation of some form of immediate communion with God."[117] It was such a sense of personal communion with God and sense of guidance that lead Luther in his work. He writes: "God does not conduct, but drives me, and carries me forward. I am not master of my own actions.. I would gladly live in peace, but I am cast into the midst of tumult and changes."[118]

It was this consciousness of guidance that established his confidence in God. In going up to the Diet of Worms he was cautioned, "There are plenty of cardinals and bishops at Worms. You will be burnt alive, and your body reduced to ashes, as they did with John Huss." To this Luther replied: "Though they should enkindle a fire, whose flames should reach from Worms to Wittenberg, and rise up to heaven, I would go through it in the name of the Lord, and stand before them. I would enter the jaws of the behemoth, break his teeth, and confess the Lord Jesus Christ."[119]

V. SUMMARY.

By heredity, temperament, environment, and education, Luther was destined to develop a mystical element in his nature. This element is seen in his views of nature, his life experiences, and his formal theological teachings.

Luther's mysticism did not lead him into extremes, in fact he had difficulties with the fanatics and extreme mystics. He did not exalt feeling at the expense of the reason and the will. His active life is an evidence that his mysticism did not lead him into inactive contemplation, rather, was it an impelling force in his life.

Armstrong writes: "Mysticism is a subordinate trait in his character, if not as some would have it the mainspring of his religious experience. The movement, also, which Luther heads, in spite of its divergence from the ancient forms, is aglow with fervor, pulsating under the influence of a deep spiritual life."[120]

North Liberty, Iowa.

117 Royce, Studies in Good and Evil. Meister Eckhart.
118 Morris, p. 53.
119 Ibid.
120 Armstrong: Transitional Eras in Thought, p. 61.

ARTICLE IV.

THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST.[1]

BY PROFESSOR LUDWIG IHMELS.

The Christian religion claims to announce a unique message of glad tidings. That Christianity makes this claim will certainly not be denied anywhere in the confused labyrinth of present-day opinions. Whether this unique claim is justified or not is a question which calls forth warm discussion even among those who call themselves Christians. Some deny the general claim that religion contains the *summum bonum* of the human race. Others deny that the Christian religion in particular possesses this *summum bonum* in its most complete form. Among the latter there are two classes. The one class expect to reach the religious ideal by a comparison of religions past and present. The other class expect that the historical development of the future will bring forth this ideal by virtue of an inner necessity. But the vast majority seek to construct their own religion whether for good or for evil. It may therefore easily occur to the humble individual who has a living part in the present to ask himself whether this unique claim of historical Christianity can still be justified and maintained. Is it really worth while even to-day yet to devote a whole life to the Gospel as historical Christianity has proclaimed it?

This is the question which we shall seek to answer in this article. But first we shall have to determine what to regard as the real content of the Gospel which historical Christianity has proclaimed. One might think indeed that after two thousand years of Christian history there could no longer be any question

1 Translated from the German by Professor Abdel Ross Wentz. This brochure is the second number of the seventh series of *Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen* published by Edwin Runge in Gr. Lichterfelde, Berlin. Each series of these popular booklets includes twelve numbers and costs M. 4.80. They are edited by Professor Kropatscheck of Breslau and embrace contributions from the pens of a large number of positive German theologians. They aim to inform all classes of intelligent people on all subjects of religious and theological bearing.

In this essay Professor Ihmels has presented as briefly and popularly as possible the case for the Gospel of the old faith which believes in the deity of Jesus Christ as over against those who teach that Christ's Gospel was not the Gospel of Christ. For a brief statement of Professor Ihmel's theological method see the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. XL, No. 3, pp. 392 sqq.

on this point. As a matter of fact, however, this problem receives to-day the most widely divergent variety of answers. We cannot here even attempt to sketch the manifold differences in the understanding of the Gospel. But there is one question which we cannot pass by unnoticed. It is fundamental and decisive. And that is the problem whether the rightful Gospel of the Church of Jesus is merely the Gospel which Jesus proclaimed or is it also the Gospel of the Person of Jesus Christ? If the question concerning the absolute character of the Christian religion be regarded as the chief religious problem of the present day, we may say that this problem just mentioned is the chief problem to-day within the Christian Church. All the points of difference at issue among those who still hold to the Church of Christ may in the final analysis be reduced to this one, whether Jesus is the subject or the object of His Gospel.

Concerning the answer of the Church there can be no doubt on this point. The Gospel which she has proclaimed has always been the glad tidings of Christ's Person. Of course these tidings she also claims to have *from* Jesus. And as soon as the Church ceases to regard Jesus as the *source* of the Gospel her judgment is pronounced. But He is not only the source of the Church's proclamation but His Person is also the central content of that Gospel as Jesus Himself willed and as the apostles announced in his name. Jesus Christ is the Gospel. Nevertheless, for wide circles of Christians the two ideas, Jesus as source and Jesus as content of the Gospel, are mutually exclusive of each other. The effort is made to retain the Gospel of Jesus, but Jesus Himself is not to have any place in that Gospel. Jesus, it is claimed, never wished to include His own Person in His Gospel, but the proclamation of later generations did Him the injustice of placing Him in His message. Protest is made in the name of religion against making of the Christian faith a faith in Jesus Christ.

In the name of religion,—I have used the phrase to express the awful seriousness of the entire question. For this is by no means a historical question. It is really of the gravest import for practical Christian piety. This is manifest even from the method of procedure employed by the opponents to the Church's conception of the Gospel. They very seldom treat the subject in its historical aspect but almost always from a purely religious

point of view. And it is even made to appear as if the rejection of faith in Christ's Person serves the interest of genuine piety and furthers the progress of Christian consciousness.

For example, attention is sometimes called to the undeniable fact that religion can only be a present and immanent relation of fellowship with God. The only matter of importance in my religion is that I have God or rather that God have me, and that now. But is not this simple relationship involved in danger when a certain group of historical facts or a historical personality is made the decisive factor in religion? To have religion is to have God. Why then should faith in Jesus Christ be interposed between the believer and his God? Will not the faith in Jesus Christ of necessity exclude the faith in God, or at least make the way to God cumbersome and circuitous? Is it not indeed necessary from the very nature of the case that the very essence of evangelical faith is endangered when historical facts are imported to constitute its kernel? Faith, in the evangelical sense of the term, can only mean implicit confidence in God. But if the facts of history are made to constitute its content does not faith of necessity resolve itself again into outward intellectual assent?

We may give the question still a slightly different turn and thus indicate its awful seriousness. Genuine religion is a simple somewhat. Be it understood, religion is not a matter of course; it is just the opposite of that. But it is a plain and simple entity, accessible to all and comprehensible in all its seriousness. The more we complicate religion, the more we endanger its seriousness. Why then should we try to confuse the simple fact that religion has to do with only two entities and their mutual relations: God and man, man and God? What are we profitted by interposing any historical facts whatever, even the so-called facts of redemption? Some, it is claimed, take up their abode on these facts, fight for them, demand that men "believe" them, and thereby they forget the real earnestness of religion. Others use this demand of "belief" in historical facts as an argument against the possibility of religion for a thinking personality. And still others, the best of all, believe the facts to their own destruction because they never reach the redeeming thought that religion has only to do with the immanent experience of the divine. These arguments are made in the name of religion.

It is evident that we do not intend to veil anything here. On the contrary we wish to give frank and open expression to thoughts with which many are busied to-day and which everyone may at some time or other find more or less perplexing. In this way alone we may hope for an understanding of the sense and propriety of the Church's Gospel proclamation. As a matter of fact it would be difficult to reckon the consequence to the Church and her Gospel if she had no answer to these questions which we have proposed. Can a Gospel continue to be called a Gospel if it endangers or encumbers the way to God? Indeed we might ask whether such a Gospel could substantiate its claim to be real.

Nevertheless, in the final analysis everyone will admit that general considerations can not be decisive on these points. Reality alone can make the final decision. What then is the reality involved in the Gospel as God willed it? Or is it utterly impossible to determine that? Must we be satisfied with the assertion that the answer depends upon the taste of the individual and that different individuals may with equal right answer the question quite differently? It can not be denied that many earnest Christians take this position to-day and we can readily understand how the apparent magnanimity of this attitude would seem to commend it as the way of safety in the present crisis. As a matter of fact, however, this way is utterly impossible, and it is of the utmost importance that this be made clear. A Gospel which depends upon ourselves in any way ceases to be a Gospel. The very essence of glad tidings lies in the fact that they announce a reality that can fill me with joy. The glad tidings therefore stand or fall with the reality of their content. What would we say in our daily lives concerning a message of glad tidings if it were accompanied with a postscript stating that it is questionable whether the facts are exactly as announced and that this point must finally be left to the judgment of the individual to determine? Much more may we ask, how are we to look upon a Gospel which is to constitute our inner life but which each may construct according to his taste? No, here there is an absolute alternative. Either the message of glad tidings which God has caused to be announced to us is a reality, in which case we are bound absolutely to proclamation of this reality. Or we must avoid entirely the question concerning the

reality of the Gospel proclaimed by the Church, in which case the Gospel ceases at once to be glad tidings. It is a most vital question therefore what we are to regard as the reality in the Gospel as God willed it.

There is only one way to answer this question definitely, and that is to ask for the testimony of the earliest divine witnesses to this Gospel, and finally to go back to the Lord Himself. For His authority the Church must recognize in some sense at least so long as she confesses Him and calls upon His name. Of course no one can be compelled to content himself with the Gospel which results from such an investigation as this. A person can refuse to recognize the authority of the apostles and of Jesus and can apparently justify his procedure. But then he withdraws himself entirely from the historical continuity of the Gospel. And if these authorities are completely rejected it must be regarded as utterly impossible to determine what God meant to be the content of the Gospel. But only after the divine meaning of the Gospel has been determined can the question be raised as to its reality and truth. Thus we have designated the task which we shall seek to accomplish in the following pages. In the first place we shall investigate the problem what to regard as the original Gospel as willed by the first witnesses and by the Lord Himself. And in the second place, we shall at least indicate, if only briefly, how to reach a correct understanding and conviction of the reality and truth of this Gospel.[2]

II.

First, then, what is that Gospel originally proclaimed in the Church which Jesus established? This question at least we can answer with complete historical certainty. Improbable as it may seem it is nevertheless a positive fact that the answer to historical questions can seldom be determined with such accuracy as in this case. We often meet with the conception, especially among the laity, that the work of Biblical criticism has re-

2. More complete and detailed development of the questions discussed here Professor Ihmels has made in the following publications from his pen: *Wer war Jesus, was wollie Jesus?* 4th ed. 1907. *Jesus und Paulvs* in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1906. *Christliche Wahrheitsgewissheit*, 2nd ed. 1907. *Wie werden wir der christlichen Wahrheit gewiss?* 2nd ed. 1910. *Centralfragen der Dogmatic in der Gegenwart* 1911. A. R. W.

duced the New Testament to a heap of ruins with naught of positive worth. This conception is entirely false. There still remain many open questions, it is true, but in general we may say that the criticism of the last one hundred years has served to establish beyond question the trustworthiness of those New Testament writings which are especially valuable for their documentary evidence concerning the primitive Gospel. I have in mind especially the four chief letters of Paul, Romans, Galatians, and First and Second Corinthians. Their genuineness can not be seriously questioned. And even if we had nothing but these four we could with ease and certainty construct a complete portrait of the Pauline proclamation. Not only does Paul in these writings actually develop his Gospel in all its aspects, but he also gives repeated emphatic expression to those points which constitute for him the central content of the Gospel.

Let us recall the opening of the 15th chapter of First Corinthians. There has arisen in the Corinthian Church a doubt concerning the Resurrection and this leads the apostle to repeat in brief the Gospel which he had preached to them in person: Christ who died for our sins and rose again according to the Scriptures. In view of the argument which Paul here presents it is really very remarkable that it should still occasionally be considered a very complicated question what the apostle regards as the proper content of the Gospel. He says here very expressly and with all the seriousness of which this serious man is capable that his readers can be saved solely and alone through the Gospel which he has preached to them and which they still hold. Now if we may assume that the apostle was clear in his own mind as to what he wanted, there certainly can be no doubt about the central content of the Gospel as he conceived it.

Essentially the same conclusion may be gathered from what Paul says in II Cor. 5:19 sqq. concerning the content of the Word which is to be preached in the Church. He is writing here of reconciliation. This reconciliation is effected in that Him who knew no sin God made to be sin on our behalf, that we might become the righteousness of God in Him. The apostle is evidently thinking of the sentence of judgment passed upon sin in the death of Jesus.

Finally I would call attention to that part of Romans which contains such an instructive expression of the Pauline Gospel.

Here in the very disposition of the letter we see clearly what is the principal thought of Paul's evangel. In chapter 1:16, 17, the apostle expresses briefly what he considers the main idea of the Gospel, namely, the revelation of the righteousness which God works. Then from 1:18 to 3:20, he proves negatively that outside of Jesus Christ the righteousness of God cannot be attained either by Jews or by heathen. Then (3:21-26) comes the positive element. This positive element consists of the message that in Jesus Christ, that is in the redemption completed in His death, God's righteousness had actually been achieved. And again at the close of the 4th chapter (4:24 sqq.) everything is reduced to the formula that Jesus Christ died for our sins and rose again for righteousness' sake.

These brief references will serve to orientate us for the present. We have seen that there are two elements closely related to each other which receive special prominence in Paul's evangel. First, his Gospel is throughout the Gospel of Christ's Person. Jesus Christ is its sole content. To reach an unmistakable conviction of this fact we need but to read aloud the opening verses of I Corinthians. In nine verses we meet the name of Jesus nine times and twice in addition He is distinctly referred to. Secondly, with reference to the details of Christ's Person and Work special emphasis is placed upon His death and resurrection. Of course these two facts can not be isolated. There are occasional suggestions that the death of Jesus is closely connected with His life. (Rom. 5:19; Phil. 2:8). And that the resurrection of Jesus must not be considered an isolated event is a matter of course with Paul. On the one hand it forms the final act in the historical redemptory work of Christ, and on the other hand it furnishes the Christian Church with the assurance that this historical Christ is also her living Lord to-day. Nevertheless the fact remains that in Paul's preaching the entire emphasis is placed upon the death and resurrection of Jesus.

Now we can understand that at this point the question might arise: Is all that really Gospel? Can it be considered a message of glad tidings that some one has died and risen again? This question is often answered to-day with a very emphatic "No." Just here, it is claimed, is the immense inferiority of Paul's Gospel as compared with the proclamation of Jesus himself. Jesus, so it is said, knew only that religion consists of man's

fellowship with God; whereas Paul resolves Christian piety into intellectual assent to historical facts, in the final analysis a faith in dogmas.

Is this charge justifiable? Does Paul need to be corrected on his conception of Christian piety? Does he really fail to see that religion consists in having God? That would be very strange for Saul already saw that very clearly. There can not be the least bit of doubt that the whole life of Saul had but one content, namely, God. He was with his whole life a searcher after God. Even the persecution of the disciples of Jesus he regarded as a divine service. Purely psychologically considered it is impossible to conceive that the entire fundamental attitude of his life towards God should have completely changed at the time of his conversion. At any rate Paul himself did not so regard the matter. He was thoroughly convinced that only in his conversion had he really found God. Nor can we say, as one of the mediators in theology has asserted, that through his faith in Jesus Christ Paul merely drew near to the God of his fathers. He himself knew very well that in his conversion he had found the very God whom he had been seeking before and whom he had thought he possessed. This is a fact we dare not lose sight of. It must be fixed clearly in mind.

To that end we must speak of that radically important experience of the apostle which became decisive for all the rest of his life. I refer of course to the days of Damascus. Here is actually the key to an understanding of the entire Pauline Gospel. Not that this Gospel is merely a deposit of the apostle's personal experience. Paul is keenly conscious of the fact that he owes his Gospel to a revelation. But this revelation would not have been possible without the days of Damascus. They were the psychological medium. If this can be made plain it will be evident at once that Paul's Gospel can not be called a dead dogma. A message that is based upon a personal experience can not possibly be barren dogma.

What then may we regard as the net result of the experience at Damascus? In its subjective aspect it meant a complete collapse of the former ideals and attainments of the apostle. Saul was already a searcher after God, as we have said. Saul knew already that a person can not enter into fellowship with God unless he be righteous in God's sight. But at the same time the Phari-

see knew of no other way to attain this righteousness than through his own works. This he considered necessary and possible. And Paul himself in reviewing his past declares that he was "blameless as touching the righteousness which is in the law" (Phil. 3:6). It may be difficult for us to conceive that such a conscientious man as Paul should not now and then have doubted whether his efforts at self-righteousness had really vindicated him before God. But one thing is certain, that the Pharisee had no other way of overcoming such doubts except to seek through new zeal to work out his righteousness before God. As long as Paul continued to hold fast to Pharisaic ideals of piety he could never be satisfied without continuously convincing himself that his good works were in the majority. This entire conception of justifying himself before God continued to rule in Paul's mind until the days of Damascus. There it suffered an utter and absolute collapse. In the first place, the persecution of the Church was seen to be an immense mistake. This persecution Saul had undertaken in God's name. It had been in a sense the very crown of his life hitherto. When this work was seen to be a mistake his entire previous calling was rendered vain, his achievements nil. The pious man who had thought to justify himself before God became the chief of sinners. Saul was involved in complete insolvency.

In fact such a violent collapse in bankruptcy can not but evoke our sincere sympathy. It is always more or less pathetic when a person of mature years is compelled to change the entire direction of his life. But we are certain in saying that history has seen few inner revolutions like that which Saul experienced in the days of Damascus. Just because his pious works had constituted the sole and only content of his former life does their collapse constitute the complete collapse of his personal life. Paul would not have survived this if he had not at the same time come into possession of a new inner content for his life. Indeed, a sharp psychological analysis would indicate that the collapse of the old is conceivable only in connection with the gaining of a new content.

But what was the new element which Paul received during these days? An easy answer seems to lie in the view that Paul too had learned to regard Jesus as the Messiah of Israel. But this includes something more. If Jesus could become the Mes-

siah for Paul it must have filled his entire messianic conception with new content. For what was it that had made it impossible for Saul to believe in Jesus as the Messiah? In the first place, apparently the fact that like the rest of his people he had positively no use for a Messiah who had died on the cross. But this forces us to ask why they could not clear away this ground of offense and accept the message of the crucified Messiah. Fortunately, we know exactly where the difficulty lay for Paul and his fellow-countrymen. Paul himself gives us this information on several occasions. For example, in his letter to the Romans (10 : 3 sqq.) he declares that Israel was hindered from believing in Jesus through the circumstances that they sought to work out their own righteousness. Now if we may believe again that the apostle knew why he had rejected the Messiah, this may be regarded as his reason. This hindrance to his faith was removed, as we saw, in the days of Damascus. And for that reason the new conception of the matter must begin at this point. What was this new conception?

Let us recall what the situation of Paul was. Saul already had employed all his powers in the effort to attain the righteousness of God and he believed that he could claim the witness of a good conscience before God. This he thought was made sure by the zeal with which he persecuted the young Church of the Crucified One. But then the Persecuted One had manifested Himself to Saul as still living and that gave a new aspect to the entire subject. But deep as was the inner emotion which he had experienced, two facts remained clear as day. In the first place that he had been right in his search after the righteousness of God. The means which he had employed were not the proper ones, it is true, but the end which he had sought was entirely proper and this he continued to keep in view. But while in his former efforts he had denied the Messiaship of Jesus he has now come to a very different conviction. And this new view of Jesus' Messiaship Paul had to relate to his efforts at the righteousness of God. In the second place, it became clear to Saul in his conversation that Jesus' death on the cross had actually a divine significance. The real difficulty for the apostle was to conceive how one who had died on the accursed cross could be the Messiah of God. On this point Paul had to reach an entirely new conception. Even this death on the cross must in some way be made compatible

with the central effort of the apostle's life. This is the situation in which Paul's new understanding of the Person and Work of Jesus had its origin.

We can not stop here to investigate how much of this new conception grew out of the primitive apostolic proclamation, or out of a new understanding of Old Testament prophecy, or out of certain elements in contemporary Jewish thought. At any rate Paul felt very keenly that he had received his new understanding of Jesus by divine revelation. The solution at which he arrived was however a very simple one. He held fast to the view that the crucifixion was a curse and the crucified one accursed. But Paul had learned to add: He became a curse for us (Gal. 3:13). Even after his conversion Paul continued to hold that Jesus in His death was a sinner, or as he says, God made Him "pure sin." But Paul understands now that this was done in order that in this Jesus Christ we might become God's righteousness (II Cor. 5:21). We may say that in these two short words "for us" lies the key to the new conception which Paul received in the days of Damascus. His view of Jesus' Person is completely changed and his ideals of piety are thoroughly made over. Indeed it may be said that in these few days the new conception of religion which is peculiar to Christianity was vividly and actually realized as never before nor since.

And what is this new religious conception peculiar to Christianity? The crucial question in every religion is how to bring about fellowship between God and man. Even in the heathen religions there is always the idea, though sometimes very indistinct, that the worshipper must somehow draw near to God. Only two answers seem possible to this question. Either man must work his way to God, or God can of His own accord establish fellowship with man. All non-Christian religions answer this problem with the first of these two alternatives. In every heathen religion the worshipper must seek to appease the diety through his own works, through his own offerings and his own propitiations. And in the final analysis the Pharisaic piety belongs in this same category, even if there was some conception of divine grace. In the genuine religious piety of the Old Testament it is not so. The religion of the Old Testament in the final analysis rests decidedly upon God's deed. But this divine deed is conditioned upon the law, and just here is where Phari-

saism came in with its plausible claim to be the genuine representative of Old Testament religion. That this religion of the Pharisees was impossible for Paul became manifest in that experience of which we have spoken. Henceforth he knows that no man can in his own strength compel God to enter into fellowship with him. On the contrary, he experienced the exact opposite, namely, that God has Himself laid strong hand upon his life and has with might forced him to face about and to enter into fellowship with Himself. But this Paul experienced as an inner divine revelation of the Son of God (Gal. 1:15 sq.) made righteousness for him, to take the place of the righteousness which Paul had sought within himself (Phil. 3:8 sqq.) This was indeed something quite new. Henceforth Paul lived no longer in the righteousness which he himself had achieved but only in the righteousness which God had wrought out in Christ Jesus. No longer what he himself had done, but what God had done in Jesus Christ is the basis of his entire life. This becomes henceforth the current of all his preaching. His sole theme is that one's own righteousness is naught but that God has wrought out in the crucified and risen Christ the righteousness which justifies in His sight. In one word, Paul's preaching is nothing but witness to the fact that God has in Jesus Christ reconciled the world to Himself and henceforth freely offers His fellowship to all who desire it.

These paragraphs have served to show that Paul in his faith in Jesus Christ was impelled not by any lifeless dogmatic belief but by a simple unmistakable religious experience. Paul clearly and consciously experienced the irreconcilable distinction between the old and the new. In this he occupies a unique position among the apostles. He must therefore have been exceptionally clear in his own mind as to the purpose of his faith in Christ. There can not possibly therefore be any doubt as to what Paul sought and found in his faith in the Christ who died for our sins, rose again, and now intercedes for us at the right hand of God (Rom. 8:34). What he sought and found was nothing other than the assurance of fellowship with God, which raised him far above the limitations of life and brought him the completion of his personal life (Rom. 8:28-39). Everything else therefore that might be said concerning Paul's Gospel must be related to this one fact. We have already shown that Paul understood it

to mean faith in Christ. We might also show that he understood it to mean a spiritual life. The two ideas are not the same. A superficial consideration of the various passages might indeed make the impression that the two ideas run parallel and are of equal importance for Paul. As a matter of fact the line of thought which we have just followed is by far the more important of the two. What Paul meant by his spiritual life can only be understood in the light of what he says concerning faith in Christ. The life in the spirit means for Paul that constant potent nearness of God which comes alone through faith in Jesus Christ. The central content of his Christian faith is faith in Christ. In other words, it is faith in the exalted living Lord. What the Lord signifies for the faith of the Christian grows entirely out of the work of His life. In this sense, therefore, it may also be said that the death and resurrection of Christ constitute the main content of Paul's Gospel.

In his attitude towards the central facts of the Gospel Paul is thoroughly at one with the other apostles. Paul's Gospel has of course its characterizing individuality. Paul himself was keenly alive to that fact. That grows out of the fact that the former Pharisee had to have a living experience of the Gospel truth in all its consequences in order that Saul might become Paul, that the persecutor of the Church might become the great missionary apostle. That is why Paul in his preaching follows the contrast between the old and the new into its utmost consequences. That is why this new religious experience becomes the fertile source of all the rich variety of graces in the Christian life. And above all that is why the application is made so consistently to the missionary enterprise. But these peculiarities of Paul's Gospel dare not close our eyes to the fact that so far as the main content is concerned, Paul's Gospel is entirely the same as that of the other apostles.

The proofs for this statement can of course only be indicated here. In the first place, it must at least be admitted that Paul himself regarded his Gospel as in thorough harmony with that of the other apostles. He says very clearly that he has simply handed down what he himself had received (I Cor. 15:1 sqq.) And he adds the express reminder that it does not matter whether the Christians follow his preaching or that of another (v. 11). This statement of Paul is everywhere borne out by the other New

Testament writings. Wherever the plan of the Gospel is explained the central feature is the Crucified and Risen One. Now of course a strenuous effort might be made to show that the entire apostolic message has been derived directly or indirectly from Paul, but even if that were correct, the fact would still remain that we have no other Gospel than the Pauline which we have described. As a matter of fact, however, that view can not be maintained. No matter how we date the New Testament writings, no matter how great we regard the influence of Paul, we certainly can not conceive that the first witnesses of the Gospel who had lived with the Lord and had received His instructions, would have permitted the newcomer Paul to force upon them a Gospel which contradicted the main feature of their own message.

And finally we may add that Paul's writings themselves show with complete certainty that so far as the central content of the Gospel is concerned there could not have been any contradiction between Paul and the other apostles. Paul's letters give such a lively picture of the times that if any such fundamental contradiction had existed it must have been reflected in them. We learn, as a matter of fact, that Paul's Gospel had to struggle against opposition from various quarters. And it is significant that all the opposition of which we hear grows out of the consequences which Paul drew from his Gospel message. But there is not the least shadow of any indication that Paul met any opposition whatever to his message of the redemptory significance of Christ's death and resurrection. Consider, for example, such a scene as that described in Gal. 2:11 sqq. If we may assume that the apostle gives us anything like a true account of this event which must have been of decisive import for the primitive Church, then one fact is undeniable, namely, that even at the time of Paul's disagreement with Peter the two were fully agreed that we can become righteous in God's sight not by the works of the law but alone through faith in Jesus Christ. This incident clearly illuminates the harmony which existed in the primitive Church concerning the main content of the Gospel message. Paul was quite right: One Lord, one faith, one baptism (Eph. 4:5).

III.

But one serious question may arise at this point. Were the apostles right in basing their message on the authority of Jesus? What we have already said will apply with weight to this question also. For it is difficult to conceive that those whom the Lord Himself had called should have placed themselves in contradiction to His real intentions by making Him the object of their faith. In that case we should have to return to the position taken forty years ago by Legarde of Göttingen, that Jesus was unfortunate and unsuccessful in His disciples. This view would of course completely nullify the Christian's faith in God's foreknowledge and providence. At least I can not see how we could still believe in a divine guidance of the Church, if the primitive congregation which bore the name of Christ had been deceived by Christ's own disciples concerning the content of His Gospel message. Can we believe that a provident God would have permitted this falsehood to continue through all the history of the Church, only to be discovered and laid bare by our own times?

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that such a general consideration can not be finally decisive on this point. We must ask for the personal testimony of Jesus Himself. It will facilitate matters if we limit ourselves for the present to the Synoptic witness of Jesus. It is of course utterly impossible to disregard entirely the Johannean evidence concerning Jesus as wide circles to-day still continue to do with impunity. But it is our effort here to secure as broad a basis as possible for a common understanding. We can afford, therefore, to limit ourselves entirely to the Synoptics and to show what a final and decisive answer these gospels give to the question concerning Jesus' witness to His own Person.

It is undeniable that the first impression made by the Synoptics may be that the self-witness of Jesus is essentially different from the Pauline evangel, especially in its main feature. Even a superficial reading shows that Jesus did not everywhere place His own Person at the center of His Gospel at least not to the extent that Paul did. The opening of First Corinthians has no parallel in the Synoptic gospels. Is not that perhaps due, it is asked, to the fact that Jesus takes a different view of humanity

from what Paul does? Paul's entire Gospel presupposes, as we have seen, that all men have sinned and that neither Jews nor Gentiles can attain a righteousness which shall be pleasing to God (Rom. 1:18-3:20). Jesus, it is claimed, viewed the matter quite differently. Did not his ethical requirements appeal simply to man's own powers? And does He not assume even that men could be perfect as the Father in heaven is perfect? And does not that mean in the final analysis that Jesus' conception of practical piety is very different from that of Paul? With Paul redemption is entirely the work of God, grace is its sole content. Jesus, on the other hand, repeatedly urged the practice of the commandments when men asked for the way of life (Lk. 10:25 sqq.; Mk. 10:17 sqq.). Doesn't that mean that Jesus really makes man the author of his own salvation?

This is the decisive point to begin with in order to understand the relation of Paul and Jesus. If, indeed, Jesus advocated a fundamentally different view of religious piety from what Paul did, the case is decided. But every serious thinker will realize the impossibility of the idea that Jesus' reference to the demands of the law (Mk. 10:17 sqq., etc.), was intended to be His final word concerning the way of life. However that reference and similar references are to be understood, it is certainly not intended to be an account of the full way of salvation.

In the first place, if such were the case Jesus' message would cease to be a Gospel. Jesus would become merely a new preacher of the law. We might of course find one advance upon the Old Testament in the fact that Jesus deepened the ethical demands of the law and followed them into their utmost consequences. But it would be exceedingly difficult to draw the lines of distinction. Even the prophets of the Old Covenant had already in their day greatly deepened the ethical demands of the law. And Jesus Himself presupposed on the part of those who questioned Him a certain understanding of the fact that the chief requisite in fulfilling the law is love to God and love to fellowmen. Of course, the fact remains undeniable that Jesus' Sermon on the Mount marks a distinct advance upon all previous efforts at deepening the ethical demands of the law (The Ethics of Sinai).

But the great distinction lies not in any ethical advance but in the fact that Jesus' entire system of ethics is grounded on a religious basis. That is its characteristic element. Men do not become

the children of God because they are perfect, but because the disciples of Jesus feel themselves to be the children of God they are to become perfect (Matt. 5:48). But that means that Jesus' message is by no means merely an emphasizing of the law but that it is first and foremost a message of glad tidings from the Father in heaven. In fact, if Jesus merely emphasized the demands of the law as a means of obtaining eternal life He would occupy a lower position than certain parts of the Old Testament, as has been indicated above. And all Jesus' emphasis of the law would simply have served to increase the burden which he imposed. His message would no longer be a Gospel, no longer a message of glad tidings. But even here the bold assertion has recently been made that it was only in the later course of events that Jesus' proclamation came to be changed into an evangel of good tidings. This assertion, however, has met with little favor. It would do utter violence to our sources. As Jesus began with a call to faith in the Gospel (Mk. 1:15), so His entire message was a Gospel message. We dare not therefore regard the emphasis of the law as the chief content of His preaching.

In the second place, if Jesus was only a prophet of the religion of the law how are we to explain the historical fact of His conflict with the Pharisees? There would have been no such conflict if Jesus had held and taught that men can and must work their way to God through their own efforts. Surely it will not suffice to assume that Jesus only interpreted the law differently from the Pharisees. There was indeed an immense difference in this respect, and one point, the observance of the Sabbath, was one of the chief factors in bringing the conflict to an issue. But be it remembered that even in this matter of Sabbath observance the real point at issue is not a matter of outward form. The difficulty could not have been removed by mutual concessions on the question of keeping the Sabbath. The difficulty rests upon the fact that the fundamental religious position of Jesus is radically opposed to that of the Pharisees. When Jesus made the bold statement that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath (Mk. 2:27), the Pharisees simply could not understand Him. For them the chief point in observing the Sabbath was the ceremonial perormance which they offered to God. Jesus wished to represent the Sabbath as a gift from God to man. Thus the fundamental difference between the two religious sys-

tems is illustrated by this question concerning the Sabbath. The Pharisees saw that Jesus was discrediting the very basis of their religious position. How serious they considered the difference between themselves and Jesus is shown in the inimitable scorn with which they say of Jesus: This man receives sinners (Lk. 15:2). Jesus was absolutely intolerable in their sight because their entire religious system, upon which they had built a ladder to heaven was to be nullified and the sinner through grace alone draws nearer to God than they do.

In the third place, we must conclude that the Pharisees were entirely correct and consistent when they fought the entire proclamation of Jesus. It was diametrically opposed to their own system. The Sermon on the Mount, in which Jesus lays the greatest stress upon the demands of the law, begins with a series of beatitudes and those who are pronounced blessed are the very ones who can not possibly make any contribution towards their own bliss. Beggars shall inherit the Kingdom of God, and the hungry shall be satisfied with righteousness. These sentences sound like a platform and they recur again and again in Jesus' preaching and dealing with men. The Pharisee who exults in his own righteousness Jesus pictures as going home without justification in the sight of God. The publican, on the other hand, who comes to God with nothing but a sigh for mercy receives forgiveness and grace (Lk. 18:9 sqq.). Furthermore, Jesus always gathers about Him those who clearly realize that they can bring nothing to God. And whoever comes to Jesus with the burden of sin receives forgiveness in God's name (Matt. 9:2). Some are filled with wonder; others are scandalized. Jesus is surprised at both classes. What He does seems to Him such a matter of course. Do we not take it as a matter of course that the sick and not the well need the physician (Matt. 9:12)?

As a matter of fact this point has to do not merely with single details of Jesus' message but with its content in its entirety. For at the very center of the Synoptic message we find the doctrine of the Kingdom of God. This too has recently been denied. But in view of the very general agreement on this point such a denial does not call for earnest consideration. The only question is *how* the message of the Kingdom forms the central feature of the Gospels. Did Jesus' preaching only serve to illustrate the essence of the Kingdom? Certain it is that through His parables

Jesus gave some very interesting descriptions of the Kingdom of God in its various aspects. But He does more than describe the Kingdom. He is always and above all concerned about explaining how the Kingdom comes. That is striking. He makes no effort to correct the erroneous current conceptions of the essence of the Kingdom. It is evident that He expected that these false views would correct themselves if only the real kernel of His own proclamation of the Kingdom was once fully accepted. But this kernel lies in the announcement that the Kingdom is in process of being realized in His own Person (Mk. 1:15). That is the fundamentally new element that comes in Jesus' message.

Less important is the question whether Jesus understood the Kingdom of God to be essentially eschatological or whether He knew of a present kingdom. As a matter of fact both elements must enter into the answer. We can not even indicate here how the one element is to be secured through the other. For our purpose it is sufficient to note the fact that whether Jesus spoke of the Kingdom as present or future, He always regarded it as coming and this coming of the Kingdom is in every case connected with His Own Person. The Kingdom of God can never be produced or brought about by the works of men here below. It comes from above and is wrought out in history by direct divine agency. Those who would have a part in the Kingdom must therefore be content to have it given to them. That does not mean that the Kingdom can not from another point of view be the object of moral effort (Matt. 6:33) or even of serious struggle (Lk. 13:24). But the fact remains that in the final analysis the Kingdom of God must be received from without (Mk. 10:15). That is why Jesus can select the child as the example for those who would have part in the Kingdom (Matt. 18:2 sqq.). The child knows the art of opening his hand and receiving, an art which older persons learn with difficulty. For that reason the child is the master of the grown-ups: the Kingdom of God must be received.

But if the Kingdom of God is to be received from without and cannot be wrought out by man, how are we to regard Jesus' occasional references to the practice of the law as the way to life? It is evident that both of the narratives that come into consideration here (Mk. 10:17-27; Lk. 10:25 sqq.) aim to present Jesus' sayings from a pedagogical point of view. Let us try to realize

what a difficult task Jesus imposed upon Himself when He undertook to preach that salvation is entirely a gift of God. How was He to prepare the soil for such a message in such Pharisaic surroundings? Was He to depend entirely upon the formal statement of His own position? As a matter of fact no man takes it upon the mere statement of another that it is really impossible for him in his own strength even with God's help to attain eternal life. The experienced pastor, when he finds a person honestly striving to make his own way to God, will not expect to dissuade him by any argument about the futility of such strivings. In the final analysis the pastor can do no more than simply ask that the inquiring soul make the serious and earnest attempt thus to attain salvation entirely through his own efforts. What should Jesus have answered those who asked Him what they must "do" to attain eternal life? It is occasionally said that He should have told them plainly that eternal life does not come through their own "deeds." Would that have been wise? No, Jesus could do no better than to give direct answer to the question asked and at the same time try to lead the questioners to the practical task of self-correction.

This is evident in the case of the rich young man who boldly but honestly asserted that he had obeyed the entire law. Jesus tries to show him by a very simple test that he does not love God above all else and that he really cannot. The sadness with which the young man turns away from Jesus proves that Jesus' way was the right one. And Jesus Himself is moved with compassion for the young man. He saw the man's honest and upright purpose but He could not at that moment tell him more than He did. He can however turn to His disciples and say what He would gladly have said to the young man himself: With men it is impossible but with God all things are possible (Mk. 10:27).

Jesus proceedes in the same way with the lawyer who wanted to discuss with Him the idea of "neighbor." Jesus purposely and consciously leads him out of the study chamber into the realities of life (Lk. 10:25). And then it suddenly becomes clear that the real difficulty in the way to eternal life lies not in the difficulty of the concepts but in the difficulty of doing. Would not we to-day under similar circumstances be quick to insist that everything depends not upon the logical disputation but

upon the practical application. Moreover, in Luke's Gospel this narrative of the lawyer and his question follows immediately upon the beatitude concerning those who have been privileged to see in Christ the dawning of the day of salvation (Lk. 10:22).

Of course it goes without saying that Jesus could not have answered in these two cases as He did answer if He had not been persuaded that the fulfilling of the divine will is the matter of prime importance. But Paul, too, was thoroughly persuaded of the same thing. Yes, Paul too knows of a judgment according to works (II Cor. 5:10). It is nothing but a coarse misunderstanding of Paul's theology when he is represented as holding that faith exempts from works. The only difference between Paul and Jesus is that Paul had no occasion in the course of his doctrinal writings to adopt the pedagogical procedure of Jesus. Moreover, Paul's doctrine of justification presupposes that the law has done its work in the individual. And however we interpret the details of Rom. 7:7-25, this passage as a whole is at any rate a very striking proof that Paul understood that man can in the works of the law bring himself to the point of despair, and indeed must. Only through this thought does the apostle come to the triumphant experience with which the entire passage closes: "I thank God through Jesus Christ."

But since Jesus wished to lead His hearers first of all to a serious effort at keeping the divine law, He could not in the same breath mitigate the seriousness of His demand by an untimely reminder of the sinful inability of man. It is poor pedagogy which renders ineffective the majestic conclusion of the commandments in the Small Catechism by warning the children prematurely not to think that they can obey these demands. This method of procedure is thought to furnish a good transition to the second part of the Catechism, but in reality it closes the way for the children to come to an inner experience of the transition. This transition from law to Gospel the children must experience and that fact should somehow be told them at this point in the Catchism. They must realize within their own hearts that no man can stand before the majesty of God's requirements. But this must be a matter of experience with them as with others and this experience they will be sure to have in proportion as they are unreservedly impressed with the solemn duty of obeying the divine will. So Jesus wished to bring men

to the knowledge that "with men it is impossible." But He wanted them to experience that fact. For that purpose He was obliged to appeal purely and simply to their wills and could not add statements of truths whose understanding He knew must be gained by the men themselves. Moreover an occasional isolated expression from Jesus' mouth indicates what He thought of human sin, for example, "Ye then being evil." (Matt. 7:11). The more incidental such remarks are, the more characteristic are they of Jesus' thought on the subject. He is so thoroughly convinced of the fact that all men are sinful that He expressly teaches His disciples to pray, "Forgive us our debts." When we read Paul it might seem—though it is only in the seeming—as if he knew of no sin on the part of Christians, but Jesus' words leave no doubt on the point. He gives that prayer to His own chosen apostles. He teaches that in life's evening hour the reward for the whole life is of pure grace (Matt. 20:1 sqq.). The apostles who were dreaming of special places in the Kingdom of Heaven are told that these dreams of theirs place them among "the last" and that they are in danger of becoming entirely unfitted for the Kingdom. Through this parable of the laborers in the vineyard Jesus wishes to drive home a truth which on another occasion He illustrated with the object lesson of a child placed in the midst of the disciples, namely, the truth that the Kingdom of Heaven is wholly and entirely a gift (Matt. 18:2).

Now if Jesus taught that the Kingdom of God is a gift, and that too a gift mediated through His own Person, then it easily follows that participation in that Kingdom is conditioned in the final analysis upon union with His Person. Nor is it a valid objection that if Jesus really meant to teach what we have just stated He should have expressed it oftener and more clearly and should have been far more concerned to secure a correct and potent understanding of His Person and His mediatorship. This objection always carries a certain false charm about it. It is necessary for us therefore to consider it more in detail. The argument overlooks a four-fold consideration.

In the first place, this argument of the objector involves an unconscious intellectualism and mistakes the real purpose of Jesus' mission. The purpose of His life was not to give men all manner of instructions about His own Person but to draw

them into the actual communion of the Kingdom of God. And just this is the point which Jesus keeps in mind in all His preaching and working. It is not right to assert, as has sometimes been done, that Jesus saw a child of God in every human being. It is the disciples alone whom He teaches to pray, "Our Father who art in Heaven," and Jesus sometimes expressly states that He can understand it if the heathen vex themselves with cares. But such vexations do not belong to the disciples, for unlike the heathen they know that they have a Father in Heaven (Matt. 6:32). It was this certainty of His Heavenly Father that filled His inner life with its content and attracted and inspired His followers. And it was this that constituted Jesus' real calling. Everything that He had to say about His own Person was secondary to this main purpose.

Now any effort that Jesus might have made to lead men to an understanding of His Person must have been adapted pedagogically to the circumstances. That is the second point to be remembered here. It is a feature that we dare not lose sight of if we are to understand the apostles' lofty appreciation of Jesus' Person, an appreciation which is not without its roots in the Gospel. If we are to suppose that Jesus proceeded wisely in His teaching we can not expect that He could have begun at once by revealing the secret of His Person. Even we are unable to unlock our inmost being to those who do not understand us. And how then could the Eternal Child of God have led men to an understanding of His Person except by first letting His followers experience something in His Person? It is an easy task and the effect is often far from pleasant when men seek to reconstruct the actual facts of history. But here is a case in which we should certainly be unable to conceive any other course for history. We can not conceive how Jesus' testimony concerning Himself could have come in any other way than that in which it did actually come. It might disturb our confidence in the other features of the portrait which the evangelists paint of Jesus if He had sought to bring His followers to a clear knowledge of His Person by any other means than by the gradual progress of the immediate impression which they received from Him.

Jesus' main object was to lead men into inner communion with God in His Kingdom. To that end He could not proceed at once to a complete revelation of His own Person. But in the

third place, it was part of His plan *finally* to reveal His own Person and this as a matter of historical fact He actually did. He led men to faith in His Person through a process of education. We need but to recall what is told us of the day at Caesarea-Philippi (Matt. 16:15 sqq.). Here we see that through all the reserve which Jesus exercised His real aim was finally to bring His disciples to faith in Himself. In that hour he believed that His followers had advanced far enough for Him to ask about their faith concerning Him. And the account indicates that Jesus considered it one of the climaxes of His life when He received from Peter the good confession of faith. This corresponds exactly with other portions of the Gospels. If anyone will fix his attention upon this point he will observe again and again how Jesus Himself refers men to His own Person and binds them to Himself. The burdened and heavy-laden He invites to His bosom (Matt. 11:28). By virtue of His divine power men receive forgiveness of sins from His hand (Matt. 9:2). And not only for the present does He confer benefits but also for the future. Salvation depends upon the attitude toward Him and the confession of Him (Matt. 10:32; Lk. 12:9). In the description of the last judgment the verdict is in the last analysis based upon the attitude towards Him (Matt. 25:31 sqq.). We need but to refer to the significance attached in Jesus' proclamation to such expressions as "for my sake" (e. g. Matt. 5:11; 10:18, 39; 16:25; 19:29) and "in my name" (e. g. Matt. 7:22; 18:20; Mk. 9:37, 38, 39; 13:6) in order to see that He regarded the attitude to God and fellowmen as entirely dependent upon the attitude towards Himself. It is therefore more than a mere form of expression when Jesus occasionally introduces those who have attached themselves to Him as "believers in Him" (Matt. 18:6).

Then, too, in the fourth place, we must understand that from the very necessity of the case, the apostolic proclamation had to bear a different character from that of Jesus' witness concerning Himself. If Jesus taught that everything depends upon the attitude towards Him, then we can easily understand that the apostles must have felt it their duty always to place Him in the very center of their preaching. They were placed under a necessity which Jesus naturally could not feel. The pedagogical reserve which Jesus exercised is dropped entirely from the apos-

tolic proclamation. Those who stood under the immediate impression of Jesus' Person had not yet felt the necessity afterwards felt by the apostles in their preaching to outsiders, the necessity of making Jesus Person the central thought of their proclamation. The chief concern of the apostles in their preaching was not to communicate doctrinal information concerning Jesus. Rather was it to paint Christ before the eyes of their hearers and readers as Paul has so beautifully expressed it to the Galatians (3:1). The Person of Jesus needed to be so carefully portrayed before the people that they could experience in the portrait what the disciples experienced in their immediate contact and association with Jesus Himself. The preaching of Christ as the conscious bearer of the divine Kingdom and as the one who sought to lead His followers to the Father, had to have Christ as its center and as its entire content.

So the fact remains that the apostolic proclamation shows a different character from that of Jesus' witness concerning Himself. But this difference grows out of the difference between their respective tasks and rests upon the essential identity of Jesus' purpose with the purpose of the apostolic witnesses. In both instances Jesus is in His Person bearer of the Kingdom of God and the actual communion with Him is the means of attaining membership in that Kingdom. Only one serious question remains and that is, how far can the apostolic testimony concerning the death and resurrection of Jesus be said to rest upon His own words and deeds. This is the chief point of difficulty for a great many people and here the problems that arise are many.

Among the arguments made to show a conflict in this matter of the resurrection between the apostolic proclamation and that of Jesus Himself there is one which I must confess I have never been able to understand. The argument consists in pointing to the parable of the prodigal son and asserting that this single parable proves Jesus to have been without any thought of attaching redemptory significance to His death. Now it must indeed be admitted that Jesus says nothing in this parable concerning the mediation of God's love through His own death. But that surely does not justify the conclusion which some men draw. On other points it is always admitted that the parable can not be pressed into the details and that we dare not insist

upon finding in them the answers to all sorts of questions. We should emphasize in each parable only the one clear point which that particular parable is intended to illuminate. In this case of the prodigal son, therefore, there can be no doubt that the only point intended to be illustrated is the infinite love of God in its sharp contrast to all merely human conceptions of self-righteousness. Jesus did not intend to say anything at all in this parable concerning the manner in which the divine love is mediated and we dare not seek to draw any information on that subject from what Jesus said or did not say on this occasion. In such cases it is always helpful to try to realize how an effective sermon must treat such a parable. For us who can view the completed activity of Jesus' life-work it is always easy to illustrate the love of God by referring to the Person of Christ and His death. But whoever has made the experiment on the parable of the prodigal son knows how easily such a method of illustration can defeat the very purpose of the parable. The real purpose is to show the sharp contrast between the human and the divine idea of righteousness. And the more powerfully the preacher would present this contrast, the more carefully must he guard against bringing into the discussion questions which do not belong there and which only becloud the real points to be emphasized.

Far more serious are two other objections which are made against the redemptory signification of Jesus' death and resurrection. If such significance actually attaches to those events and if the apostles were right in so preaching, would not Jesus have spoken of it far more frequently and more consistently than He did? And above all, how can such a view of Jesus' death possibly be reconciled with the undeniable fact that Jesus forgave sins before His passion and death?

We shall do well to take up the second question first. We should be confronted in this question with an insoluble difficulty if the apostolic proclamation had made of Jesus' death and resurrection a mere objective physical accomplishment, necessary as such for the forgiveness of sins. In reality however, Paul regards Jesus Christ as the mediator of redemption solely on the ground of His Person, and His work in history is significant only in its bearing upon His Person. So that it does not necessarily involve a contradiction of Paul's thought if Jesus claimed

in His earthly life to forgive sins through His own Person. The only question can be whether if Jesus thus forgave sins His death and resurrection can still be said to have any special significance for the forgiveness of sins.

Then,too, we must understand that if there is any real contradiction here, it does not lie between the proclamation of the apostles and that of Jesus, but must be a self-contradiction within the witness of Jesus Himself. For it is a plain matter of fact that Jesus according to the Synoptics frequently spoke of the redemptory significance of His death. It is simply not correct, as is sometimes asserted, that Jesus tried on only two occasions (see below) to lead His disciples to an understanding of His death. We need but to recall how Jesus at Caesarea-Philippi begins with a witness concerning His passion and death (Matt. 16:21). Three things are to be gathered from that account. In the first place, that the Lord intended from the beginning to lead His disciples to an understanding of His passion and death. We no longer wonder why that did not take place at once. If He had to exercise reserve in His teaching concerning His Person, we can even more readily understand that His witness concerning His passion and death could only begin after a certain understanding of His Person had been attained. In the second place, the account of Jesus' conversation with Peter at Caesarea-Philippi shows as plainly as could be desired that Jesus had good reason to exercise reserve with His testimony concerning His death. Even Peter, the very one who had just made the good confession concerning Jesus' Person, was utterly unable to comprehend Jesus' announcement concerning His passion and death. Nevertheless, in the third place, that account shows that from that time forward Jesus made a positive effort to bring His disciples to an understanding of the secret of His death. And although we have no definite information as to how this was accomplished, yet we cannot but think that it must have been done as indicated by the two expressions definitely transmitted to us. It is true that the authenticity of these utterances has been called into question but no convincing arguments can be made against them.

In the first utterance Jesus begins by placing His death as well as His whole life in the general category of a service rendered and then designates His death more exactly as a ransom paid (Matt. 20:28). We can not stop now to give a detailed

exegesis of the passage. Suffice it to say that the passage leaves no possibility of doubt that the apostolic conception of a redemption in Jesus' death was quite familiar to Jesus Himself during His life. Much more significant on this point is Jesus' utterance on the occasion when He instituted the Lord's Supper (Matt. 26:28). Its authenticity is certain. And the historical value of the utterance can hardly be over-estimated. Jesus' earthly life has come to an end, and according to human ways of looking at things it seems to have ended in a complete collapse of His own aims. Nevertheless, at that very moment Jesus ventures to give expression to the momentous thought that in reality His death is to be the very means of establishing the new covenant based entirely upon the forgiveness of sins. He evidently has in mind both the sealing of the Old Testament covenant as well as the prophecy concerning the new covenant (Jer. 31:31). As the old covenant could not be established without the shedding of blood, so the new covenant will be established through His blood. And this new covenant will be based entirely upon the forgiveness of sins. If Jesus died in the certainty that His death had such significance for the forgiveness of sins then it is clear that it would be an inner contradiction within Jesus' self-consciousness if this did not harmonize with His earlier practice of forgiving sins. We can scarcely believe such a self-contradiction possible. A closer and more detailed consideration of Jesus' words will convince us that no such difficulty existed.

What, for instance, does Jesus regard as the basis of the power and authority with which He forgave sins? It cannot be denied that He claims to do it in God's name: His enemies are entirely consistent in regarding it as blasphemy when Jesus assured the palsied man that his sins were forgiven (Matt. 9:3). It is quite significant therefore that Jesus in justifying His procedure speaks of the power given to the Son of Man (v. 6). Now we know that the meaning of the term "Son of Man," is still the subject of much discussion. But we know that the phrase expresses the fact that Jesus consciously placed Himself upon the side of men and wished to be counted entirely on that side. Then we must conclude that Jesus wished so to exercise the forgiveness of sins, that although He exercised it through divine power nevertheless He might at the same time be regarded as in solid-

ity with the human race. In other words, Jesus wished to descend and place Himself on a level with the needy ones for whose benefit He exercised the forgiveness of sins.

Another expression of Jesus along much the same line will probably help us somewhat in this connection. In the account of Jesus' tireless activity in healing the sick the evangelist adds the remark that thereby the prophecy of Isaiah is fulfilled, "Himself took our infirmities and bore our sicknesses" (Matt. 8:17). This application of the prophecy is apt to surprise us at first. But it leads to the very kernel of a correct comprehension of Jesus' activity. Jesus' helpful cures were in the final analysis a sharing of the burden, a bearing of the sicknesses. It was just this that made it a real task for Jesus to render the external aid which He did. It was a sympathetic fellow-suffering with those in misery, a real descent to the level of their need. Especially does this apply to the deepest need of men, the need caused by their sins. Here again the son of Man assumed the needs of men as His own burden. Only thus did Jesus lift the burden, by taking it upon His own shoulders.

We may make this point clearer by a more general consideration. The real mission of Jesus' life in this world was to establish the Kingdom of God. But how was the Kingdom to be established? Certainly through divine power. God's rule in this world can only be set up by one who is himself on God's side. But this again Jesus could not properly do except by taking part personally in the needs of humanity in whose midst the Kingdom of God was to be established. We might conceive of other ways of establishing the Kingdom. For example, it is not inconceivable that the Kingdom might have been established and the King Himself remain unconcerned about the needs which the Kingdom was supposed to relieve. But we may ask whether mankind would have received any real help in this way? Is it not a fact that in our inner needs we can be helped only by one who can thoroughly understand our needs and who is himself willing to descend to our own needy level? I believe it would be psychically impossible even if it were conceivable, for one who is morally alive, to receive help from one who would himself remain untouched by his needs. Are we then asserting too much when we say that Jesus Himself could not have been of any real help to mankind in their needs if He had not Him-

self descended to their own needs. The descent of Jesus into the need and guilt of human sin reached its completion in His death. In His crucifixion He has so completely indentified Himself with needy mankind that He gives His life a ransom for men. He assumes human guilt and in His death suffers God's judgment upon the sins of men, so that through His death is made possible the new covenant in which sins are freely forgiven. Thus we see the unity of purpose that permeates Jesus' life as well as His death. Both living and dying He brings the forgiveness of sins. As Jesus during His life forgave sins only by Himself assuming their burden, so when the burden of sin brings Him under the judgment of the cross His death establishes a new covenant applying to the entire human race and making the forgiveness of sins an actual and complete reality. We may admit here that when we express this thought which we have just expressed, we are reading Jesus' self-witness in the light of later apostolic tradition. But that can only mean that the apostolic proclamation has taught us to know what is included in Jesus' testimony concerning Himself. We are not reading foreign thought into Jesus' testimony but are seeking to understand it ourselves. Let us emphasize it once more: it is a simple matter of fact that Jesus Himself associated His death with the establishment of the new covenant.

The difference therefore between the apostolic witness concerning Jesus and His own witness concerning Himself is only formal, not material. And if it was really Jesus' idea that the new covenant should finally be established through His death, then the apostles were right in making His death the central point of their proclamation. That does not by any means necessitate that Jesus' earthly life should be without significance. As a matter of fact the apostles also took that feature of His work into consideration. In their missionary propaganda Jesus' life must have played a large part. Apart from His life His death would be utterly without redemptory significance. And more than that, Jesus' activity in His Messianic calling was the beginning of the establishment of God's Kingdom in this world, and the visible expression given to God's love through the entire lifework of Jesus was an indispensible boon for His Church. But the fact remains that Jesus' earthly labors benefitted primarily only individuals, whereas in His death a new covenant is perma-

nently established for the benefit of all mankind. So Jesus Himself regarded the matter. The Risen One gave His followers the assurance that He would be henceforth forever present in His Church with the full measure of His salvation (Matt. 28:20). The apostles therefore could not but proclaim as they did, that His death and resurrection are the foundation of salvation, that the living Lord is the bearer of salvation, and that we can enter into fellowship with God only through faith in Jesus Christ.

IV.

Let us sum up our arguments. It is in the final analysis a message of good tidings that the apostles and Jesus Himself announced: God was in Christ. In Christ God entered the course of human history in such a way that God's royal domain became reality in this world and a new covenant based entirely upon the forgiveness of sins was established. In other words, God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself. In Christ God offers the sinner His fellowship, so that the sinner has only to exercise faith in the divine offer or rather to allow the divine offer to bring forth faith within him. Whenever a man exercises this confiding faith he has entered into fellowship with God. Thus we see how little basis there is for the objection to the Church's understanding of the Gospel on the ground that faith in Christ hampers or excludes faith in God. That objection grows out of a misunderstanding of the content of the Gospel. In Christ God comes to us and we come to God. They are entirely right who remind us that religion has but one aim and object, namely, to have God. That is correct; to have God is everything. The only question is, how can we attain fellowship with God, how can we be confident that we have Him? There is but one way: through faith in Jesus Christ. Then it follows that no one can have faith in Jesus unless Jesus Himself is on the side of God, there interceding for His faithful. If God has given Himself to us in Christ, and if through our faith in Christ we meet God Himself, then it follows that our certainty of these two facts includes our certainty of Christ's deity. And however much we emphasize that fact and whatever conclusions we may draw from it concerning our faith in God, the fact remains that Christ is

our only way to the Father. We believe in Christ because only through that faith can we believe in God.

But the most important question still remains to be answered. Is the Gospel, as we have described it, really a Gospel, a message of glad tidings? We have seen that Paul experienced it as such. But was not Paul's experience perhaps conditioned upon the historical circumstances in which he stood? Can Paul's Gospel be a Gospel for all times? I have read how one of the leaders of the socialists poured out his ridicule over the ineffectual preaching in the churches. "Ah!" he added, "if we socialists only had the pulpits Sunday after Sunday, what a different effect we would produce!" I confess these words of the opponent furnish food for thought. The preacher in the Church may well ask himself whether he is really able to prove that the Gospel which he preaches is actually Gospel. Incidentally be it said that the charge of the socialist quoted above is by no means justified. It is indeed a simple matter to commend the tenets of socialism as good tidings because they appeal to all the natural instincts of man. The Christian Gospel, on the other hand, is in large measure directly and consciously opposed to those instincts. Christ can only be understood where certain presuppositions are present or have been prepared. This fact must be kept in mind lest in spite of our good intentions we forfeit the real power of the Gospel in order to make it acceptable to our times. It is a general principle that the loftier the message of good tidings the more it is based upon certain conditions. Is it really so wonderful then that this principle should apply in a special manner to the Gospel of God?

This is the first point, therefore, that the Christian Gospel is purely Gospel of God. God is its entire content. It can therefore be understood only where there is a real lively longing after God or where such a longing is developed. In fact it is a counterfeiting of the Gospel which lauds it as satisfying the desire for happiness and introduces God as guarantee for such satisfaction. It is simply not right to find the origin of religion in the desire of human personality for happiness and freedom from the bonds of nature. Real genuine religion was never intended by God as a means to some other end. The preacher in the pulpit must be careful not to contort the aim of religion. There is danger of this, especially when the preacher seeks to proceed

psychologically. He is tempted unconsciously to base upon the human desire for happiness. In a certain sense of course this is not wrong. For as a matter of fact God is the highest happiness of man. To have God is to have everything. This fact the preacher of the Christian Gospel must make plain, lest those without should misunderstand the Gospel and be repelled, and lest those within develop an unhealthy Christianity. The Gospel as Jesus preached and lived it leaves no doubt as to its all-inclusive content. Not only the conception and direction of one's own life but even one's attitude towards nature is entirely changed. Jesus was able to find traces of His Heavenly Father in the smallest as well as the greatest of earthly things. He obeyed implicitly His own command to take no anxious thought but to commit everything to the Father in Heaven. And even in the Synoptics we find distinct traces of the lofty thought which constitutes the real center of the Johannean witness, namely, that man finds his life only when he yields it to God (Lk. 17:33). But Jesus says expressly in that connection that man must lose his life in order to find it in God. This point no preaching of the Church dare in any way obscure. The preacher must not try to persuade men that they should seek God as a means to other good ends, no matter how high those ends, even if it be the completion of one's own life. He who seeks God must seek Him only and for His own sake. Now our general principle is that in matters of pure religion one dare not seek his own happiness but only God. The human desire for happiness therefore can constitute a ground for accepting the Gospel only if it be deepened or rather changed into a desire for God. The proclamation of the Gospel can only be thoroughly understood when it reaches down to the very depths of the human heart hungering after God and inclined towards Him. But there it is understood and there it becomes a joyful message of glad tidings, the gladdest possible, namely, that God would in Christ give Himself to men.

That the Gospel of Jesus Christ is a Gospel only for such as are seeking God,—this is the first limitation that is set for the proclamation of the Gospel. But even where an eager longing after God has been aroused in a person and where a person has earnestly desired to grasp the Gospel of God as the one message of glad tidings for him, that Gospel is not at once definitely under-

stood in its entire content. If the heart of a man is seeking after God, that man wants to know how to reach God. And then it may confuse him for a moment to be told that he can not reach God but that God must reach him. Yet just that is the content of the message of glad tidings, that God, entirely of His own accord, draws men into fellowship with Himself, although men think they can and must attain this fellowship in their own strength. In a certain sense this cannot be otherwise. In fact it dare not be otherwise. When the longing after God crowds everything else into the background, the individual cannot but regard the divine fellowship he desires as his own affair and he cannot but regard himself responsible for attaining it. It would be quite in vain and really unwise to try prematurely to correct this mistaken view and to show the individual that it is impossible for him to work his way through to God. No, man need only know that he must come to God. That he can not make his way to Him may be learned only through painful experience. But experience must teach him. And not only must it teach him his own inability to make himself acceptable to God. But in that he realizes his own inability to reach the desired boon he discovers also the perversity and pride mingled with his longing after God and purges them away. True, God has been the object of his desires, but the error has been that *he* has desired God and has thought that he might compel God, as it were, to be for him. Now if God is everything in matters of religion then man dare not seek to approach Him through human strength. It is God who must begin and complete the act of establishing fellowship with Himself. This, then, is the point where God begins to strive with the man who would enter into fellowship with Him. God must let that man experience again and again that all his efforts to draw near to God apparently only remove him to a greater distance, until the man finally understands that if he is to enter into divine fellowship at all, God alone can establish it and that, too, of His own accord. Thus the Gospel of the God who freely offers Himself to us in Christ becomes a message of glad tidings. Indeed, it becomes such a sublime Gospel that man does not dare to believe it. Instinctively man asks again and again what he must now do to share this fellowship with God. He learns indeed that God wishes fellowship with him. But what must he do towards it? God's striving with

him continues until he finally realizes that God's gracious offer of fellowship with Himself asks for absolutely nothing else than that man shall finally learn to believe and trust that free offer. It is always a miracle when man gives up at last all his efforts to force his way to God and learns to understand that he can be saved only by implicit confidence in God's gracious offer of Himself. When a man learns to realize that great truth he sees that it is in the deepest sense a message of glad tidings: he can rest now from all the ineffectual labors of his own pride assured that God's grace alone is the basis for his salvation.

That is the second limit set for the preaching of the Gospel: it presupposes an experience of human inability to work a way through to God. In one aspect, however, this experience is already an experience of sin. Now sin is not mere inability; it is also guilt. And the full experience of the Gospel rests again upon the condition that sin be experienced as guilt. This points to the third limit set for Christian preaching. God's offer of Himself for fellowship with man, which as we have seen is the basis of our entire Christian estate, is made in the forgiveness of sins. That is the central content of the entire message of glad tidings, that God would in Christ Jesus establish fellowship with sinners. How shall that message be understood where there is no consciousness of sin's guilt? But for the man who is conscious of his sin and guilt and who feels that he must on that account be excluded from God's fellowship,—for such a man it is indeed a message of glad tidings to learn of the Christ who invited to Himself the very ones who felt that they must be excluded from divine fellowship and for such a man the foundation of his entire life is the forgiving grace of God as it was made manifest in Jesus Christ.

But something more must be said in this connection. The revelation of divine love, of which we have spoken, is a special kind of revelation. As John testifies (I Jno. 4:9, 10) God's love was manifested toward us in that He sent His only begotten Son to be the propitiation for us. God's revelation is propitiation, and this propitiation is accomplished through judgment upon sin. This is the point of greatest difficulty for the natural man. Again and again the question is asked whether God could not forgive without visiting judgment upon sin. The live conscience must find answer to this question. It is entirely

wrong to seek by means of wise calculations and skillful arguments to elucidate the mystery of Christ's death for the theoretical understanding. The entire proclamation of propitiation and reconciliation in the work of Christ appeals only to the stricken conscience and here alone can it expect to be understood and acted upon. Such a conscience will at least furnish the presuppositions for that proclamation in that it feels a consciousness of guilt separating it from God. The only question might be whether this consciousness of guilt is purely subjective in its nature or whether it corresponds to some objective reality in God. If there is no such objective reality then all that would be necessary for reconciliation with God would be such a revelation of God's love as would drive away man's guilty thoughts about himself. But if man's consciousness of guilt has objective grounds, then much more is necessary. And conscience itself cannot regard the matter as purely subjective. If man's consciousness of guilt should no longer recognize in God's nature, an objective necessity excluding the sinner from His presence, that consciousness would at once prove itself a delusion. And if the human conscience has actually experienced the guilt of sin as a reality, then there can no longer be anything strange about the Christian proclamation which says that in the death of Jesus Christ God visited judgment upon sin. Indeed, it may be said, that any other proclamation which would subtract anything from the seriousness of the self-condemnation which man has experienced could not strike root in the mind of man. When a person lends ear to the Gospel it is because the Gospel corroborates his own consciousness that sin has brought him under the judgment of God. Then, too, the lively conscience begins to understand how the judgment of a holy God could pass upon Jesus Christ who is different from myself and yet not wholly different in that we belong together. That corresponds to a double experience which every Christian has had, namely, that he himself is responsible to God and that he cannot himself atone for his own sins. Of course we do not mean to say that man could of himself reach the Gospel from that point where he experiences the consciousness of guilt. Not by any means. If he had thought, up to that time, that he had understood the Church's proclamation of Christ he now realizes that it is a most profound mystery which God alone can speak to his soul and which

God alone can make to answer the deep inner need in which he stands. The conscious experience of guilt is therefore nothing more than the necessary circumstance under which the Gospel can become operative. When a man has had an inner experience of God's judgment upon sin, he has learned to look upon the word of judgment executed upon Christ as that which redeems him from his deepest inner needs. Then he lives in the blissful realization that God has in Christ Jesus Himself removed the sin which stood between Him and man so that it may be dropped from mind forever.

In the final analysis, therefore, it is a specific experience which makes possible a complete understanding of the Biblical Gospel. But this experience is the work of God's guiding will, and we cannot accept the mediating position of those who say that the New Testament shows two ways of attaining reconciliation with God and that both are equally indispensable. The one way, it is said, is through the individual's exercise of his human powers. This method was countenanced by Jesus' optimistic view of man, and only in this way is a personal Christianity possible for those who demand a free and powerful religion. The other way is through the Pauline Gospel. A number of personalities eminent in Church History—e. g. Augustine and Luther—have proceeded by this way and even to-day there are not a few who owe their religious life to the Pauline method, although the collapse of personal life which the religious experience presupposes according to Paul can not be expected of every one to-day. This view we can not share either in the presupposition upon which it goes or in the mediating solution which it proposes. There is no such conflict as is here claimed to exist between Paul and Jesus. Neither can we admit that the experience at the bottom of the Pauline Gospel is purely individual in its nature and application and cannot be expected of all men. The farther God leads a man the better will he be able to have a real living experience of the Gospel in its full sense, as Paul in harmony with the other apostles and Jesus Himself proclaimed it.

I need scarcely add that in what I have just now said I have meant to express purely fundamental principles and do not have in mind any personal application whatever. In fact we should be obliged to cease entirely from speaking of these matters in public if we had constantly to fear that our action would be mis-

interpreted as a proud boasting concerning the superiority of our own rich religious experience. We are too busy with ourselves to have any inclination to pass judgment upon the personal Christianity of others. Furthermore, as a matter of principle such an attitude would be unallowable. Even our own arguments in this article should serve to make that plain, and for two reasons. In the first place, our discussion is in part based upon the principle that religious knowledge is not by any means the measure of religious experience. As a rule, of course, our knowledge of a person or an object is necessary before we trust that person or object. But a great variety of circumstances can and do modify that rule. We must remember that among the many factors constituting a man a Christian, his religious knowledge is only one. In the second place, our very last arguments have served to show that the religious need of the soul is answered by a definite content of the Gospel and that the answer is determined by that soul's individual experience of its religious and moral needs. So that we can easily conceive of a deep confidence in God which may yet be unanchored in the faith of Christ and is therefore uncertain. Such was the case in the days of rationalism. There is always a possibility that such unanchored faith may some day in the course of deeper experience topple and fall. For we know that faith in God is fundamentally uncertain unless it is rooted and grounded in Christian experience and that in the final analysis only such a faith as Paul describes in Romans 8: 31-34 can permanently endure.

For these reasons we reject the mediating position explained above. For us it would virtually mean to exclude some from the full experience of the Gospel. It is strange what zeal some people manifest in calculating the minimum amount of faith which one must retain in order to be counted among the faithful. As a matter of fact, however, we need not figure what measure of knowledge would give man the right to believe in God. If such were the case, it would be entirely in order to set the "mildest conditions" possible. But in reality the matter of vital concern is to describe the way in which one can learn to rejoice in the richness of the divine revelation. It would be a rather peculiar "toleration" to try to persuade a man to rest content in the partial experience of divine revelation. Our meaning here should be plain. If we have rightly developed the con-

tent of the Gospel as the apostles and Jesus themselves desired it should be, then all energies must be set to the task of leading men to a full experience of that Gospel. Let it be repeated here most emphatically that a mere outward appropriation of that Gospel is by no means a real possession of its rich stores. But let no one make the genuine mistake of foreclosing any further experience of the Gospel by prematurely terminating his own development.

There is in the final analysis one deadly enemy to all progressive development, and that is hasty termination of that development. Would that this principle might be applied with all seriousness to religious experience! To continue receptive to progressive experience of one's own needs and to progressive experience of the richness of God's revelation,—that is the secret of religious progress. And to imbibe in ever increasing measure the vast riches of the Gospel may well be called the labor of an entire Christian life.

From what has been said we may easily gather the principles which determine the Christian's assurance of the truth and reality of the Gospel. We can not enter into further details. If the greater Pauline writings must be considered genuine and if we can trust the apostle at all when he asserts that he received his Gospel from the original Church at the time of his conversion, then we have the very best authority for the content of the Gospel, an authority going back very close to the time when that content was history. How can we conceive that in the few years here intervening the historical facts should have been completely distorted? And if nothing more than a single utterance like Jesus' utterance at the institution of the Lord's Supper is to be regraded as authentic, there can be no doubt that the Gospel as proclaimed by the apostolic Church has the authority of Jesus Himself for its central content. This proximity of our records to the historical events which they record is of great importance, as one can easily understand by contrasting the gap which exists in the non-Christian religions between their historical founders and the records of their lives. This unique credibility of evangelical history must not be disturbed by the fact that the non-Christian religious systems contain analogies to certain thoughts, views, and even narratives, in the Christian world. Closer inspection will in all cases show the uniqueness of the Christian

ideas. Furthermore, we cannot avoid believing that if Christianity is the absolute religion we must for that very reason expect to find in other religions intimations and analogies of what in Christianity is complete reality .

Nevertheless, even if I could here develop in detail the arguments indicated in the last paragraph that would not constitute a purely historical proof for Christianity. The Christian religion has indeed to do with facts of history and these facts can be determined by historical method but the essential content of Christianity as a religion is the self-revelation of God and His free offer to enter into fellowship with man; and although the conception of the Christian facts and the certainty of those facts depends upon the historical investigation, yet the most vital and fundamental elements in the Christian religion can not be attained by historical means. God's witness concerning Himself can indeed be experienced in life, but it can never be proved. Now the Gospel of God's self-revelation had its significance in the fact that it makes it possible for us to experience that revelation. The existence of the Gospel in the Church is the actual presence of God's historical revelation so that in and through that Gospel God siezes the individual and draws him irresistibly unto Himself. To what extent this is conditioned upon the painful experience made by the individual within his own personality has already been explained. And it must suffice here to refer to those explanations for the answer to the further question as to how man reaches Christian assurance of the Gospel.

One other fact needs yet to be emphasized. If we have correctly described the Gospel it follows that the Gospel can only be understood after an experience with the law. For if the acceptance of the Gospel presupposes that man knows of his divine destiny and longs for God, then it follows that he must have felt the demands of God's will. Moreover, the painful consciousness of one's own inability to reach God comes only through the despairing effort to do the works of His law. Finally, the conception of sin as guilt is gained only through the experience with the law. Of course we dare not place the law over against the Gospel and isolate it there. A full and deep comprehension of sin's guilt is attained only when man has experienced the infinite Love of God through his faith in the Gospel. But we must not forget the double fact that our consciousness of guilt arises

out of our consciousness of obligation to God and our knowledge of sin necessarily grows out of God's demands upon us. In this double sense therefore does our experience of sin as guilt depend upon the operation of the law.

If, therefore, the Gospel is to be proclaimed effectively in the Church it is highly important that the law also be preached with power. This must not by any means be understood to mean primarily that the preaching of the law should individualize and emphasize specific moral demands. That is right but it may lead to a more or less refined Pharisaism. There is special danger of this if the emphasis on the moral demands of the law be not grounded upon the central thought that the demanding will is that of the Holy God who measures not as man measures and whose judgments are absolute and infallible. The point of chief importance is that the Church have effective witness to the holiness of the living God who insists upon His commands with unbending strictness and who is actually to be feared. The preaching of the law in this sense must prepare the soil for the preaching of the Gospel. The great revival of the last century would scarcely have been possible if the categorical imperative of duty had not done its part towards preparing the soil. And that the Gospel to-day has so little effect and is so little understood is to be explained, I fear, from the fact that the Church does not sufficiently emphasize the knowledge of the holy and righteous God who makes demands upon men and executes judgment upon men. So that even in our own day we have abundant reason to obey the old injunction: from the Law to the Gospel; from Sinai to Golgotha.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE V.

THE RUTHENIANS AND THEIR CHURCH.

BY ALEXANDER E. OBERLANDER, ESQ.

On Sunday, the 2nd day of October, 1910, there was dedicated in the city of Philadelphia, Pa., the First Greek Catholic Ruthenian Cathedral, (of the Immaculate Conception, B. V. M.), in the United States of America. The high celebrant on the occasion was the Metropolitan Archbishop, Count Andrew Szeptycki, of Lemberg, Galicia, in Austria, the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of the Ruthenian Church. He was assisted in the services by Archbishop Falconio, the Papal delegate at Washington and by the Roman Catholic Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia. Bishop Soter S. Ortynsky, of the Cathedral, the first so-called Greek Catholic Bishop for the United States, preached the sermon in the morning and Archbishop Szeptycki in the evening. Ruthenian clergy from all parts of the United States attended and took part in the services, which, owing to the rich vestments and robes, not only of the high prelates, but also of the plain Ruthenian clergy, was an imposing sight, equalling if not exceeding in splendor, though not magnitude, the consecration of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City shortly thereafter. The robes and vestments of the Ruthenian clergy are more gorgeous and glittering than those of their Roman or Latin brothers.

And this leads one to ask, Who and what are the Ruthenians and their church, and what connection, if any, have they with the Church of Rome? The schism between the Latin and the Greek churches has not yet been healed, nor is there any likelihood that it will be; nor is there any communion between the two. And yet we have in the United States a so-called Greek Church, with its cathedral, called the "First Greek Catholic Ruthenian Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception." Truly, not only the name but the whole situation seems anomalous.

The Ruthenian, or as it is sometimes called, the Graeco-Ruthenian Church, is but little understood in the United States and in the Latin countries of Europe. Even the Latin Roman

clergy of this country seem to know little about its history. Owing to litigation with which the writer has been connected for some years concerning several of these so-called "Greek Catholic" churches, he has taken pains to go somewhat into the history of this Church. In his researches he has consulted the libraries of Yale, Columbia, Cornell and Syracuse universities, the Congressional Library at Washington, the Astor and Lennox Libraries of New York City, and the libraries of several minor cities in Central New York. He has secured pamphlets and books from Canada and Europe, besides consulting numberless priests and laymen of both the Ruthenian and the Russian Churches.

He here gives the benefit of his research to the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY. The history of the Ruthenian Church is an illustration of how Rome works, taking advantage of every political situation and weakness of a State, and of how it builds not only for to-day and to-morrow, but for the centuries to come.

It was during the late 70's and early 80's, as the Molly McGuire regime in the coal regions of Pennsylvania came to an end, that the owners of the mines looked to the poorer districts of Europe for their laborers. They wanted illiterate men with strength and good dispositions, easy to handle and willing to work for small wages. They found such people in the Carpathian Mountains and the surrounding plateaus, people whose ancestors as late as 1848 were serfs. They were a people of native intelligence, reliable, economical and faithful to their employers. The country of these people had but few schools and many churches, especially up in the mountain districts, so that practically all the people knew from childhood was church, religious ceremonies and work. A few, at first, were brought over to the coal mines where they made excellent miners and where, though their pay was small, they managed to save enough of their earnings to send money to their relatives at home to pay their passage to America. In 1880 there were about 1900 of them in Pennsylvania. At first no attention was given them by the public. They were herded together in camps, shacks and settlements and worked like serfs, as they were accustomed in the old country. They had no opportunity to learn, nor to mingle with other people, as the language they spoke was not understood. No one

recognized them or their religion. Not even the American Roman Catholics seemed to know that in these strangers they had co-religionists, but of a different rite than the Latin. In fact at that time but few in America knew that the Roman Church did not confine its services exclusively to the Latin rite, but had several oriental rites for its churches in eastern countries. These strangers introduced a new element into American church life, one that is giving the Roman authorities no little uneasiness and much thought.

As these strangers grew in number and prosperity, they sent for their priests, the first of whom, Father Volanski, came in 1885 with letters from his home bishop; but being a married man he encountered great difficulty in receiving recognition as a Roman priest in good standing. He however went to work among his countrymen and in 1886 dedicated the first Ruthenian Church in America, at Shenandoah, Pa. From that time to the present they have grown to about 350,000 to 400,000 in North America, of whom it is estimated more than 100,000 are in the great Northwest of Canada. In 1909 there were about 118 priests and one bishop in the United States with about 140 churches, while in Canada they have about a dozen priests attending to about sixty missions. There are also many of their priests in the Northwest who, owing to the fact that they will not recognize the authority of the Latin bishops, are not included in this number. These latter have formed many independent congregations and are at present being supported in great numbers by the Presbyterians. The first Ruthenian Church in Canada was built in 1900 at Winnepeg; in 1905 they built a church at Edmonton. They have a monastery at Winnepeg and a branch at Monastar. In Canada they have also a religious order for women, the Servants of Mary, whose mother house is in Lemberg, Galicia.

Most of the Ruthenian churches in the United States have three church societies, one being a Muscophile or Pro-Russian; one anti-Russian or Ukrainian, and one Hungarian or Pro- Austrian, which is rather more Hungarian than Austrian. These societies or brotherhoods are impregnated with home or old country politics and have their quarrels, the factions standing generally two against one. One can never tell which two will combine against the one; often the quarrel is three-cornered.

The one or Russian brotherhood, (Obschchestoo Russkikh Bratstv) looks to Moscow for its national inspiration, although perhaps not for its religion; the second, the Russian National Union, (Russky Narodny Sojus), with over 12,500 members, is Ukrainian, seeking the restoration of a Little Russian and Lithuanian Nation; and the third, the Russian Greek Catholic Union with over 25,000 members is the Urgro Russky, or Hungarian society, which sides more with the Russian or Muscophiles than with the Ukrainian party. Whenever a law suit starts in a Ruthenian church or among Ruthenians, it is well to ask to what societies the litigants belong and with this knowledge a proper diagnosis of the ailment can be made.

The children of these people are naturally bright and learn English easily, where they have the opportunity. It is a real pleasure to visit some of their homes and witness how proudly the parent calls upon the children—and they have large families as a rule—to show the stranger how they can read and write. We know of instances where children do the writing for their illiterate parents in communicating with relatives in the old country, the children not only being able to read and write English, thanks to our public schools, but Russian (Rusniak) as well. The latter they are taught by the Kantor, a small salaried officer of the Church, who by giving private lessons, increases his small income. Only recently we promised a 15-year-old Ruthenian lad, of illiterate parentage, whose father, a client of mine, had died recently, that we would assist him to become a lawyer. The boy was then in the highest grammar class of the city.

These people are tolerant; it is a part of their nature. Should one of them stray into another, even a Protestant Church, he will act reverentially and cross himself as he would in one of his own churches. In this the Ruthenians differ from the Poles who are intolerant.

While the Russians, Poles and Lithuanians are all of Slavonic origin, their differences are more marked than their similarities, owing to geographical, historical and other influences.

In the article on the Ruthenians embodied in the article on the uniate Greek Church, in a recently issued volume of a new Encyclopedia, the author states that the word Ruthenia is derived from the later Latin word Ruthenia, a former name for Russia, and "of course," continues the article, "the Ruthenians

might well be called Russians." In all our researches, we have failed to find authority for the statement that Ruthenia was a former Latin name for Russia. Russia never was known in Latin as Ruthenia. Moreover the author fails to cite authority. The late Bishop Julian Pelecz, of Przemsyl, Galicia, a most learned Ruthenian, makes no such statement in his great work, "Die Geschichte Der Union Der Ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom." This work was published in Vienna in 1878. A later edition from the same plates was published at Wuerzburg, in Germany, in 1881.

The word Ruthenian designates not so much a race as a religion, a branch of the Roman Church. Such is the view of Bishop Pelecz. It seems to be somewhat analagous to such words as Puritan and Orangeman. An Orangeman is an Irishman and a Protestant; a Ruthenian is a Red Russian, or, in the vernacular, a Rusniak, Rusyn or Russine, and a Roman Catholic. Of late, it seems, an effort is being made to extend the word Ruthenian to all Little Russians wherever located. The recently issued Catholic Encyclopedia appears to be the authority for this. There is no word in the so-called Ruthenian language that stands for the the word "Ruthenian." Their word is Rusniak, Russine or Rusyn, and not Ruthenian. The Red Russian, Rusniak, Rusyn or Russine belongs to the Little Russian race. The Brockhaus Konversations Lexicon, has this to say of the Ruthenians: "Ruthenen, Russinen oder Ruszniaken, die kleinruss. Bewohner Galizien und Ungarn, die zu beiden seiten der Karpaten westlich über den San und östlich bis in die Bukowina hinein wohnen. Sie selbst nennen sich einfach Russen S. Kleinrussen. (Ruthenians, Russinen, or Rusniaks, the Little Russians. Inhabitatnts of Galicia and Hungary, who reside on both sides of the Carpathians westerly beyond the San and easterly into the Bukowina. They call themselves simply Little Russians)" The heart of the Red Russian country is old Galicia, the present East Galicia, now a crown land of Austria. This crown land, together with another crown land, the Bukowina, formerly incorporated with Galicia, (the two, Galicia and Bukowina, being also known as Russian-Austria), together with the adjoining Polish province of Lublin and the South Russian governments of Poldovia and Volhynia, which provinces have many Red Russians, are a part of the Little Russian country,

or the Ukraine. Thus, while a Red Russian is always a Little Russian, a Little Russian is not always a Red Russian, or a Ruthenian. And while the Red Russian or Rusniak country is old or East Galicia, the Rusniaks or Ruthenians have spread into other parts of Austria, such as Hungary, Croatia, etc., and finally we find them here in North America.

Old Galicia (Halicz) prior to the great Mongol invasion of Europe, 1238, was a principality of Russia. Daniel of Galicia, was one of the last of the Russian princes to make submission to the great Batu, in 1238, and while Great Russia, including the territory of Little Russia east of the Dneiper, and the Crimea, remained under the Mongol yoke for over two hundred years, or until 1462, Galicia early in the 14th century was annexed to Lithuania. At an early day, with western help, other provinces of western Russia and of Little Russia taken by the Mongols, such as Volhynia, Polotsk, Pinsk, Vitebsk, and also the governments of Black Russia threw off the yellow yoke and attached themselves, wholly or partially, to Lithuania, then a powerful nation. In 1316 Gedymin was crowned, "Rex Lethowinorum et multorum Ruthenorum," (King of the Lithuanian and the many Ruthenians). Later in 1386 by the marriage of the Polish queen Jadwiga and the great Lithuanian prince Jagiello, the two, Poland and Lithuania became united, with Poland then and ever thereafter the ruling spirit of the two. Later, in 1569, Poland completely absorbed Lithuania. At the time of the union of the two, Lithuania was still a pagan nation. The Russian provinces and governments which submitted themselves to Lithuanian influence and protection to free themselves from the Tartars, including Old Galicia which was annexed to Lithuania, were strongly Orthodox Greek. By the terms of the union with Poland, all in Lithuania proper were obliged to become Roman Catholic, while the people in the Russian parts were undisturbed in their religion. After a time a large number of the nobles of the Russian parts became Roman in religion and Polish in language, name, manners and ideas. Poland dominated all parts of Lithuania including its Russian parts, by the end of the 16th century, and the Jesuits dominated Poland. The rest is easily told; no religious change of the true Orthodox believers in the Greek faith, for that could not be brought about even with the sword;only a change of the governing head of the Church—the

Pope in place of a patriarch. No change of the Greek religion, dogmas, or creed, as will appear hereafter, by proclamation of the Polish king, but only the placing of his faithful subjects under one truly heavenly shepherd instead of many. At the time of the change there was no strong Russia to prevent, for Russia still had the Tartars at its door in the Crimea, and Poland could not force the Orthodox completely into the Roman Church, as it did the Lithuanian pagans, because Poland had its old enemies, the Turks, at its doors; the compromise was a union of the churches, of the Ruthenian with the Roman. This union has become somewhat Latinized, and the process of Latinization is still working.

The present Galicia comprises old or East Galicia and new or West Galicia, West Galicia being the grand duchy of Cracow, the ancient capitol of Poland. West Galicia is mostly Polish while East Galicia is Little Russian, namely: Red Russian. These two, the Poles and the Red Russians or Rusniaks hate each other, although they are of one religion, as we will point out hereafter, but of different rites and ceremonies, the former being of Latin and the latter of the so-called Greek-Ruthenian rites. When Austria recently annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina to its domains, the Russian press, headed by the Nowoje Wrenja, demanded that Russia be given Old Galicia as compensation for its consent and that such demand be made at the international conference should one be called. If one wishes to get a fair conception of the political history, map, and the traditions of the peoples, with their likes and dislikes for each other, of Poland, Lithuania, Little Russia or the Ukarine, during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, it is advised that "With Fire and Sword," "The Deluge" and "Pan Michael," by Henryk Sienkiewicz, translated into English with introduction by Jeremiah Curtin, be read. "The Deluge" deals with the Swedish invasion of Poland, a reference being made to the war in which Moscow and the Ukraine are on one side and Poland on the other; "Pan Michael" deals with the wars of Poland, the Ukraine and Turkey, referring to the interest Moscow took in them; while "With Fire and Sword" covers the war of 1648-49 which led to the Ukraine (Little Russia) placing itself six years later under the allegiance to the Moscovite Czar—the whole of the Ukraine except the Gali-

cian portion, which to this day remains under Latin government, namely, Austria.

General attention was first attracted to the Ruthenians in North America by their churches or meeting places with the peculiar cross with three arms of which the lower one slants; by their calling themselves Greek Catholics; and by their internal troubles and law suits. Wherever they built a church, the peculiar shaped cross found a place on its highest part. With the exception of the Catholic Encyclopedia, none of our standard English dictionaries and encyclopedias, nor the German lexicons, mention this cross, hence we are at a loss to give it a name other than the "three armed cross" or "eight ends cross," or the "Russian cross." It is the oldest cross of the Russian Church and is looked upon by the Russians, both old and new, in Little and Great Russia, of all sections of the Empire, as their national cross. It is not found in other Orthodox Greek Churches. The significance of this cross seems to be but little understood in America and this is not strange in view of the fact that America, aside from Alaska, was settled and populated by Western or Latin Church Christians and their offspring, it being only within a few decades, as before stated, that Eastern or Russian Christians have come among us in sufficient numbers to be noticeable. The top beam of this Russian Church cross represents the board of the original cross upon which was written: "Jesus the King of the Jews"; the second or large beam represents the one on which the Saviour's arms were stretched; and the lower or slanting beam, the smallest of the three, placed near the foot, represents the block on which the Saviour's feet were spiked, the slant indicating that Christ, in his agony pulled up or tried to pull up a foot by reason thereof His body leaned in the direction indicated. After all, does not this cross more fully symbolize the crucifixion than the simple cross of the Western Christians? We confess, when the significance of this treble cross was unknown to us, we looked upon it as a curiosity, but now, knowing its meaning and significance, we look upon it with reverence.

The Ruthenians are not a race or nationality by themselves; they have no language entirely their own, although the language they speak is sometimes referred to by writers as Ruthenian. Being of the Little Russian race, they also have the Little Rus-

sian language. There are about 20,000,000 to 30,000,000 Little Russians, of whom about 4,500,000 are Ruthenians, of the latter about 350,000 to 400,000 are in North America. The root of the Little Russian language is the Slavonic—the same as the Polish, Lithuanian, Servian, Bulgarian, etc., yet the superstructure is entirely different. The Little Russian language also has a great dialectical difference from the Moscovite or Great Russian language.

Russia is a country of many peoples and languages, the principal divisions being the Great Russian and the Little Russian; in addition, there are the White Russians, whose ethnological position is not definitely fixed, the Finns, Tartars, Lithuanians, Poles, Livonians, etc. There are also the Black Russians who bear the same relation to the Great Russians that the Red Russians do to the Little Russians, namely: a branch. The Little Russian country or the Ukraine extends over the southern part of Russia (north of the Crimea) from eastward of the Volga River, including the Cossack country, westward into Galicia, the most northwestern province of Austria, to the grand duchy of Cracow; it does not include the latter. It covers not only what is now known on the maps as Little Russia and Southern Russia, but also about two-thirds of the present province of Galicia, that is, the whole of Old Galicia which included the province of Bukowina. The Ukraine or Little Russian country is somewhat larger than the present Germany. Through being separated politically and ecclesiastically for centuries from the main or Russian branch of the Little Russians, the Red Russians of Austria, who are mostly Graeco-Ruthenians in religion, have not maintained the language in its purity, although they have not dialected it sufficiently to make it a separate language. They are still understood with some difficulty by the main body in Little Russia and vice versa. It is not uncommon among the Russians to call a Little Russian, whether a Red Russian or not, a Ukrainian or Ukrainist. A reunited and free Ukraine seems to be the never-dying dream of a portion of the Little Russians. It is because of this that the so-called Ukrainian spirit is mercilessly suppressed in both Russia and Austria. Repressive laws are in existence and enforced against this spirit in both countries. Thus in the schools of Galicia the Poles are not required to learn and study the Little Russian or Ruthenian language, while the

Ruthenians are required to be taught in the Polish language. The Poles also have more and better school facilities. The Poles are the ruling class in Galicia and are all Roman Catholics of the Latin rite, while the Rusniaks, as said before, are mostly if not all, of the Greek or Ruthenian rite. The Poles greatly interfere with the religious, educational and State matters of the Ruthenians and are hated by the latter, which hatred is reciprocated. It was a Ruthenian student who killed the governor of Galicia, a Pole, a few years ago. It was a "State assassination," the young assassin was actuated by no other than patriotic motives, to free his people from the oppression of the Poles, their enemies. He is looked upon by many of the Galician Ruthenians of the Ukrainian party as a martyr.

This class hatred has spread even to the United States, where Bishop Ortynsky, the recently appointed first Ruthenian Bishop of the United States is called by his enemies: "A young and inexperienced monk of the order of St. Basil, but a dangerous Ukrainist," while of his priestly partisans it is said: "the Galician Ukrainist-radical priests conduct a great campaign in order to swerve the American Greek Catholic Russian people from the Holy Apostolic See, and create a so-called 'independent Little Russian Church,' that is an Ukrainist-national Church." These quotations are from the "Amerikansky Russky Viestnik," the organ of the Hungarian-Ruthenian Society, in which paper these exact words and similar, even stronger language, was printed against the good bishop and his priests, in English, in columns side by side with the Little Russian version. The Viestnik also charges the Ukrainist priestly element with "teaching and encouraging the people to ignore and disrespect the Catholic Hierarchy and to detest the American Catholic Bishops, etc."

All of Little Russia or the Ukraine, (including Old Galicia), was a part of Russia prior to the Mongol invasion (1238), and its inhabitants were Orthodox Greek. That part, as heretofore pointed out, west of the Dneiper, early in the 14th century managed to free itself of the Mongols and became a semi-independent Cossack republic under an elective hetman, giving allegiance to Lithuania. The part east of the Dneiper remained under Tartar rule with Great Russia, and later became free with Great Russia. While the Tartar rule came to an end in 1462, the Tartars nevertheless held on to the Crimea for several centuries

thereafter, harrassing and weakening the Russians to the north periodically until the time of Ivan the Terrible. It was not until 1699 that the Turks and Tartars renounced all claims over Ukraine. To the present day the Tartar or Mongol physiognomy is discernable in many Russians, Little and Great, even Galician Ruthenians. In 1654 the whole of the Ukraine arose against the Poles. It was a popular uprising, the most widespread and stubborn in their history, during which the Poles lost many battles. The Little Russians finally turned to Great Russia and selected the Czar Alexai Mihailovich as their sovereign. This selection was brought about in this manner, the spokesman addressing the people and the army and urging the candidacy of the Czar,—we give the speech here to show the intense Orthodoxy and not uniate religious sentiments of these people and their hatred for the Poles and whatever the Poles stood for:

"Gentlemen, Colonels, Essauls, Commanders of hundreds, the whole Zaporojian army, and all Orthodox Christians,—You know how the Lord delivered us from the hands of our enemies who persecuted the Church of God and were envenomed against all Christians of our Eastern Orthodoxy. We have lived six years without a sovereign, in endless battles against our persecutors and enemies who desire to root out the Church of God, so that the Russian name may not be heard in our land. This position has grown unendurable, and we cannot live longer without a sovereign. Therefore we have assembled a council before the whole people, so that you with us may choose from four sovereigns that one whom you wish. The first is the Sovereign of Turkey, who has invited us under his authority many times through his envoys; the second is the Khan of Crimea; the third the King of Poland, who. if we wish, may receive us into former favor; the fourth is the Orthodox sovereign, the Czar and Grand Prince Alexai Mihailovich, the sole ruler of all Russia, whom we have been imploring six years with unceasing petitions. Choose whom you like. The Sovereign of Turkey is a Musselman; you all know our brethren, the Greeks, Orthodox Christians, suffer, and what persecution they endure from godless men. A Musselman also is the Khan of the Crimea, whom we took into friendship of necessity, by reason of the unendurable woes which we passed through. Of persecution from Polish lords it is needless to speak; you know yourselves that they esteem a Jew and a

dog more than a Christian, our brother. But the greath Orthodox sovereign of the East is of one faith with us, one confession of the Greek rite; we are one spiritual body with the Orthodoxy of Great Russia, having Jesus Christ for our head. This great sovereign, this Christian Czar, taking pity on the suffering of our Orthodox Church in Little Russia, giving ear to our six years' entreating, has inclined his heart to us graciously, and was pleased to send with his favor dignitaries from near his person. If we love him earnestly, we shall not find a better refuge than his lofty hand. If any man is not agreed with us, let him go whither he pleases; the road is free."

The Czar was selected and thereafter the war continued with Northern (Great) and Southern (Little) Russia united against Poland-Lithuania. It lasted thirteen years, when a truce, which later ended in a treaty during the reign of Sobioski, gave Russia the city and province of Smolensk and all east of the Dneiper, while Kieff remained with Poland for only two years longer, when it, too, became permanently attached to Russia. It was not until the latter half of the 18th century that Russia regained all of Little Russia except Red Russia (Galicia), which it has never regained.

When the great and final schism between the Latin and the Greek Churches took place in 1054, some of the Greek Catholics in the Red Russian country and adjoining districts remained loyal to the Pope, retaining however their Greek or old Slavonic liturgy, rites, ceremonies, etc. The schism was brought about, not by reason of the different rites, masses, liturgies and forms of worship, but by the addition of the Filioque to the Creed by the Roman Church. The excommunication of the Eastern Church by Rome did not extend to the anathematizing of the Greek rites, liturgies, ceremonies and worship, etc., so that these are as much Roman to-day as they were before the schism. These liturgies or masses include those of St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, Gregory the Great, and St. James, or the Presanctified. These are recognized by the Roman Church as much to-day as when the Church was united. These masses or liturgies are used to-day not only in the Orthodox Greek Churches, including the Russian, but also in a somewhat modified or Latinized form in the several Oriental churches in communion or union with Rome, including the Ruthenian Church,

the process of modification or Latinization having been very slow. It was to distinguish these Little Russians, who were mostly Red Russians, who remained true to the Pope of Rome and acknowledged his supremacy, from the schismatic or Orthodox Greeks, that the Pope gave the name "Ruthenian." Dr. Julian Pelecz, Ruthenian bishop, to whom we have already referred, and whom Pope Leo XIII in a Litterae Apostolic of the date of February 24, 1894, gave extraordinary ecclesiastical powers and upon whom he bestowed the dignity, etc., although not the title, of a Metropolitan of the Church, is authority for this. It was the Pope, so far as can be traced, who first used the word "Ruthenian." In all Papal bulls concerning the Church ever since the first use of the word by Rome, it has been used by the Popes. One does not read or hear of Ruthenians in the Little Russian country east of the Dneiper River, and yet that is the larger part of Little Russia, nor do we hear of Ruthenians in the Russia, including Little Russia, of to-day. If it was or is a racial national name we would most likely hear of it there; as it is, it seems to be confined to Austria and the countries in which the Ruthenians in religion are tolerated. Why and how the Pope came to use the word Ruthenian is a matter of surmise. Some maintain it is taken from the words Ukrainians and Roth Russians, the German word Roth being corrupted to Ruth and the "enians" taken from "Ukrainians." However, we also find the word applied in the 10th and 11th centuries to a province in the south of France, namely, "Rouerge" in French and "Provincia Ruthenorum" in Latin, of which the principal cities were, Rodez and Auvergne, named Segeduum Rutheni and Augusta Ruthenorum, in Latin. It is known that at that time many of the inhabitants of the province were Slavs, having come to France or Gaul with the Huns, in their early wars. We also find the word Ruthenian in the writings of the Polish annalist Matimus Gallus in the year 1190; in 1203 the Danish historian Saxe Grammaticus gave the name to the Slavs who had settled on the shores of the Baltic Sea, and who were of the Roman rites. It seems that while they were known to others under the name Ruthenian, the common Ruthenian laity do not recognize the name; it is not of their language, nor is it a translation of Rusniak, Russine, etc. They call themselves, and are, Rusniaks, Russinen, Rusyn or Russky. The priests, however, call them-

selves Ruthenians and their Church the Ruthenian Catholic. The Ruthenians are really Greek uniates, enjoying, however, more privileges than the other uniates, such as the Melchite, Marionite, Syriac, Coptic, Chaldean, Rumanian, Italo-Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Servian, Bulgarian uniates, etc., all of whom while retaining their own peculiar oriental rites and ceremonies, accept the Pope of Rome as their head. The Rumanians are more Latinized than the others. The great body of Servians, Bulgarians, Georgians, Rumanians, etc., however, are Orthodox Greek. The Ruthenian clergy object to the word "Greek Uniate or Uniat" being given them and their church, claiming they are a Ruthenian and not a Greek church. In all the bulls of Rome for twenty years past and over only the word Ruthenian is used to designate them. In not a single papal bull since, are they referred to as Greek Catholic or Graeco-Ruthenian, which was their official designation in the older bulls. The Ea Semper bull of the present Pope, Pius X, issued in 1907, which fixes the ecclesiastical status of the Ruthenians in the United States and places them under the care and *designation,* (note: not jurisdiction) of a bishop of their own rites, namely: Bishop Soter S. Ortynsky, does not once use the word "Greek" or "Graeco," either alone or as a hyphenated word, such as "Graeco-Ruthenian."

With the union of Lithuania and Poland made abosolute in 1569, Jesuitical influence became more active among those in Lithuania and in the Little and White Russian countries under Lithuanian who still remained loyal to the Orthodox or schismatic Greek Church. The Orthodox were in a large majority, only a small minority of the Little Russians and White Russians adhered to the Pope. The efforts of the Jesuists, who were backed by the Polish king, were finally crowned with success, for, at a synod held in the summer of 1595, at Brescz, Michael Rahosa, the metropolitan of Kief, with seven suffragans, adopted and signed a compact setting forth the conditions upon which they would join with Rome, and two of their numbers, Bishop Hypatius Pociej and Cyrillus Terlecki, were delegated to convey the same to the Pope at Rome, which they did, the final ceremonies taking place amidst pomp and splendor and great honors shown the Ruthenians on December 23rd, 1595. The ceremonies opened with the two Ruthenian bishops kissing the feet of

the Pope. The conditions of the Ruthenians were accepted in full and the decree of union, known as the "Magnus Dominis" bull of Clement VIII issued; bearing the date of December 23rd, 1595. In this bull or decree of union the Ruthenians are referred to as Russians, (nationis Russorum) and not as Ruthenians or Rutheni. The metropolitan Michael Rahosa is referred to as the "Metropolitan of Kief and Halicz," (Old Galicia), "and of the whole of Russia," (ac totius Russiae) not Ruthenia.

The Magnus Dominis bull recites among other things, that the Ruthenians "wanted to be received into the flock of the Roman Catholic Church, preserving at the same time, however, all the rights, the ceremonies of the divine office, the administration of the sacraments and all other things that had been referred to in the celebrated Council of Florence in the union of the Eastern and Western Churches, at the same time eliminating from their doctrines all heresies, condemning all schisms and all errors that were disapproved of by the holy Roman Catholic Church, and especially those which were the cause of separating them from Rome." It should be borne in mind that it was the addition of the "Filioque" to the creed that caused the schism of Photius and the final and great schism and separation of the Greek and Latin Churches in 1054. The Ruthenian decree of union, the Magnus Dominis bull, refers to itself as: "this decree of reception, union, adjunction, annexation, incorporation, permission and concession." Among the rights and sacraments preserved by the Ruthenians were the marriage of their priests. (before ordination), the right of the priest to confirm the children, which takes place immediately after baptism, also the right to their own liturgy, hierarchy, etc. In addition to these rites and privileges, the Ruthenians also retained the Russian Church cross and the Julian or Russian calendar, which is thirteen days behind ours. Their Christmas falls on our Januay 7th, and their New Year on the 14th. It seems rather significant that the Ruthenians steadfastly cling to the Russian cross, in view of the fact that this cross is not necessarily the cross of a Greek Christian. It was under this cross that the old believers, the Raskolniks, broke out in insurrection and opposed the "Polish" and "Latin" tendencies of the patriarch Nikon. It was under this cross that those who believed in the old customs, festivities and religion, revolted against serfdom, centralization and the sup-

pression of municipal life. This cross was in Red Russia long before the cross of the Latin Church. This "eight ends cross" is the cross the Ruthenian peasants revere, worship and love. Take this cross from them and you take away their religion. The Ruthenians can use the Roman Church cross and still be Greek Catholics if Greek Catholic were all they wanted to be. The Russian or Ruthenian Church cross never was a cross of the Roman Church. As the Ruthenians have keen eyes, a change in their rites, ceremonies and liturgy, or in their cross or calendar would be at once noticed and suggest to them a change in their religion, against which they would rebel, while a matter of placing cold type in the form of a papal bull, in Latin, a change in some doctrine, such as the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, etc., would not bother them. The average Ruthenian layman makes the test of his religion with the eyes rather than with the intellect. Notwithstanding the Magnus Dominis bull recites that the Ruthenians were to eliminate from their doctrines all heresies and errors that were disapproved of by the Roman Church "and especially those which were the cause of separating them (the Greek Church) from Rome," it seems this was only for the priests and for the future generations of the laity, and not for the then living laity, for the Ruthenians continued for many generations thereafter to use the old Greek Creed without the "Filioque."

Immediately after the arrival in Rome in November 1595, of the Ruthenian bishops and before the final ceremonies at the Vatican, the college of Cardinals discussed the terms of the union proposed by the former, and accepted the same in full. *The Ruthenians were not even asked to accept the Filioque in their Creed,* but the two bishops had to promise they would teach the Roman doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the "Father and the Son" as one principle. The latter promise was withheld from the documents and from the people. And while the Ruthenians were thus held or promised to teach that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, they were not required to say it unless a scandal should be prompted, especially if they should be among the Latin Catholics, or the occasion necessitated their professing the Roman Catholic faith. In the words of Pope Clement the VIII: "Graeci credere tenentur etiam a Filio Spiritum Sanctum procedere, sed non tenentur

pronunciare, nisi subesset scandalum, praesertim si degant inter latinos, aut necessitas postularet confitendi fidem catholicam quia tunc operteret etiam pronunciare." To assure his Russian subjects that they had surrendered nothing, except to accept the Pope as the supreme head of the Church, the Polish King Sigismund III issued a manifesto on May 29th, 1596, announcing the union, in which document, among other things, he said: "The bishops have nothing new from Rome; nothing adverse to your salvation; nothing new to your churchly rites; on the contrary all of your dogmas and rites remain intact and conform to the statutes of the Apostles, the Councils and the teaching of the holy Greek Fathers, whom you honor and whose feast days you observe."

The only open change sought to be made at the time was the adoption by the Uniates of the new or Gregorian calendar, which was agreed to at a secret preliminary conference at Warsaw, early in 1595, by the Polish Latin clergy and the Ruthenian Bishop Terlecki. Accordingly when the decree of union was published or became known, the opponents of the union had but two main grounds to work on in their opposition, namely: a refusal to accept the Pope as the supreme head of the Church, and a refusal to accept the Gregorian in place of the Julian calendar. A change of the calendar would mean to the laity a change of religion, while the naming of the Pope as their chief patriarch, or head, without any other change would perhaps not be noticed, so at a synod in October 1596, called to ratify and put in force the union on the part of the Uniates, the calendar change proposition was dropped, so that to this day the Julian calendar is retained, even by the Ruthenians in North America. It thus clearly appears that the principal parties to the union did not want the least sign to appear on the surface, of a change in anything to antagonize the laity, except the acceptance of the Patriarch of Rome, the Pope, as their head. The argument advanced in behalf of the latter proposition was that it was better to be under one head than under the four or five patriarchs of the East. Even in those early times it was predicted by many far-seeing opponents of the union, that the teachings or dogmas of the Church would gradually be Romanized, which has come true, although not in their time. The change was so gradual that it was hardly noticeable, at least by the laity, and now the

"Filioque," "Purgatory" and the other Roman doctrines are parts of their Creed. The Filioque and Purgatory were added to the Creed at the synod at Zamose in the summer of 1720, at a time when the Orthodox Church had ceased to exist in Poland, Galicia and Hungary. At this synod the Tridentine Creed of Pope Pius IV, (The bull "Injunctum nobis"), according to the prescribed form of Pope Urban VIII was recited and accepted and it was decreed that thenceforth the word "Filioque" be recited in the Symbol. Of this, the learned Bishop Pelecz in his aforementioned work on the union of the two churches said: "While the Ruthenians were not obliged to add the filioque to the Symbol, they nevertheless added it of their own free will, rightly maintaining, that there was no reason why they should not openly acknowledge their Creed." At the Zamose synod it was also decreed that the name of the Pope should be mentioned in their services, especially the masses, in clear, distinct words, so as to remove all appearances of duplicity. The constitution of Pope Gregory XIV, "Unigenitus," was also promulgated. At the time of the promulgation of the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and of the Infallibility of the Pope, in the 50's and 70's of the century just past, the Church in Austria was so far subjected that it also accepted these new doctrines, but not without murmurs of disapproval, while the Ruthenians in Russia of whom there still remained one or two weak dioceses, rebelled and refused to accept the same, the last vestige of the union in Russia being wiped out in 1875.

Owing to the Ruthenians retaining their rights, rites, ceremonies, calendar, cross, etc., the laws of Austria from the time of Theresa Maria refer to them simply as Greek Catholics, not Graeco-Ruthenians or Ruthenians. There seems to be State reasons for calling them Greek Catholics. The Ruthenian laity undoubtedly would not take kindly to any other name than Greek Catholic. They would resent being called Roman Catholic, and "Ruthenian" Catholic they would not understand, but they do know they are Greek Catholic, and that their Church is the "Rusniak Church." However they are called "Ruthenian" in the religious world and Greek Catholic in the laws of Austria. The Privy Council of England, the highest judiciary in the British Empire, in an appeal that arose in 1901 out of a

Ruthenian Church land grant law suit, at Star, Alberta, in the Northwest Territory of Canada, in its decision or opinion said:

"The Orthodox Greek religion is proscribed in Galicia. For fear of Russian intrigues it is not tolerated there. Adherents of the Orthodox Church, as the Ruthenians or Little Russians originally were, are liable to be arrested and punished if they are suspected of an intention to revert to that faith. As a condition of being allowed to use their own liturgy and rites and to have their services conducted in the old Slavonic language, the Little Russians in Galicia are compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope and so to accept those points of doctrine which the Roman Church holds and the Greek Church rejects. In other countries and other provinces which, in course of time, have been detached from the Greek Empire and have fallen under the sway of devout Roman Catholic sovereigns, something of the sort has happened. The result has been the creation of a composite Church, half Roman and half Greek; Roman to the educated priesthood, but Greek to the ignorant peasantry. Its proper style is the "Uniate Church," a title derived from its enforced union with Rome."

This tersely describes the Ruthenians and their situation. Their priests frankly will tell you they are Roman Catholics, but of the Ruthenian rites; while the ignorant laity will deny it, claiming they are pure Greek Catholics, the same as the Russian Church, "only our Church is under the Pope," they will add. That is the only difference the average layman knows.

The rights of the Ruthenian Church given under the 1595 decree of union are still maintained in Galicia, although as early as 1624 an effort was made by the Roman clergy of Poland with the approval of the king to extend the provisions of the Italo-Greek "Etsi Pastoralis" bull to the Ruthenians, in Galicia, which was strenuously resisted by the Ruthenians. Pope Urban VIII in a Breve of the date of February 7th, 1624, refused the request of the Polish authorities and clergy and reaffirmed the equal rights of the Ruthenians with the Latins. Again in 1802, under somewhat similar circumstances, Pope Pius VII reaffirmed these equal rights.

Of the seven original dioceses of the union, five returned to the Russian Orthodox Church after the reannexation of their

territory by Russia, the last change being in 1875, that of the diocese of Chelm. The two remaining dioceses were located in Galicia, one of which, the diocese of Przemysl-Sanor-Sambor, was divided in two about 1872, the diocese of Stanislaus being the name given to the new diocese, making at present three Galician dioceses of the Ruthenian Church which have the original rights under the Magnus Dominis bull. It may here be added, that of the seven Greek bishops, who, with the metropolitan of Kief, signed the terms and request to the Pope for the union, at the synod of Brescz, in June 1595, and all of whose names appear in the Magnus Dominis bull, the two Galician bishops, Michael Kopestynski, of Przemsyl, and Gideon Balaban, of Halicz-Lemberg refused to adhere to and accept the same upon its promulgation in the Ruthenian churches, which took place in October, 1596, the two bishops being supported in their refusal by Count Constantine of Ostrog, their civil master, who from the first strenuously opposed the union. The Uniates immediately took steps to take over to them individual churches in the two last named dioceses. Ruthenian vicars were appointed by the Latin bishops. In 1610 upon the death of Bishop Kopestynski of Przemsyl, both the Orthodox and the Uniates named successors to him, the Uniates naming Athanasius Krupecki (a Lithuanian by birth), who was born and reared a Latin, at one time being the tutor of Prince, afterward King Ladislaws IV. Krupecki became a Greek, joining the Order of St. Basil and shortly thereafter was named bishop by the king. He did not have a large following. The Orthodox named one Chlopecki their bishop. This condition of two bishops, one an Orthodox and the other a Uniate continued until the year 1692, when the Orthodox gave in, or rather were suppressed, since which time the diocese has been wholly Uniate. The Orthodox Lemberg diocese fared better, having no Uniate bishop until the year 1700, when it too became wholly Uniate. Lemberg was raised to the dignity of a metropolitan See in 1807, with jurisdiction over Galicia only. It is strange that the last dioceses to accept the union with Rome, namely, the Galician, are the last and only ones who still adhere to it. It would undoubtedly be different if Galicia were a part of Russia or Germany, rather than Austrian. In addition to the Galician dioceses, which are the only ones benefitted by the Magnus Dominis bull, there are at present

two Ruthenian dioceses in Hungary (Eperies and Munkacs) and one in Croatia (Koerves). The latter three dioceses with their bishops are under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Primate of Hungary, a Latin, the archbishop of Gran. The Galician Church is an independent hierarchy, standing directly under the Pope and the College of the Sacred Propaganda. This peculiar relation explains the confusion in the minds of church authorities concerning the proper standing of the Ruthenians, especially the Galician Ruthenians in North America. Have they more rights in America than the Hungarian Ruthenians?

With equal rights it was but natural that many controversies and conflicting matters arose in Galicia between the Ruthenians and the Latins, as to their conduct and relations to each other. Upon the suggestion of Pope Pius IX, in 1863, the Latin and Ruthenian bishops signed a "Concordia" which fixed the rule of conduct of the one rite toward the other, the Concordia recognizing the equality of the two.

Riot, violence and bloodshed marked the course of the union for many years after the promulgation of the Magnus Dominis bull. The Uniates aided by the king, Sigismund III, made great efforts to stamp out the schismatics, as the Orthodox were called. The latter in return joined with the Protestants in 1596 at Brescz and in council declared themselves free from the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Rahosa. Bishop Kopystynski attended this Council. He was excommunicated by Rome and King Sigismund forbade his subjects to recognize him. Kopystynski paid no attention to this, administering not only to his own diocese but to those left without an Orthodox bishop. When the king's attention was called to this, and to similar conduct of Bishop Balaban of Lemberg, he again threatened them with the vengeance of the law, but without avail. The two Orthodox bishops remained steadfast. Wherever these two bishops could not go, the Orthodox people looked to the Wallachian and Moldavian Orthodox bishops for their chrisma, priests, etc., and where these could not be secured, people allowed their children to die without priestly baptism, and themselves without absolution, etc., rather than submit to the union. These things largely contributed to the general uprising in Little Russia in 1654, heretofore referred to. It led to the killing of St. Josaphat, distinctly a saint of the Ruthenian Church, who did not

have to wait long to be canonized. In November 1623, a mob, with the sympathy of the entire city of Vitebsk back of it, wrecked the residence of John Josaphat Kuncewicz, the Uniate archbishop, because the latter had seized an Orthodox priest for preaching against the union in front of the cathedral. The archbishop at first hid from the mob, but finding he could hide no longer appeared to address and quiet them. He was immediately surrounded, set upon and hit over the head with a club and ax; his body was kicked and jumped upon. Believing they discovered him still breathing, the mob strangled him and then dragged his body to the banks of the Dwina, tied a stone to his neck and threw the body into the river. Thus died the Ruthenian martyr, and the name St. Josaphat is now given to many new Ruthenian churches in the United States, especially such as come directly under the jurisdiction of Latin bishops.

The name "Greek Catholic," it seems to us, is misused when applied to the Ruthenian Church. It leads the Ruthenian laity, with few exceptions, to believe they are what they are not, when in fact they are what they do not believe they are. As the test of the Roman Church is its doctrines or Creed and not rituals and ceremonies, the Ruthenians are Roman Catholics and not Greek Catholics; they are "Roman Catholics of the Ruthenian rites." It is this lack of understanding and other causes, such as the introduction of their home politics into America, that has caused so much trouble and so many church law suits among them. It was chiefly because of this misnomer "Greek Catholic," that whenever a Roman Catholic bishop of the Latin rite, in America, sought jurisdiction over them, they protested and rebelled. As a rule, they refuse to recognize a Latin bishop, at least in so far that they refuse to place the fee or deed of their Church property in his name or under his care. Their priests, in America, are mostly powerless in this matter and have to proceed cautiously for they have a Greek laity on the one side and Roman masters on the other. The laity do not seem to understand the ecclesiastical standing of their Church, its relation to Rome; they do not seem to understand they are "united, annexed, adjoined and incorporated" into the Roman Church; that they are not Greek but Roman, with Latinized Greek rites. In the United States the laity mostly know little of the *Ea Semper* bull. While this bull was issued more than

four years ago, in June 1907, and concerns only the Ruthenians in the United States, the Ruthenian bishop has not yet promulgated it in his churches or put it in full force among them; he is introducing it gradually. Priests are still permitted to confirm children and to perform marriages in violation of the bull. The married priests have not been recalled to Galicia, on the contrary, married priests with their families have since immigrated to the States and have beeen assigned to churches most outspoken against the terms of the Ea Semper bull. The fact that their priest is a married man with family, just over from the old country, is sufficient proof that the bull is not for them. However, in some places where the terms of the bull were sought to be enforced, law suits have arisen and in many instances caused splits, the dissenters organizing Russian churches and in one or two instances Presbyterian and Methodist churches.

That the Ea Semper bull faithfully carried out will eventually Latinize the Ruthenian Church in the United States can be gathered from its provisions. It is subdivided into four chapters comprising 34 articles. The first chapter relates to the bishop of the Ruthenian rites; the second chapter concerns the Ruthenian clergy; the third chapter, the conduct of the faithful Ruthenians; and the fourth chapter concerns the marriage between parties of the two rites, the Latin and the Ruthenian, and the baptism of their children. The Ruthenian bishop of the United States is required by the bull to reside in the city of Philadelphia. He receives his faculties from the local (Latin) bishop in whose diocese he happens to be and is to perform his episcopal functions. He cannot visit a diocese without first obtaining the consent of the local bishop. In other words, he cannot do an episcopal act in any diocese, not even make episcopal visitations of the Ruthenian churches, without first having or receiving permission of the local bishop. This practically makes him a vicar of the local Latin bishop in each diocese; a sort of vicar with bishoply character for the Ruthenians only. At present he has general faculties given him by the several bishops in whose diocese a Ruthenian Church which recognizes him is located, which faculties are revocable or subject to modification at the pleasure of the granting bishop. There are several so-called Hungarian Ruthenian churches that prefer the Latin bishop to the present Ruthenian bishop and have nothing in

common with the latter. Only as late as August 24, 1911, in order to secure a new incorporation of "Saints Peter and Paul Little Russian Church of Jersey City," which church has had its measure of trouble, Bishop Ortynsky signed himself as "Vicar General." Under the New Jersey law governing the incorporation of Roman churches the Roman Catholic bishop of the local diocese, his vicar, and the local priest must sign the articles of incorporation, together with two laymen trustees appointed by the former three. In this instance the articles of incorporation were signed by the Rt. Rev. John J. O'Connor, bishop of Newark diocese, by his for that purpose appointed vicar Bishop Ortynsky, and by Father Ulitski, the local priest, besides the two appointed lay trustees. In the articles the church is designated as "the Roman Catholic Church known as Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church of Saints Peter and Paul, Jersey City, N. J." It is predicted that when this fact that Bishop Ortynsky has at last been compelled to acknowledge himself the vicar of local Roman bishops becomes generally known among the Ruthenian laity more trouble will follow. Verily the American Ruthenians are not treated as being, "received, united, adjoined, annexed and incorporated with Rome," but rather as being "absorbed by Rome," in the same manner as the Italo-Greeks were. Besides this we have the anomaly of a Roman Catholic church, in Jersey City, in which all Roman Catholics cannot worship, the Latins being forbidden under the Ea Semper bull.

Among the many conditions laid down by the Ea Semper bull, which are infringements of the rights of the Galician Church, one provides that all titles of church property are to be consigned to the local bishop or to trustees of whom he approves. The Ruthenian bishop has nothing to say about this. The Ruthenian priests are appointed and removed by the local bishop, who simply reports the appointment or removal to the Ruthenian bishop. At present however, the general faculties given the Ruthenian bishop by the local diocesan bishops, permits the former to name and remove the priests, and these faculties are also subject to revocation or modification at any time by the local bishop. A Ruthenian may go to confession and partake of the sacraments to a Latin priest, even if there is a Ruthenian priest at hand, but a Latin cannot go to a Ruthenian priest. Ruthenians are at liberty to go over to the Latin rite, but not

vice versa. While marriages between Ruthenians and Latins are in no wise restricted, the Latin party is bound under all circumstances to preserve his or her rite. The Ruthenian wife is free to adopt the rite of her Latin husband, and when once adopted cannot go back to the Ruthenian until after the death of her husband. The marriage ceremony in the case of a Latin husband and a Ruthenian wife must be performed by a Latin priest. In Galicia it is just the reverse under the Concordia of 1863 heretofore referred to; there the parish priest of the bride, whether Latin or Ruthenian, performs the ceremony. If the man is Ruthenian and the woman Latin, under the Ea Semper bull, the parties are free to take their choice of a priest, Latin or Ruthenian—the woman usually has her way. The children are to be baptized in the Latin rite if the father is Latin and the mother Ruthenian; if the mother is Latin and the father Ruthenian, the parents are free to have the children baptized either Latin or Ruthenian. In this also the woman generaly has her way. The children are Latin or Ruthenian according to the rite of their baptism. These conditions and other restrictions, such as the rule that priests in America shall be celibates, and that they shall be educated in Latin seminaries if there is no Ruthenian seminary, will have a tendency soon to Latinize the American Ruthenian Church.

This tendency, it seems, was realized in Galicia before it was in America. As early as June 26th, 1908, a Ruthenian clerical member of the Austrian Parliament, Doctor Markow, in a speech delivered in the latter body, denounced the Ea Semper bull. Among other things he said,—we are giving the translation exactly as it was made for us by a Ruthenian priest. "Our enemies, the Roman authorities, are not treating the Ruthenians fairly; they have made a beginning in America; the Roman bull forbids the marriage of the Ruthenian priests; there also they must be educated in Latin seminaries; although his rite is the Greek-Slavish, the poor emigrant must take the Roman Catholic. The American Greek bishop has no rights as such; he has no right to appoint or remove priests. He is absolutely dependent on the Roman bishops,—an ordinary servant of the latter. It is a work of extinguishing the automony of the Ruthenian Church; an attempt to destroy the liberty of our Church. It seems to be the Roman Pontiff's desire to exterminate the Ruthe-

nian Greek Catholic Church, by changing it to the Roman rite." It is such speeches as Dr. Markow's and articles along the same line in their newspapers, that have caused thousands of Ruthenians to attach themselves to the Russian and other churches.

The provisions of the American Ea Semper bull were taken largely from the Italo-Greek "Etsi Pastoralis" bull of Benedict XIV, issued May 26th, 1742, and from the "Demandatum coelitus" bull of the same Pope, dated December 24th, 1743, for the Greek Melchites of the Turkish dominion. During the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries many inhabitants of the Turkish peninsula, mostly Albanians, emigrated to southern Italy. The original Greek Church in Italy had never separated from the Roman Church, in fact, no schismatic church was allowed in Italy, in those early days. These Greek immigrants from Turkey, especially after the fall of Constantinople, were conceded certain rights and privileges by the Popes Leo X, Paul III, and Julius III. These concessions were withdrawn by Pius IV and later in 1742, their final status was fixed by Benedict XIV in his Etsi Pastoralis bull, and the Greeks in Italy were placed under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishops, being allowed however, to retain their Greek rites and ceremonies. The Etsi Pastoralis bull among other things regulates the intermarriage between Greeks and Latins to the later's advantage, including the baptism, confirmation and status of their children, and the like. It also gives them Greek bishops with visitorial rights only; whatever faculties these Greek bishops have they receive from the local bishops. At that time, 1742, there were about 100,000 such Greeks in Italy, and notwithstanding their well known prolific tendencies and the constant immigration to them from Albania and other Turkish and Oriental countries, to-day only about 25,000 are still adhering to the Greek rites. From a Roman standpoint, this speaks well for the author of the Etsi Pastoralis bull. The Italo-Greeks had to accept the inevitable. The effect of the Demandatum coelitus bull on the Melchites was somewhat, but in a lesser degree, the same; the Melchites, however, were not in a Roman country surrounded by Roman churches and influence. The Demandatum bull forbade those of the Greek rites going over to the Latin while the Etsi Pastoralis bull allowed it. The Ea Semper bull also allows Ruthenians to go over to the Latin rites, the only restriction being, that it

forbids Latin priests making attempts to induce Ruthenians to leave their own rites and become attached to the Latin; a Latin priest doing this falls under Apostolic censure *ferendae sententiae.*

Will the Ea Semper bull do to the American Ruthenians what the Etsi Pastoralis bull did to the Italo-Greeks? In Canada where they have not even the protection of a vicarial bishop of their own, their Latinization will go much faster or they will return to the Russian Church, or become independent. Already there is an independent Greek Church there. The latter body is growing, having several congregations. It has the moral support of the Presbyterian Church back of it.

For a restoration and preservation of their Greek rites the American Ruthenians will, it seems, eventually have to look to the Russian Church. With the children of Ruthenian mothers and Latin fathers compelled to be Latins; with Ruthenians free to join the Latin Church but Latins forbidden to join the Ruthenian; with the Latin baptized children of Ruthenian fathers and Latin mothers adjudged Latins, how can the Ruthenian Church survive many generations in America? It must look to Ruthenian immigration rather than to its American born increase for strength and perpetuation. And when Ruthenian immigration will cease, it having only about 4,000,000 Ruthenians to draw from, the Church in America will decline, simply for the reason that it will not be allowed its own where there is Latin blood mixed with it. In this barter between the Ruthenian and the Latin as laid down by the Ea Semper bull, the result will eventually be the same as that brought about by the Italo-Greek bull; the Ruthenian giving everything drop by drop to the Latin and receives nothing in return. It is a slow process but it is sure.

With the great Russian Orthodox Church it is otherwise. This Church has a great future before it in America. While the Ruthenian Church, no matter where located, clings to the Old Slavonic language, the Russian Church adopts the language of the country in which it is located, which means that eventually it will adopt the English language for its services in America. Already it has a complete English edition of its service book. Will the American Ruthenians of the future be permitted to have their services, including their masses, in English? The children of foreign speaking parents quickly forget their

mother tongue in America. Seldom do we find the second generation of such children capable of fluently speaking and understanding the language of their grandparents, and when they of Ruthenian ancestry cease to understand the Old Slavonic ritual, will they be obliged to go to the Latin Church or lose their chances of heaven by excommunication, or will Papal authority be given them to conduct their rituals in English? Should such authority not be given, and it seems likely that it will not, will they prefer the Latin to the Russian Church, the Church of their early forefathers, in which the time-tested and sacred Greek liturgy of the early Christian centuries has been and is kept in its purity, in substance if not in language, and where this beautiful liturgy will be sung in the English language, permitting all English speaking people to understand and join?

And here we may be pardoned for injecting a few words concerning the Russian Church, also so little understood in America.

With the rest of the Orthodox Greek Church the Russian Church stands on firm historical grounds and needs no tradition to maintain its claim and position. The Eastern Church recognizes but one head, Jesus Christ; it has no vicarial head on earth. True, it has governing bodies and patriarchs, but no one supreme head or vicar of Christ. Many believe the Czar of Russia is the head of the Russian Church. He, being the State, is the head of the Church in Russia only so far as a State is and can be the head of a Church. The law of the land is the head of the Church in the United States; the only question that may arise is, are the laws constitutional? The Czar has no spiritual authority, that is, priestly authority or functions. He goes to his devotions, worship, etc., and partakes of the sacraments and receives his absolutions from the priest just as does his humblest subject. The Russians, however, look upon the Czar as the protector of the Greek religion, and for this they are thankful, as they should be.

The Russian Church, while teaching that it alone is the true Church, excluding all others, even the Roman Church, does not condemn those outside its own body. It leaves that for the final judgment day. The well known Russian theological writer, A. S. Khomiakoff, in his work, "Russia and the English Church." vol. I, p. 194, comments on this as follows: "Inasmuch as the earthly and visible Church is not the fulness and completeness

of the whole Church which the Lord has appointed to appear at the final judgment of all creation, she acts and knows only within her own limits; and (according to the words of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, I Cor. V. v, 12 & 13), does not judge the rest of mankind, and only looks upon those as excluded, that is to say, not belonging to her, who exclude themselves. The rest of mankind, whether alien from the Church, or united to her by ties which God has not willed to reveal to her, she leaves to the judgment of the great day. The Church on earth judges for herself only, according to the grace of the Spirit, and the freedom granted her through Christ, inviting also the rest of mankind to the unity and adoption of God in Christ; but upon those who do not hear her appeal she pronounces no sentence, knowing the command of her Saviour and Head, not to judge another man's servant."

The Russian Church, with the whole Greek Orthodox Church, has no general doctrinal tests beyond the Creed itself. Its Faith consists of divers Articles, which one must believe and confess; of which some are principal and so necessary to salvation, that without the knowledge of them one cannot be saved any more than one can live without the principal members of the body, as the head, the heart and the like. To these principal articles of Faith belong the mystery of the Holy Trinity; the mission of the Son of God into the world; our justification by His death; God's mercy to fallen man, and His grace leading to repentance, and the like. All the Articles of Faith are contained in the Bible, none outside. The position of the Church on the writings of the holy fathers is that they are of great use for explanatory purposes, for instructions serviceable for holy living, or else for canons and rules for the discipline and good order of the Church and of the whole Christian community. Of traditions it holds: "Neither the writings of the holy fathers, nor the traditions of the Church are to be confounded or equalized with the Word of God." Compare this with a tenet or creed of another Church: "I most steadfastly admit and embrace apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions," and so forth, and "I also admit Holy Scripture, etc." Notice, traditions must be *steadfastly* admitted and embraced while Holy Scripture need only be admitted (not embraced), and then only in a restricted sense, the said Church being made the only inter-

preter of the Word of God. With the Russian Church the Bible is the rule and corrective of ecclesiastical traditions. It must not be understood that the Russian Church rejects ecclesiastical traditions, on the contrary it clings more to them than the Protestant Churches. However, it does not admit and embrace anti-Biblical traditions, or make them a test for salvation.

The Greek Orthodox Church has never been bothered with modernism, with new dogmas, doctrines, and the like. It avoids as much as possible definitions. While the West is always trying to define the manner of the change in the Sacraments, the East says it is a mystery, and that all definitions or pretended explanations are nothing but attempts to penetrate into the mystery, and that they overthrow the essence of a Sacrament. The East considers religion a matter of faith and not of speculation and dogmatisation; and holds that when it can be reasoned out it is no longer divine, but human. The East has never made a selection, so to speak, of what it will accept or reject and it never tries to define what it does not believe. It keeps the pure, simple faith and tone of the early fathers; the building up of the service in the words and language of Scripture, without rigidity and exactness of language, when human language is felt to be inadequate and unnecessary. It holds firmly to the Bible and the Nicean Creed. Anything outside of these is not essential.

Of salvation, the goal of all churches and religions, it "knows nothing by outward means, nor any sufferings whatever that may be, except those of Christ; nor bargaining with God, as in the case of a man buying himself off by good works," and the like. "There is," it teaches, "no need of any other kind of purification when the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin."

"Mutual prayer of the dead for the living, of the living for the dead, and of both for the whole Church, is to the Russian the bond which links together the Church in one Communion of Saints."

In conclusion—when the time comes that the English speaking Ruthenian, who no longer understands his Slavonic ritual will have to go into another Church, which will he be apt to choose? Will it be the Latin Church, the Protestant or the English speaking Russian? As they are in heart and soul Greek Catholic, the answer is not difficult.

In his novel, "The Foreigner" the Canadian author, Ralph

Connor, truly portrays the Ruthenians under the name of Galicians and Russians, showing their weaknesses and their latent moral strength, their devotion to their religion and its ceremonies and their submission to priestly rule, and depicting how, under proper guidance, surroundings and influences they throw off their weaknesses, superstition and priest rule, and while still devoted to their God, show the moral strength of their nature by remaining loyal to each other, loyal to the nation and its laws and become good citizens of their adopted country.

And when he leaves the Roman Church, whether of the Ruthenian or Latin rite, the Ruthenian will cease to be a Ruthenian, but not a Little Russian.

Syracuse, N. Y.

ARTICLE VI.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I. IN ENGLISH. BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

"Concerning Natural Religion," is the theme of "The Dudleian Lecture," delivered by Dr. W. W. Fenn of Harvard Theological Seminary, and published in *The Harvard Theological Review* (Oct.) The Dudleian Lectureship provides for a discourse concerning "natural religion as it is commonly called and understood by divines and learned men." Natural theology has had its day, thinks Dr. Fenn, except as it has survived in the theory of evolution, which strongly affirms the idea of order in the natural world. This order necessarily presupposes a determining intelligence back of it. But there are serious obstacles back of this argument. Over against this Dr. Fenn asserts that there is in the world to-day the actual presence "of a genuine, although unconventional, religious life wholly independent of ancient forms however tender and sacred as well as of historic tradition however uplifting." This religion has no language and no creed. It is rather the feeling of awe and of mystery awakened in man, especially in the student of science, as he contemplates the sublime order of the universe. This unvarying order begets within the student also a sense of confidence. "No devotee ever offered his prayer with half the confidence that a modern engineer constructs a bridge." Nature may not be distinctly animated by a purpose which directs its course towards the highest ends, but it is "amenable to the ideals of man and may be guided by him toward their realization. No investigator has the least fear that his researches will unlock a force fatal to the highest life of man. On the contrary, he is confident that the unmeasured resources of the universe may all be utilized for human well-being. In this perfect trust and confidence is there not something corresponding to the trust which the old-time worshipper reposed in his God? The order of the universe may not lend itself as of old to the argument of natural theology, but it does far more, it inspires natural religion in the breast of man." This natural religion shows itself in friendli-

ness and devotion to truth and humanity. Dr. Fenn has made something out of his case, but we are impressed anew with the utter insufficiency of natural religion to satisfy the yearnings of the soul which cries after the living God, as revealed in the Scriptures and in Christ.

In the same number of the *Harvard Review* appears a lecture on "The Nature of Prayer," by Mary Whiton Calkins of Wellesly College. Of prayer for material good, she says, "I hold that prayers for concrete and individual good are inconsistent alike with the deterministic hypothesis underlying all science, with any absolute philosophy, and with the forms of theism which conceives of God's purposes as eternal. Such prayers are, in fact, irrational forms of the essentially reasonable expression of the consciousness of our dependence upon God and of His interest in our concerns." This view of prayer, we hold to be flatly in contradiction of the teachings of the Bible, and rests upon a mechanical theory of the universe, from which personality is practically excluded. I wonder whether this good lady could sincerely pray, "Give us this day our daily bread." "Answer to prayer is, essentially, the recognition of the human by the divine self, the reaction of the divine on the human, the response of God's love to human love and trust. In a word, God's answer to prayer is God's consciousness of the human self as turning to God. The conviction that prayer is, in this sense, answered is indeed an inherent factor in prayer." Could anything be more vague and unsatisfactory than this definition. Prayer is some kind of a psychological play between God and man. It is altogether subjective. "God's consciousness of the human self as turning to God"—this, it is said, is God's answer to prayer. How can this be true? This is no answer at all. It is simply the divine knowledge of human need.

"The English Bible in English Literature" is discussed in the October *Review and Expositor* by Prof. J. C. Metcalf. He quotes Huxley as saying: "Consider the great historical fact that, for three centuries, this book has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history; that it has become the national epic of Britain, and is as familiar to noble and simple from John-o'-Groat's House to Land's End, as Dante

and Tasso once were to the Italians; that it is written in the noblest and purest English, and abounds in exquisite beauties of pure literary form; and finally it forbids the veriest hind who never left his village to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilizations, and of a great past stretching back to the farthest limits of the oldest civilizations of the world." "Literature," says Morley, "consists of all the books—and they are not so many—where moral truth and human passions are touched with a certain eagerness, sanity and attraction of form." To this the author would add as a criterion of literature, "Any book is literature which makes a lasting appeal to the emotions." "Considered as literature the Bible belongs to the 'literature of power' appealing as it does to the emotions, the imagination, and the will, more directly than to mere intellect." At least four qualities in the English Bible make this literary appeal. First, the Bible is a book of strong, simple, concrete words, which convey to the reader a sense of reality and absolute sincerity. Fully ninety-three per cent. of these words are of Anglo-Saxon origin and come very close to the primal emotions. Secondly, the Bible is a book of pictures. The truth is presented through parable, allegory, symbol. Thirdly, the Bible is a book of wonderful rhythms in the purely lyric parts and of a pleasing cadence in many prose passages, which fall upon the ear like solemn music. Fourthly, the Bible is a book of experiences, a pre-eminently personal book. Such a book has naturally profoundly impressed itself upon the minds of great men, and deeply affected their thought, taste and language. Ruskin declared that the most precious and most essential part of his education came from the Bible. Matthew Arnold said neither Shakespeare or Milton had given him as much delight as Homer and Isaiah. Macaulay speaks of the Bible as a "book which, if everything else in our language should perish, would alone suffice to show the whole extent of its beauty and power." Sir Walter Scott called the Bible the one book. Milton, Spenser, Shakespeare, Bunyan and Tennyson were well versed in Scripture and derived thought, information and expression from the Bible. And this is true of all great living writers. Wherever the Bible is cherished it "will continue to ennoble the emotions, enrich the imagination, and mould the life of individuals and nations: its language will live in the ear like music that can

never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells; it will remain a part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness."

J. Oscar Boyd discusses in an interesting way "The Character and Claims of the Roman Catholic English Bible" in the October *Princeton Review*...He contrasts the English Protestant Bible and the English Catholic Bible in three points—the canon, the text, and the version. The only English Bible authorized by the Roman Catholic Church is that translation which was made by certain teachers of the English Seminary at Douai in Belgium in the 16th century, and hence called the Douai version. As to the canon, the Catholic Council of Trent in 1546 declared that the Old Testament apocryphal books were inspired and hence belong to the Bible. The Protestants exclude these books because they lack the authenticity and antiquity of those which are included in the Protestant Bible. The text of the Catholic Bible is based principally on the Vulgate or old Latin version made by Jerome, and hence is very corrupt. The Catholic Church tolerates no biblical criticism of any kind, and hence her Bible is unaffected by modern scholarship or discovery. The gross absurdities which a corrupt text produces in translation is illustrated by passages in the Psalter, e. g., "Thou makest it soft with showers, Thou blessest the springing thereof" appears in the Douai as follows: "Inebriate her rivers; in her drops so shall she rejoice springing," Ps. 65:10. "A mountain of God is the mountain of Bashan," reads thus: "A mountain crudded as cheese, a fat mountain," Ps. 68:15.

The most persuasive and characteristic difference between the two English Bibles is in the motives and methods of their version, that is, in the actual work of translating into the English tongue their respective originals. The Douai Bible is the book of a sect. Dogmatic considerations mar it throughout.

"Romanism a Plagiarism on Paganism," is the title of a striking article by W. Dallmann in the October number of the *Theological Quarterly* of the Missouri Synod. It is somewhat in the nature of a retort to certain assertions made recently by leading Catholics. Father Vaughan of London, says that it was "the genius of Protestantism to invent a would-be religion."

Cardinal Logue "never could see how any intelligent Christian could oppose Catholicism." Archbishop Ryan claims that the "Catholic faith is superior to all creeds." Mr. O'Brian said to Knights of Columbus, "Protestantism has run its course and served its purpose." In the sixteen pages of the article are probably one hundred authentic quotations from ancient and modern writers setting forth the superstitions and heathen practices of Roman Catholics. Art and architecture are corrupt in Cathedrals with the mingling of mythology and Scripture, of gods and saints. "In Roman sepulchral inscriptions God is again Jupiter." "When Jesuits went to India, they stained their bodies and swore that they were Brahmins, who could trace their pedigree to the god Brahma." The Buddhists in Thibet have many customs and ceremonies similar to those in vogue among Romanists; and their Dalai Lamai is infallible just as is the Pope. The heathen of India and the Mohammedans use a rosary. The Persians believe in a purgatorial fire. The Hindus have faith in holy water, just as the ancient Greeks and Romans did, at whose temple doors was a vessel filled with holy water with which the worshipper sprinkled himself. The adoration as relics comes from the heathen. The Romanists have in divers places about 150 "true nails" of the cross and enough wood of the "true cross" to load a ship. There are twelve heads of John the Baptist and twenty bodies, eighteen bodies of St. Paul, six heads of Ignatius Martyr, sixty fingers of St. Jerome, forty holy shrouds, and 700 thorns from the sacred crown.

In the same *Quarterly* is a continuation of the presentation of "The Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary" by Louis Wessel. As a popular exposition this commentary is hard to excel. We hope it will appear in book form.

In the November *"Theological Magazine"* of the Ohio Synod, the Rev. George Dillman makes the usual plea for higher salaries for ministers. Skilled mechanics, such as bricklayers, steam-fitters, plumbers, tile-layers, receive an average of over four dollars a day. The average pay of ministers in the United States, according to government statistics is $663 per year. In the German Iowa Synod it is $550, and in the Joint Synod of Ohio $596. Surely this is poor pay.

II. IN GERMAN. BY PROFESSOR ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, A.M.

The trial of Pastor Jatho, which has now become world famous (*vide Lutheran Observer* August 18th and 25th, 1911), has not only had vastly important consequences for religious thought in Germany in forcing the issue on the problem of State-Churchism, but has also had its bearing upon current theological thought. It has operated as a criterion and standard of measurement. It has served beautifully to show the theological aims of many of those who have always been classed with that general group called "liberal theologians," but whose position has never been more clearly defined. They are easily discernible now by their attitude towards Jatho's theology. This criterion, be it remarked, must not be confused with their attitude towards Jatho's sentence. For many who strongly repudiate Jatho's theological views, nevertheless stoutly protest against his conviction and deposition from office. But in their very protest against the decision of Jatho's judges they are forced to declare themselves and to state their attitude towards his religious creed and this has made manifest their relative theological position and the degree of "liberal" quality attaching to their views.

In no case has this been clearer or more interesting than in that of Professor Harnack. It has been very noticeable that in recent years Harnack has been steadily moving towards the right. A generation ago he was the acknowledged leader of the extreme left, and his views of a generation ago are still of immense influence in America. His denial of the Virgin Birth, his questionable differentiation between the gospel of Jesus and that of the apostles, his chronology of the New Testament writings, and his contention that the pure religion of Jesus Christ was corrupted with Greek philosophy through the formulation of ecclesiastical dogmas,—these and other views of his led men to regard him as the arch-enemy of traditional and conservative theology. His penetrative historical insight, his profound learning, his power of presentation, and his audacious criticism made him for many years the peerless dictator among advanced German theologians. But the days of Harnack's leadership among the liberal theologians are past. It would be impossible to-day for any production of his to produce the stir that was produced a decade ago by his *Wesen des Christentums* or a quarter of a century ago by his

History of Doctrine. Younger spirits have superseded him in his chieftaincy. The school of the religio-historical method has gone beyond Harnack. And at the same time Harnack has himself made visible advances in the direction of more conservative views. Some of his former friends and admirers have been forced to take issue with him. He now claims that both the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles were written by Luke the Physician, and he dates them as early as the most conservative New Testament critic. He even holds to the essential historicity and authenticity of the Gospel of John as based primarily upon the testimony of eye-witnesses. Along the whole line of scientific Biblical criticism he has sounded the call for a retreat from the radical positions of the near past.

This he expressed in clear and unmistakable accents when he made his recent visit to England to deliver an address in London at the auspicious opening of the Associated Council of Churches of the British and German Empires for Fostering Friendly Relations between the Two Peoples. On that occasion he remarked in passing: "The external criticism of the New Testament, by which I mean the criticism of the literary character of the New Testament writings, will continue to proceed as it is now proceeding in the direction of more conservative conclusions. It will come to be recognized more and more generally that the literary criticism of fifty, forty, and thirty years ago was entirely too radical and employed principles and methods which to-day must be rejected..... Primitive Christianity must be investigated in its relation to other religions and that will be the authoritative method of the future. But by this I do not mean to say that our appreciation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is limited by the influence of contemporary heathen civilization or that the proclamation of Paul and the first apostles was conditioned by the intellectual culture of the Greeks in that day. The life of Jesus and the apostles must be brought into relation with the Judaism of their day. The infiuence of the Greek spirit was not felt until the second generation of early Christianity."

Harnack has refused to follow the lead of the newest arrival in theological method. He has manifested a more friendly attitude towards the dogmas of the Church. He has shown in recent years an increased activity in the interests of practical re-

ligion and social Christianity. He now writes and speaks with a higher degree of religious warmth than he was wont. These facts and others justify the inference that Professor Harnack, while still far from being orthodox, is yet undergoing a decided change in his theological attitude. This change is towards conservatism and across the grain of current liberal theology. This is an unfashionable direction but that it is his good right thus to move in his search for truth, none will deny though most will refuse to follow. That this change in Harnack is a fact and not a mere inference is made very plain by recent happenings in connection with the case of Pastor Jatho.

When the sentence against Jatho was announced there was quite naturally not a little indignation among the liberal-minded theological students, especially in Berlin. Now Harnack was himself a member of the judicial college that convicted Jatho. And although he was only an alternate member and did not sit on Jatho's case, yet he was closely enough identified with the tribunal to feel himself called upon to devote one of his lecture hours to a comment on this burning question. Unknown to the Professor his words were stenographically recorded and published in full in the daily papers. Thus a little controversy was precipitated.

Harnack in his lecture defended the judicial college as an institution. In this he took issue with a large host of his theological comrades. He insisted that the very essence of a State-Church demands control of doctrine and discipline against heterodoxy. He strongly asserted against Sohm's program of congregational polity that the Church as a whole must be thoroughly equipped with the means of defending its essentials and of securing its doctrinal position. The new disciplinary tribunal therefore does no violence to the individual conscience but really denotes progress in the matter of doctrinal discipline. This is indispensable. Harnack suggested slight changes in the tribunal as now constituted and held that the judges should not be obliged to decide categorically for or against the accused but should be allowed to render a sentence of "abuse" and trust to the moral effect of such a sentence. He said that the case of Jatho should never have been brought before such a tribunal because the law creating the tribunal was of later origin than the complaints against the Cologne pastor. It seemed like making

the disciplinary system retroactive. This last view is widely regarded as inconsistent with what Harnack had said before concerning the necessity of doctrinal discipline for the stability of a State-Church. In conclusion the Professor criticised Jatho's doctrine of God and of Christ. The God of Christianity, he said, dare never be identified with "mere natural law" nor with the "spirit of evolution." Nor dare the Person of Christ be considered a mere subsidary matter as Jatho contends. Our pulpit message must take its beginning from Christ's Person and must show that His Person has an "invariable" position and a permanent significance in the Christian Church.

The publishing of this lecture aroused more interest than the average publication among the host that appeared upon the case. Jatho at once replied to Harnack through an open letter in the newspapers. He asserted that Christ's position in the Church has not been "invariable" and that Harnack's whole life-work has been to show the variations of Christ's role in history. It is a ridiculous inconsistency for Harnack now to speak of an "invariable Christ." Jatho claimed that he had only drawn the consequences of Harnack's own teacheings. Harnack had taught him to give up entirely the Christology of the Ancient Church and the Christ of Luther and Jatho had simply gone the next step and resolved everything into absolute subjectivism. Since Jesus himself has nothing of authority to say about God we are all dependent solely upon the inner light. "We doubters, you and I, since we have given up the old Christology can certainly no longer seek for any objective truth concerning God."

Jatho's claim to be a disciple of Harnack was embarrassing to the master and however reluctant to continue the discussion he was forced to make a further statement. This he did in an open letter addressed to Jatho and published in *Die Christliche Welt.* He denies Jatho's assertion that they both hold the same view of Christ. He accuses the Cologne pastor of a lack of historical perspective. For Jatho there seem to be but two alternatives: Jesus the God, or Jesus the human being in search of God. But a glance into history shows that there is another possibility besides naive metaphysics and absolute subjectivism. The historic Christ is compassed neither by the ancient doctrine of the two natures nor by Jatho's hyper-modern theosophy of the inner light. And it is in this connection that Harnack

makes the highly significant statement that history shows that "God has sent us teachers and prophets, and advancing beyond them He has sent us a Man who has become our Lord and Christ, not because we ourselves have made Him so but because God Himself has made Him so... The original apostolic conception which is identical with His own testimony concerning Himself was that He is Messiah and Lord. This is the judgment of faith that I have in mind when I speak of His "unchangeable" and permanent significance, and this article of faith represents the fundamental basis of all Christologies..... That the State-Church binds her teachers to the proclamation of Jesus as Lord is not merely a matter of law but is necessary from the very nature of Christianity." These are very remarkable utterances from Harnack and not easy to reconcile with his books and his teaching from the desk. We can afford to overlook in this connection the rest of Harnack's defénse against Jatho, Jatho's second reply, the echo of the debate as it resounds now between Wernle and Jatho, and the many interesting comments on the "Jatho-Harnack controversy." Of sole interest to us here is the light that the incident throws upon Harnack's theological and ecclesiastical position.

The discussion with Jatho was manifestly embarrassing to Harnack, for he is not accustomed to defend the conservatism of his views, nor apparently does he desire to be regarded as a reactionary. That he should be obliged after these many years of energetic activity as theological teacher to defend himself before the whole theological world against the charge of inconsistency in logic and retrogression in doctrinal position can be anything but pleasant. To find in his age that his own teaching has brought forth such as Jatho who not only deny that there was anything exceptional in the Person of Jesus but even deny the living God, must be almost mortifying. On the other hand it seems almost anomolous that Adolph Harnack for whom several decades ago nothing seemed too liberal, should now be advocating disciplinanry proceedings against false doctrine and should insist so stoutly upon maintaining Jesus in His "unchangeable" position of "Lord and Christ,"—a position which God gave Him, a position which He claimed for Himself, and a position which He has always occupied in the religious thought of the primitive apostles as well as in present-day Christianity.

But it is simply another unmistakable indication that Harnack has withdrawn from his untenable subjectivism and has approached nearer to the position of traditional faith. It also shows that Harnack is engaged in the earnest search for historical truth and is open to conviction as are all men of real scientific instinct. In so far the incident with Jatho has been refreshing. For now the whole weight of Harnack's authority as a leader among theologians may be claimed for the objective truth of the divine revelation in the Person of Jesus Christ. And but for his philosophic pre-suppositions which lead him to reject all mysticism and metaphysics we might hope for even a much closer approach to the traditional theology of the Church.

The sharp division of theological party lines that followed upon the trial of Pastor Jatho has brought Germany suddenly and squarely to face a problem of immense significance. The problem has been looming up for more than one decade without, however, pressing for an answer. But now it is clear that the issue will soon be forced and current theological literature manifests the fact that cool minds and serious heads have begun to apply themselves diligently to the solution of the difficult question. We refer to the weighty problem of separating Church and State or at least of readjusting their relations. Jatho's case has not been the sole instrument in forcing this problem upon the notice of the public. There have been several other cases of disciplinary proceeding recently that have attracted wide attention and served to continue the stir of ecclesiastical waters. The trial of Pastor Heydron quite recently before the consistorium of Kiel has presented the problem very forcibly to Schleswig-Holstein. And even now Gottfried Traub, pastor of Dortmund, in the Prussian province of Westphalia, is standing trial before the consistorium of Breslau. Traub was one of those who busied themselves very vigorously last summer on Jatho's behalf, one of the two persons who argued the defense before the judicial college in Berlin. His remarks on that occasion were imprudently bitter and he is now reaping the fruits of this indiscretion and others.

But this rapid succession of disciplinary proceedings against heterodoxy has only been the precipitating occasion and not the comprehensive cause of the present discussion concerning the

separation of Church and State. The real cause is to be found in a combination of other factors in the present-day religious life of Germany. Such are (1) the growing threat of ultramontanism to engulf the German Empire politically and culturally and thus to put an end to the progress of modern civilization; (2) the vast strength of that modern pietistic movement which manifests itself in great numbers of brotherhoods, fellowship meetings, and conventicles, none of which are kindly disposed towards State-Churchism and many of which have formally broken with the Church; (3) the aversion of certain classes of thought to all traditional religion, which receives its best expression in the League of Monists, an organization which has recently shown itself capable of continued vigorous existence even apart from the guiding personality of Ernst Haeckel; (4) the ominous swelling tide of the social democrats, now no longer entirely insensible to all religious perception but still and forever in deadly opposition to the State-Church; (5) the numerous withdrawals of membership from the Church, a movement which gathers force from each new irruption in religious circles; (6) the recent serious conflicts in various quarters concerning the religious instruction in the schools; (7) the continued complaints of dissenters and Jews; and (8) not least of all, the widening gap between the orthodox and the liberals on the catheder, on the pulpit, and in the pew.

The situation calls loudly for some readjustment of ecclesiastical polity and organization. The dissatisfaction is deep-seated and general and refuses this time to be hushed. The present conditions are well-nigh intolerable and all parties are agreed upon the need of some reform. Already practical suggestions are appearing in print. Not long ago, while excitement was still running high, there suddenly appeared upon the calendar of the upper house of the Prussian legislature the proposition to "separate Church and State." But it is generally recognized that to do this suddenly would be rash and dangerous. Now that the high heat of the immediate controversy over Jatho has subsided somewhat the confused mass of hasty proposals is found to have melted and evaporated. Now more deliberate pens have taken up the problem involved. For that a real problem is involved in such a case as that of Jatho,—a problem of vast and vital importance to Church and State alike,—none will deny.

The discussion has begun with coolness and circumspection on all sides, for the Germans have learned the lesson of history in Scotland, England and France, and are determined that there shall be no sudden breach or rash irruption.

Theodor Kaftan, General Superintendent of Schleswig-Holstein, author of *Moderne Theologie des Alten Glaubens* (vide LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. xxxviii, pp. 175 sqq. and Vol. xl, pp. 1 sqq.), and one of the most prominent and influential churchmen of Germany, publishes a brochure on the subject entitled *Wo Stehen Wir?* He first traces in outline the dismal picture afforded by present-day religious conditions, illustrating with the concrete instance of the Heydron trial before his own consistorium at Kiel. Then he shows the infeasibility, especially from a financial point of view, of Geffcken's proposal to divide every congregation into two parts, one the liberal, the other the conservative. Kaftan proceeds then to show that the lines of difference have become so sharp that the very existence of the national Church is threatened. Until recently the liberal pastors still respected the Church's Confession. Since then they have taken a more aggressive attitude towards both Church and Confession and now they completely ignore the Church's Confessional position. The next step will be to omit the Catechism. Then the prescribed forms for ministerial acts will be dispensed mith, and finally the hymnal will go. Then the faith will have disappeared entirely from all Church forms and orders, and the Church of Christ will be in complete dissolution. Surely at the present rate the national Church is in danger.

But Kaftan believes that the State-Church can still be rescued for the masses. He suggests as a possible solution that each individual congregation shall have the right, if it so desires, to decide that it will no longer belong to the Church of the Lutheran or the Evangelical Confession but will henceforth continue to exist as a "Modern Christian Congregation." Those within each congregation who remain true to the Confession, where they are the small minority, should have to be provided for in some way, just how Kaftan does not make plain. With reference to the salaries of the pastors some just compromise would have to be made with the "modern congregation." The nature of this compromise would have to be determined by the circumstances and numbers in each case. This new species of

religious organization would thus remain in external connection with the State-Church and yet would have the right to teach what it pleased. At the same time the State-Church would remain what it now is, the Church of the Confession with its traditional ecclesiastical orders and its doctrinal discipline. Thus would Kaftan hope to bridge over the present crisis.

This suggestion by Kaftan and the changes he proposes are very mild as compared with the radical revision of ecclesiastical organization proposed in other quarters. Erich Förster of Frankfurt am Main has just published a booklet entitled *Entwurf eines Gesetzes betreffend die Religionsfreiheit im Preussischen Staat, mit Einleitung und Bugründung vorgelegt.* This is discussed at length by Theodor Kaftan in two current articles in *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* and by Karl Sell in *Die Christliche Welt.* Kaftan styles it a "new religious law for Prussia." Sell calls it "not separation of Church and State but unchurching the State and denationalizing the religious societies." Förster lays down two fundamental principles which he insists must be observed in the approaching readjustment of ecclesiastical organization. The one is that as religion is an essential and indispensable factor of civilization it is as much the duty of the State to care for the religious culture of her citizens as it is her duty to foster art and science, but that henceforth the cost of religion shall fall only on such as desire its benefits. The other fundamental principle is that religion is essentially a matter of freedom and can never be made a matter of compulsion in any sense of the term.

What Förster desires therefore is not complete separation of Church and State but separation of religion and State, the limitation of the powers of State to the mere external administration of Church affairs. The State shall be excluded from all matters of religion and shall concern itself only about the legal aspects of the Churches, shall further the interests of the Churches by granting them the right to levy taxes upon their members, and by its strong arm shall guarantee their material safety and undisturbed freedom. Förster has pondered his subject long and well and lays down the details of his plan in 142 paragraphs. His system would dispense entirely with the State-Church. Uniformity in Church polity and organization is not a part of the plan. The individual congregations would have the right to

band themselves together into great organizations which we in this country would call unions, assemblies, synods, councils, or conferences. These bodies would supersede the established Church. And Förster plans for the possibility of five kinds of such general national organizations: Lutheran, Reformed, Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Dissenters. These general organizations would have powers resembling somewhat those exercised by the general bodies in America. Their special function, of course, would be the administration of the internal affairs of their congregations, such as the preparation of the clergy and the calling of pastors, the regulation of worship, the determination of confessional position, the administration of doctrinal discipline, and the collection and application of benevolences.

The plan presents a host of practical definitions of sphere and relations. We can not describe the details here. Suffice it to say that Förster's *Entwurf* is a serious effort to be just to all parties. It has been so recognized by all. But it is doubtful whether the general outline will be the first to be adopted when a change is made. It would certainly denote a very long step for the first one. Nevertheless it has set churchmen to thinking. It will form the basis of the discussion which is sure to come in the very near future. The chief significance of Förster's work lies in the fact that it is the first detailed suggestion for the practical solution of the greatest problem now confronting the theological world of Germany.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE VII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

GENERAL COUNCIL PUBLICATION BOARD. PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The Confessional Principle and the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, as embodying the Evangelical Confession of the Christian Church. By Theodore E. Schmauk and C. Theodore Benze, with translations from the Introduction and writings of Theodore Kolde, Professor in Erlangen. Cloth. Pp. cxxxi, 962. Price $4.00.

From the preface we learn that "the present work is a broad attempt to do justice to the Confessional Principle of the Evangelical Church, in the midst of a feeling or spirit of our time which does it injustice. * * * It desires to set forth more fully this Church's comprehensive and vitalizing grasp of the Confessional Principle of Christianity, in the belief that our Confession comes direct from Christ in the Word of Scripture, as the answer and testimony of Faith unto its Lord, and unto all the world; and in the assurance that this Faith will ever enlarge its circles of contact, and that it holds in its embrace the strength of the past, the potency of the present, and the hope of the future." "The practical aim is an effort to make clear to the judgment and conscience of English Lutherans that the chief matter before the Lutheran Church to-day, as a Church of the living Faith, is not its relation to an outside Christianity, however timely or pressing—or even embarrassing—that may seem to be; but that the great and immediate duty of the Church is to learn to know, and to more fully develop her own highest principle and character, as the bearer of Word and Sacrament."

The Confessional Principle, as set forth in the volume before us is "The answer of the soul and the Church to the Word." The Lutheran Confessions are the concrete expression of this Principle. The theological, political and religious background of the age of the Reformation, which gave birth to our Confessions is clearly depicted. The complicated historical questions are disentangled and properly interpreted. The chapters introduced from Kolde are exceedingly helpful, and make one wish for the translation of Kolde's entire work on the Augustana.

There is a vast amount of matter, original and quoted from many sources, indicating a wide knowledge and strong grasp of the subject. Indeed, the student of the Book of Concord will

find in *The Confessional Principle* invaluable aid both as to matter and interpretation.

The question of the text of the Augustana is ably discussed, and the conclusion is reached that the present *edito princeps* is true to the original as to substance. It is the unaltered Augsburg Confession of the Lutheran Church as included in the Book of Concord and as incorporated in the life and literature of that Church. All efforts to reconstruct it upon data such as the various versions and translations, used for instance by Tschackert, have proved futile and must from the nature of the case be comparatively useless. The question is not as to exact language of the autograph copies, which have been lost, but as to the truth of the content of the *textus receptus.* The *edito princeps* of 1531 must be taken as the norm by which to settle the authenticity of the Augustana. This is the *unaltered* edition, not as contrasted with what went before it, but with the various *altered* editions which followed it, specially that of 1540.

One of the most interesting chapters is that treating of "The Hand of God in the Formation of the Augsburg Confession, as shown by the course of events in 1529 and 1530, and in the letters of Luther and Melanchthon." This is a chronological study of events in the light of original sources. These are set before the reader in such a simple and graphic manner that he is able to draw his own conclusions. It is apparent that the guiding and overruling hand of Divine Providence so shaped affairs that, in spite of the combined opposition of the Emperor and the emissaries of the Pope, the cause of truth was vindicated in the great Confession. Little did the evangelicals realize that they were making a creed which should live for ages.

The formulation of the Augustana is properly credited to the graceful, theological pen of Melanchthon, while the doctrine and substance thereof is Luther's, who was the chief factor in the composition of the Schwabach and Torgau Articles, which enter so largely into the Augustana. But let no one for a moment suppose that this was an easy task. Indeed, amid the confusion at Augsburg, Melanchthon and his friends were taxed to the very utmost.

The claims of Dr. J. A. Brown against the assertion of Dr. C. P. Krauth, as quoted by Dr. F. W. Conrad in a paper read at the meeting of the Lutheran Diet held in Philadelphia in 1877 are sustained by *"The Confessional Principle."* Introduction, p. xcvi. Dr. Krauth was firmly of the opinion that Luther at Coburg had seen the Augsburg Confession at three different times during the course of its preparation, the last time being between June 8th and 25th. Dr. Brown challenged the proof of this, which has never been furnished. It is now abundantly clear that Luther saw the Confession but twice during the pro-

cess of its composition by Melanchthon; and so Dr. Brown's judgment is vindicated. How far the Drs. Brown and Krauth may have been influenced by prejudice, it is not for us to say. The fact remains that Melanchthon wrote the Confession upon the basis of the work done by Luther.

The Confessional Principle represents Melanchthon in a very unenviable light, while allowing his great learning and his skill in the formulation of doctrine. His timidity and vacillation, his willingness to compromise, now with Rome and now with Geneva, seriously imperiled not simply Lutheranism but Protestantism itself. Great, indeed, were his services to the evangelical church, but his weakness made him unfit to be a great leader, as was witnessed particularly after Luther's death in the matter of the Leipsic Interim. After his own death the Lutherans were divided into various camps, especially the Gnesio-Lutherans and the Philippists. Fierce controversies arose which demanded a plain interpretation of the Augustana or a restatement of it. This was reached after various efforts in the Formula of Concord. This Formula was adopted in good faith by numerous theologians, cities and states, and was rejected by a few for petulant or other insufficient reasons. It accomplished the pacification of the Lutheran Church, and preserved its self-respect and right to exist. It is a noble statement of scripture doctrine in simple and moderate language. Personally we accept its teachings as in harmony with the Bible, and with the Augsburg Confession.

If we may summarize briefly, though somewhat imperfectly, the content of *"The Confessional Principle,"* we would do it as follows:

1. The Evangelical Lutheran Church should be loyal to her Confessional Principle. Page 1.

2. The Confessional Principle implies the acceptance of, adherence to, and the defense of the complete teaching, on the Word and Sacraments, of our Church as found in any or all of her Confessions. If this Principle be accepted, *"any one* Confession will be sufficient *for us* (that is, in our informal relations to each other," &c.), &c. P. 7.

3. The Church needs Confessions, to summarize and to interpret Scripture, to promote unity and to fix a standard as a norm by which to try false doctrine and practice, and to be a means of teaching and fostering the one true faith of the Church P. 21.

4. The Augsburg Confession is such a Confession, embodying the principles for which the living Confessor Luther contended. The volume ably presents its history and character. The Unaltered Confession is the *editio princeps* of 1531. It alone is authoritative.

5. The Formula of Concord, providentially given to the Church, to restore its peace and to conserve its doctrine, is equally binding, in its briefer form, with the Augustana. The Epitome is the Confession; the Comprehensive Declaration is the explanation and defense. The acceptance of the Epitome as a confession would hasten the harmony of the Lutheran Church.

6. The Confessional Principle enunciated throughout the volume will not permit the Lutheran Church to unite in so-called Church federation as it exists in this country to-day. Such a union would be a compromise with error. Nor can the Lutheran Church join in moral reformatory movements, which are of a purely civil character. Its mission is the regeneration of the world through appeal to the individual.

It seems to us that there will be a very general agreement with the positions taken in the first four points of the summary.

In reference to the fifth point there always has been a decided difference of opinion. Personally, with many others, we accept the teachings of the Formula of Concord. Yet we do not forget that the majority of Lutheran Christians throughout the world have not formally adopted the Concordia as their creed. Nor can it be denied that its adoption by several large bodies has not healed the breach that separates them. It is true that many Lutherans have not been properly informed as to its contents, or may be the victims of prejudice; nevertheless the fact remains that they have not received it as they have the Augustana. Shall we disown them, and refuse them the right hand of fellowship? Is not the *bona fide* subscription of the Augsburg Confession sufficient as a doctrinal basis for practical co-operation among all who call themselves by the name of Luther? The failure to subscribe the Concordia does not mean its rejection. There are multitudes who do not for a moment deny anything taught by it, who nevertheless deem subscription superfluous. Indeed, it seems to us that the acceptance of the Augustana teaching carries with it the acceptance of the teaching of the Concordia, when properly understood.

The plea is made that the brevity of the Epitomes would safely allow its inclusion among creedal statements. As a fact it is four times as long as the 21 doctrinal articles of the Augustana —the latter covers about ten octavo pages, the former about forty.

Let us have peace. Lutherans ought to walk and to work together. If some think that the original Protestant creed is comprehensive enough in its statements and implications to assure a true confessional principle, why should not those who want this and more, walk with their brethren hand in hand in promulgating the gospel, in word and sacrament? We feel sure

that the difference between these two is more apparent than real.

The sixth and last point of the summary will surely not meet with common acceptance on the part of many thousand American Lutherans. There is, no doubt, much "unionism" in which no Lutheran should share. But co-operation on the part of religious bodies for the conservation of good order and the suppression of vice ought not to be interpreted as an evidence of confessional laxity or the sacrifice of our Lutheran views. A man of God ought not to forget that he is a Christian citizen and that it is his right and duty to unite with all other Christians for the furtherance of good morals and humane institutions.

The Confessional Principle does great credit to Lutheran scholarship and will take its place along the side of the books of Krauth, Valentine, Jacobs, and Richard.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

In Mother's Arms. By Theodore E. Schmauk. Pp. 135. Price $1.25.

This fine little volume by the gifted and versatile Lutheran preacher and author, Dr. T. E. Schmauk, has several sub-titles which more fully explain its nature and purpose. It is "For Mothers of Babes from Birth to Two Years of Age." It also includes "Directions to Pastors, Churches, Schools and Teachers of this Department." It is further explained that it is "The Mother's First Text-book in Lutheran General Council Graded System of Child-Training and Instruction for Sunday and Parish Schools."

The general trend, as well as the standpoint, of the book may be gathered best, perhaps, from the table of contents which includes chapters on the following subjects, "Members of God's Flock," "Training the Lamb in God's Flock," "Through the Touch of a Loving Eye," "Through the Touch of a Pure Heart," "Through the Touch of a Clean Hand," "Through the Touch of a Firm Good Will," "Through the Continuous Twining of Habits," "Through the Touch of Cradle and Nursery," and "Through the Touch of the Spirit in Voice and Sweet Lullaby."

The book is illuminated with sixteen full page pictures of mother and child, a number being after some of the most familiar paintings of the Madonna and Child. There are also many other smaller pictures, and a Certificate of Baptism, and also a certificate of Enrollment in the "Babes in Christ Department of the Church School."

Altogether this is as beautiful, rich and suggestive a volume as could be put into the hands of mothers, and any others who may have the care or training of the babes of the Church. It should have a wide circulation.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

EATON AND MAINS. NEW YORK.

The Lure of Books. By Lynn Harold Hough. *Trees and Men.* By William Valentine Kelley. Paper. Price each, 25 cents net.

These are two delightful essays, well printed and attractively bound. The first is a smooth and finished exposition of the infinite pleasure to be had from books; the second is a sympathetic account of the mysterious spell wrought by trees upon the mind of man. Both are written *con amore* and both are to be heartily recommended. Either would make a good substitute for the usual elaborate and useless Christmas card.

The Lesson Handbook 1912, a concise commentary on the International Sunday School Lessons. By Henry H. Meyer, Assistant Editor S. S. Publications, Meth. Epis. Church. Leather. Pp. 155. Size 3 x 6. Price 25 cents.

Truly this is a *multum in parvo* for pastors, teachers and adult scholars, giving the text, golden text, daily readings, critical introduction, commentary and the spiritual teaching of the lesson, besides suggestions for further study. The notes are very brief but to the point.

Down the Road. William Valentine Kelley. X. 421. $1.50 net.

A collection of delightful causeries by the editor of the *Methodist Review.* Thirty of them, there are, seven each under the general headings of Nature, Life, Literature and nine under that of Religion. They are a setting forth of the thoughts of a man who has a sane and religious outlook in the world, taking their starting point from happenings of the day—many of them from books, but being the output of a wholesome view of life. In the mass of books that passes before us, some morbid, some darksome, many useless, many vexing because their writers seem to have taken to heart the old saying that language was made to hide thought, it is a pleasure to meet a volume like this—with no great pretense, easy to read, sunny in temper, of many a varying mood, lightly fanciful in "About Cupids," excoriating in "Oscar Wilde" and "A Romantic Christ," but always leaving a good taste in the mouth. One would judge the author was most sympathetic with nature and literature. The longest essay is on "Emily Dickinson: The Hermit Thrush of Amherst," 70 pages. The next on "Pleasures and Pains of Foreign Travel," 35 pages. They will bear re-reading.

F. H. CLUTZ.

Chambersburg, Pa.

Great Themes of the Bible. By Rev. Louis Albert Banks, D.D. Pp. 408. Price $1.30 net.

The chief reason for the title chosen for this fine volume of sermons seems to be that it is one of a series of volumes with similar titles. It has been preceded by volumes on "The Great Sinners of the Bible," "The Great Saints of the Bible," "The Great Portraits of the Bible," "The Great Promises of the Bible," etc. Certainly, on opening a volume with such a title, one naturally expects to find such themes discussed as God, Sin, Redemption, Faith, Obedience, Justification, Eternal Life, and so on. These and such as these are surely the "great themes" of the Bible to which prophets and psalmists and apostles, as well as Jesus Himself, are ever turning. But instead of these we find such themes as the following, "The Answer to Life's Hidden Riddle," "The Wall of Fire," "The Strength Won from the Desert," "The Bird in Thy Bosom," "The Garments of Religion," &c. All these subjects are interesting, and the discussion of them is unusually interesting and stimulating. But is it not a misnomer to call these "the Great Themes of the Bible," except it be in the sense that all themes are great that treat of religion or of man's religious life and experience?

The exegesis is also rather eccentric and forced at times, and the same may be said of the homiletics. For example, the words "The Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" are taken from Romans 8:2 and made the text for a sermon on "The Spirit of the Christian Life" which is said to be a spirit of faith, a spirit of obedience and a spirit of service. All this is true enough but it is hardly the truth of the text. So also the words of Paul to Timothy in II Tim. 1:14, "That good thing which was committed unto thee guard," are made the text for a sermon on "The Bird in Thy Bosom," the bird being explained as the soul, and the sermon dealing with the ways in which we are to keep our souls, mainly "through work and struggle and effort in achievement." Such a treatment of texts makes the Bible a juggler's book in the hands of the preacher, into which he may read, and out of which he may get, almost anything he pleases. Notwithstanding the fact that many other great preachers besides Dr. Banks have often used the Bible in this way, we cannot help feeling that it is neither just nor wise, nor even reverent and truthful. It seems to us to come perilously near to what Paul calls "handling the Word of God deceitfully," which he says he carefully avoided as a minister of Christ. See II Cor. 4, 2.

But in spite of these criticisms we wish to commend these sermons especially to preachers for reading and study. They are full of life and spirit. The style is luminous and attractive. The illustrations are fresh and forceful, fairly tingling with human life and interest. There is also manifest everywhere a deep

spiritual insight, a warm sympathy with all the struggle and needs of the soul and a fine skill in ministering to them out of the Word of God and from a rich Christian experience. While in some things, such as have been referred to above, these sermons cannot be regarded as good models, they will certainly be very suggestive and stimulating to both preachers and laymen.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE MACMILLAN CO. NEW YORK.

Everyman's Religion. By George Hodges. Cloth. Pp. 297. Price $1.50 net.

Dr. Hodges of the Cambridge Episcopal Seminary, always writes well and always on themes which are worth while. The volume of essays, fifteen in number, deals with the supreme subject of religion, in its practical aspects. From the first essay on The Background of Religion, to the last on The Life Everlasting, there is a logical progression of thought and of experience in the realization of divine disclosure and fellowship with man. These essays constitute an excellent apologetic of the Christian religion, showing its real ground in fact and reason. It would be hard indeed, to gainsay the cogent arguments for true religion as here set forth, except as they fail to appeal to the unappreciative, to those whose characters are not attuned to truth. The failure to convince this class of men is paralleled in other spheres. "How shall we answer one who maintains that the works of the old masters are all foolish, and are not to be compared with the pictures in the illustrated magazines; or who believes that the old sculptures in the museums ought to be thrown out with other broken and battered things upon the rubbish heap? How shall we argue with the Shah of Persia who was greatly pleased with the tuning of the orchestra, and greatly bored by the symphony?"

Dr. Hodges has succeeded in translating theology into plain every day language. From a strictly technical point of view he may be criticized in some statements, but for the purpose intended the work is superlative. "Everyman" should read the book not simply in order to be convinced of the importance of religion, but to have many of his views clarified.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Church Universal. J. J. Lanier. Pages XX. 264. $1.25 net.

The sub-title of this book is "A Restatement of Christianity in Terms of Modern Thought." It reflects the movement of present-day thought, as it is an effort to so state the essential re-

quirements of a society of Christian people, that they may be assented to by all Christian people and so the society be a Universal Church. To do this, the author distinguishes between the *Basic Facts, Religion* and *Theology.* He has written three other volumes expounding the basic facts, which are "The Kinship of God and Man"—"The Fatherhood of God" and the resulting "Brotherhood of Man." Religion is the outgrowth of this kinship and is love. These two factors are essential. Theology is the attempted explanation of the facts. The explanation is secondary and, hence, the theological requirement of a Church Universal will be a minimum.

The conditions of membership are repentance, faith and obedience. The formal requirements are the Ten Commandments, The Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. There are three sacraments—Baptism, Confirmation and Holy Communion.

The book is divided into three parts (I) The Church Universal; (II) The Sacramental System of the Christian Church; (III) Lectures on the Catechism. The discussion is thoughtful and well worked out. There are three things that will militate against the book reaching the audience for whom it is evidently intended, "the reasonable Spiritual-minded person"; first, a distinctly ecclesiastical flavor to the style; second, a decided element of mysticism, and third the prominence given to the Protestant Episcopal Church. The author speaks of the Catholic Church, the Roman and Evangelical Sectaries.

F. H. CLUTZ.

Chambersburg, Pa.

P. ANSTADT & SONS. 224 APSLEY ST., PHILADELPHIA.

The Pew to the Pulpit, or Letters from Laymen. Bound in heavy Sepia paper. Pp. 64. Price 20 cents postpaid.

The compiler of this interesting booklet, the Rev. W. W. Anstadt, of Philadelphia, was appointed by the General Synod Lutheran Ministerial Association of Philadelphia, of which he is a member, to prepare a paper for one of their meetings on the topic indicated in the above title. In preparing to perform this duty he sent out letters to fifty laymen, regardless of denomination, explaining the occasion of them and asking the question, "What Shall I Say to the Preachers?" The most suggestive of the replies are collected in this little book which ought to be read, and "inwardly digested" by every preacher. Of course the letters are of varying merit, and some are wise and some are—otherwise. But all are well worth reading for the light they throw on the standpoint of the " pew" in judging the "pulpit." As so often happens with letters, one of the writers, "A Business Man," puts the very best thought into a Post-script, "P. S.

Above all else do not give us *Magazine Sermons.* We may *want* them, but no need for them. Be a *preacher,* not a *magazine.* Do not cater to our itching ears, else we starve amidst plenty."

There are many other very quotable sentences, and even whole letters. But whether you are a preacher or a layman you will want to read it all. Send the small price and get it.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE GERMAN LITERARY BOARD. BURLINGTON, IOWA.

Wasser aus dem Heilsbrunnen, Schlichte Predigten für schlichte Bürger des Reiches Christi, von Otto Bergfelder, Ev. Luth. Pastor in Plum City, Wis. Cloth. Pp. 162.

This beautiful little book contains sixteen "Plain Sermons for Plain Citizens of Christ's Kingdom," preached on festival days and other occasions. They are aptly called "Water out of the well of Salvation," and are sweet and refreshing. The language is simple and the thought plain. They were, no doubt, edifying to the hearers, and will be so to the reader.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. NEW YORK.

A History of the Hebrew People from the Division of the Kingdom to the Fall of Jerusalem in 586 B. C.. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and History, Brown University. With maps and charts. Cloth. Pp. xvii, 218. Price $1.25 net.

Dr. Kent expresses clear views in simple, graphic language, so that the story of the ancient Hebrew people appeals to us with an unusual interest. The present hand-book is part of a series already widely used in schools. The fact that it has reached a fifth edition testifies to its popularity. Conservatives feel that perhaps Dr. Kent has yielded a little too much to "advanced" criticism, but no one will deny his seriousness and his faith.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

REPOSITORY PRESS. CHAMBERSBURG, PA.

The Seventy-Fifth Year. A History of the Second Evangelical Lutheran Church of Chambersburg, Pa., 1836-1911. Also a Brief History of General Synod Lutheranism in the Cumberland Valley. By Rev. C. W. Heathcote, S.T.D.

The title indicates the purpose and contents of this little vol-

ume of 41 pages. It is a valuable contribution to the history of our Church in the great State of Pennsylvania where it has flourished so long and so successfully. All such work is to be welcomed and commended. The book has a large number of illustrations prepared from photographs which adds greatly to its interest and value.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE. ST. LOUIS, MO.

Justification. By Professor W. H. T. Dau. New Edition. Pp. 60, 4½ x 7 in., paper cover. Price 10 cents.

This luminous discussion of the subject of Justification from the conservative Lutheran standpoint was originally read by the author as an essay before the Augustana E. L. Conference. It deals with every phase of the subject, and it is not strange that a second edition has been made necessary. On the title page we are informed that the "entire proceeds of the sale of this pamphlet shall be devoted to beneficiary education at Concordia College, Conover, N. C."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

Amerikanischer Kalender für Deutsche Lutheraner, auf das Jahr 1912. Pp. 96 5¾ x 8¾ in. Price 10 cents postpaid.

Besides the usual matter found in Church Alamanacs this Calendar has nearly thirty pages of appropriate reading matter. About one-fourth of this relates to the Walther-Jubilee which attracted so much attention among our Missouri Lutheran brethren and among Lutherans generally in this country in 1911.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY. PHILADELPHIA.

Baptist Confessions of Faith. By W. J. McGlothlin, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Church History in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Pp. XII, 368.

This volume will of course be of special interest to Baptists. But it will have great interest also for all students of Church History. As is well known the Baptists are entirely congregational and very democratic in church government. The autonomy of each congregation is absolute, and, as the author says in the Introduction to this volume, "There has never been among them any ecclesiastical authority which could impose a Confession upon their churches or other bodies." Hence, as Prof. McGlothlin says further, "Their Confessions are, strictly speak-

ing, statements of what a certain group of Baptists, large or small, did believe at a certain time, rather than a creed which any Baptist must believe at all times in order to hold ecclesiastical position or be considered a Baptist. In the latter sense there has been no Baptist creed." Even though this is the case it has naturally come to pass that some of these confessional statements have come to have a wider recognition than others, and a much greater historical significance. This volume is an effort to collect these, and to present them in a systematic and historical order. The author says in the Preface, "The volume presents all the material necessary to acquaint one with the doctrinal position of the Baptists throughout the world, and makes an impressive presentation of their substantial unity, with some exceptions, on the more important points of our religion. It is also noteworthy that doctrinal differences have been melting away until there is probably a greater measure of agreement at present than ever before."

The volume is divided into five Parts, dealing respectively with The Anabaptists, The Mennonites, The English Baptists, American Baptists, and Confessions of Other Nationalities.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

APRIL, 1912.

ARTICLE I.

PIONEER AMERICAN LUTHERAN JOURNALISM, 1812-1850.

BY REV. FREDERICK GEBHART GOTWALD, D. D.

It is an appropriate time to consider journalistic origins in our Church in America, for it was just one hundred years ago that the first attempt was made. The imprint of that first volume is April 28, 1812. June 10th, 1811, during the 64th Convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, it was proposed that a church paper be issued under the supervision of the Synod. The committee appointed to consider the plan reported, the next day, that it was practicable, and were even so sanguine as to express the judgment that it would benefit the Synodical treasury. The plan was unanimously adopted; providing "that 500 subscribers first be found, that Pastors Schmidt and Helmuth act as editors and that each of the fifty ministers contribute ("post paid") an original article quarterly."

Thus was launched *Das Evangelisches Magazin,* unter der Aufsicht der Deutsch-Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode," *the first journal of the Lutheran Church in America.** However, we should not overlook the *Nachrichten* or "Notices" relative to the progress of our Church in Georgia (published in eighteen parts,

* Dr. Jacobs informs the writer that "Prior to the publication of the *Magazine the* "Mosheim Society" of Zion's and St. Michael's published a small German paper of a very respectable standard, full of missionary news, etc.," but the file is not available.

by Urlsperger of Augsburg, from 1731 to 1752, and a second series, of four volumes, from 1754 to 1767), also those relating to the state of the Church in Pennsylvania and adjacent settlements (published at Halle 1745-1785) for, while published in Germany, these were, in one sense, *American Lutheran Journals,* and represent the records of men "remarkable for their piety and their learning." It is not at all unlikely that these earlier publications suggested the idea of the new magazine, launched in 1811 by the Synod of Pennsylvania.

The first number of this Quarterly covered the months of October, November and December, 1811, and we are now celebrating its centennial. It was octavo in form, finely printed and illustrated with a very artistic steel-engraving as a frontispiece, showing Faith, Hope and Love sitting without fear, "ohne Furcht," under the full light of the sun, with the Bible and the Cross held by Faith, an anchor supporting Hope and Love instructing two children. Opposed to these is a figure representing Human Wisdom under the lesser light of the moon, shrinking away into a greater darkness.

This superb quarterly magazine, about 250 pages to the volume, survived until 1817, but for the years 1815, 1816 and 1817 it appeared as an annual. Dr. Morris is, therefore, not strictly correct when he states: "It was discontinued in 1814."[1] Each year's volume contained a roll of the ministers and a report of the proceedings of the Synod for that year, thus furnishing what our printed Minutes now supply. Pastor Schmidt, one of its editors, died on the 16th of May, 1812, and a fine steel engraving of his portrait by Eckstein illustrates the first number of the Second Volume, together with an account of his most useful life.

By 1816 the circulation was 1,500 copies, the subscription price being 37½ cents. In its second year it earned a balance of $93.00 for the Synod's treasury, the receipts having been $613.00 and the expenses $520.00. The pastors were the agents for the circulation of the paper, a free subscription being given for every twelve secured. In 1817 the Minutes record: "Resolved: That the Magazine be discontinued;" no clue to the cause of the discontinuance being given.

1 See p. 311, "Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry."

Evangelisches
Magazin,

unter der Aufsicht der

Deutsch = Evangelisch = Lutherischen Synode.

Erster Band.

Philadelphia:

Gedruckt bey Conrad Zentler, in der Zweyten Straße, unterhalb der Rehs=Straße.

1812.

FACSIMILE TITLE OF FIRST LUTHERAN PERIODICAL PUBLISHED IN AMERICA—"The Evangelical Magazine," Published quarterly by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 1812-1817, Rev. J. C. H. Helmuth, D.D., Editor.

On the very high character of this our first American Lutheran periodical, I will quote Prof. Reynolds of Gettysburg, writing in 1849. "In many respects this oldest may be regarded as the best of all the religious periodicals that have from time to time made their appearance in the Church in this country. No one can peruse the volumes which it forms without wishing that it had been continued down to our day, and without being excited to a hearty admiration of the talents, learning, piety, liberal views and good sense of the contributors to its pages. It was under the editorial management of that excellent man, Dr. Helmuth, long the beloved pastor of the German Church in Philadelphia, and so far as we are aware, the principal contributors were his learned colleague, Dr. Schmidt, his intimate friends, Dr. J. G. Schmucker of York and Dr. Daniel Kurtz of Baltimore, Dr. Lochman, Dr. Endress and others whose memory is still cherished by our churches. Although the articles in this publication are generally brief, yet they discuss, with marked ability in many cases, some of the most important points in theology, both practical and speculative, whilst the history of the Church, both in this country and in other parts of the world, and the history of Missions particularly, receive great attention."

Through the courtesy of Professor Henry E. Jacobs the writer is able to insert here an index of the authors of unsigned Articles which appeared in the *Magazine*. Dr. Jacobs states that this table of authors is compiled from a copy once belonging to Dr. B. M. Schmucker, "and personally owned and marked by his grandfather," Rev. Dr. John George Schmucker, the particular friend of the editor, Dr. Helmuth. It is probable that this index now appears for the first time. It is as follows:

"Authors of Unsigned Articles in the *Evangelisches Magazin.*

Goering III:147, 206; IV:14.

Helmuth I:23, 28, 36, 47, 74, 101, 121, 174, 197, 200, 208; II:1, 100, 110, 151; IV:40.

Herbst III: 34, 65, 71.

Jaeger, Conrad, II: 92.

Kurtz, J. Daniel, III:18.

Lochman I:26, 31, 70, 151; II:135; III:232; IV:41.

Schmucker, J. G., I:1, 25, 22, 42, 72, 129, 132, 134, 137, 139,

142,[2] 156, 166, 212, 215, 218, 221, 226, 235;II:26. 37, 43, 47, 65, 110, 129, 174, 177, 179, 193, 199, 204, 215, 216."

It is also interesting to know that in 1812 the Eastern Synod of the Reformed (German) Church "approved a resolution to support *The Evangelical Magazine* founded by Rev. Helmuth, of the Lutheran Church."[3]

The next periodical to appear was a monthly in the *English* language. It was also an officially-launched journal.

At the very first session of the Maryland and Virginia Synod at Winchester, 1820, it was "Resolved: That the propriety of a religious publication devoted to the interests of our Church be and the same is hereby recommended to the serious consideration of the next annual meeting of this Synod." No reference to this project can be found in the records of the sessions of 1821, 1822 or 1823, but in 1825 such a publication was authorized and in 1826 it appeared,—the *first English Lutheran periodical in America.* In anticipation it is already referred to in the Minutes of the General Synod for 1825 as "shortly to be published under the direction of the Synod of Maryland and Virginia" and to contain an important letter to the General Synod from the Goettingen Professor, Dr. Plank. It was entitled *The Evangelical Lutheran Intelligencer,* and the title page added, "containing Historical, Biographical and Religious Memoirs; with

2 With Helmuth.

3 See p. 182, "History of the Reformed Church in the United States," by Dr. James I. Good, 1911. See also Dr. Jacobs' "History of the Lutheran Church in the United States," p. 321. Dr. Good also relates, as indicative of the "union tendency" of that day that "The Lutheran Ministerium sent an invitation to our (Reformed) Synod, inviting them to unite with the Lutherans in observing the Tercentenary (of the Lutheran Reformation) on October 31, 1817." The Synod received the overture favorably, deciding "to leave to each minister the option to do as he wished" as to the observance. The Episcopalians and Presbyterians were also invited to unite in this celebration.

In 1817 a joint Committee considered the idea of a union in a Theological Seminary. Nothing came of this. Again, in 1822, the Lutheran Synod made overtures for a union of the two Synods themselves, Dr. Henry H. Mühlenberg conducting the correspondence. Dr. D. F. Schaeffer, Secretary of the Maryland and Virginia Synod also wrote at this time, "asking for a fraternal understanding with the Reformed." In 1824 the Lutheran Ministerium appointed a Committee to confer "concerning the publication of a common hymnbook." (See Good, pp. 183, 184 and 185). These movements between these two German bodies were doubtless largely induced by the example of the Prussian Union, which had been effected in 1817, but none of them ever became effective. They did, however, stimulate a desire for a greater union among the then three Lutheran Synods themselves, the initiative to this worthy end being taken by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1818.

Essays on the Doctrines of Luther; and Practical Remarks and Anecdotes, for the edification of pious persons of all denominations." Its motto was the immortal words of Luther, "Hier stehe Ich, Ich kann nicht anders; Gott helfe mir! Amen," placed on title page and also at the head of first reading matter. It was edited by a committee of clergymen, appointed by the Synod of Maryland and Virginia; the enterprising mother of so many worthy enterprises for the Church's progress. Authorized in 1825, the first issue appeared March, 1826. The editor through its entire career of five years was Rev. D. F. Schaeffer of Frederick, Md., where the journal was published. His chief colleague was Rev. C. P. Krauth then of Martinsburg, Va.; later, first President of Pennsylvania College and Seminary Professor at Gettysburg.

The following from the introductory address will indicate the attitude of the editor: "Though it will never be our ambition to appear in the controversial attitude, yet we shall feel ourselves sacredly pledged, whenever circumstances may require it, 'to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints.' The necessity of assuming such a character, a character not congenial with our feelings, will be followed by a vindication of those articles that are contained in the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran Church." "Finally, brethren, if our present connection effect anything toward your personal happiness, if it promote at all the interests of Zion, we will be amply compensated for our toils. We will be animated by this hope, that to you, and to the Church, blessings may flow from this work."

Again, in 1827, he begins the Second Volume by using these words: "We shall contiue to publish such facts, as may tend to convince Protestants of the blessings of the Reformation, among whose authors Luther is so conspicuous. Comments we make not, as facts are sufficient for any unbiased reader. If there be any who should object to the publication of such facts, the editor wishes it to be understood, that he declines all correspondence with them on the subject, and hopes they will spare themselves the trouble of writing and him the expense of postage." The editor was at this time the President of the Synod of Maryland and Virginia and also Secretary of the newly organized General Synod.

The first volume (1826) of *The Intelligencer* is particularly

THE

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN INTELLIGENCER.

CONTAINING

HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS MEMOIRS:

WITH

ESSAYS ON THE DOCTRINES OF LUTHER:

AND

PRACTICAL REMARKS AND ANECDOTES, FOR THE EDIFICATION OF PIOUS PERSONS OF ALL DENOMINATIONS:

Edited by a Committee of Clergymen, appointed by the Synod of Maryland and Virginia.

HIER STEHE ICH, ICH KANN NICHT ANDERS,
GOTT HILFE MIR! AMEN!—*Luther.*

VOLUME I.—FROM MARCH, 1826, TO FEBRUARY, 1827.

FREDERICK, Md.
PRINTED FOR THE EDITORS BY G. W. SHAFF,
AT THE CITIZEN OFFICE.

FACSIMILE TITLE OF FIRST ENGLISH LUTHERAN PERIODICAL PUBLISHED IN AMERICA, Published monthly by the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, 1826-1831, Rev. David F. Schaeffer, D.D., Editor.

valuable for the record which it gives us of the establishment of the Seminary of the General Synod at Gettysburg, later, the same year. At the Inauguration of the first Professor, Rev. S. S. Schmucker, September 5, 1826, the editor administered the oath of office to him, including the historic words: "I believe the Augsburg Confession and the Catechisms of Luther to be a summary and just exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God." He also delivered the Charge to the young Professor, using these words: "As the Lord has signally favored our beloved Church—as her tenets are biblical, and her veriest enemies cannot point out an important error in her articles of faith, no more than could the enemies of the truth at the diet of Worms prove the books of the immortal Reformer erroneous. Therefore, the Church which entrusts you with the preparation and formation of her pastors, demands of you (and in her behalf I solemnly charge you) to establish all students confided to your care in that faith which distinguishes our Church from others." This somewhat lengthy digression has been indulged in in order to indicate the stalwart Lutheran consciousness of the man who for five years was editor of the first English Lutheran periodical of America, as well as his intimate connection with the founding of the Seminary.

Of the immediate value of *The Intelligencer* in advancing the interests of the newly-organized Seminary of the General Synod, the Seminary Directors, in their first report of the Institution to the General Synod, 1827, say: "The Board have the most satisfactory reason to believe that the Institution committed to their charge is gradually engaging the confidence of the Christian public in general, and of our Church in particular. They are assured that the prejudices which were entertained against it by some unacquainted with its nature and design, have in a goodly measure subsided and that many who at first regarded it with a suspicious eye, now belong to its advocates, and are heard offering to the mercy seat of God their prayers for its prosperity. In the production of this happy change, an important influence must be assigned to *The Lutheran Intelligencer,* a publication in which the interests of this institution and of the Church in general are ably advocated, and the editor of which, our Rev. Brother Schaeffer, merits the warmest praise for his indefatigable zeal in behalf of everything that regards the interests of the

Lutheran Church. Although it seems to be a digression from the subject of this report, the Board cannot but express the wish that the General Synod would adopt some efficient measures to extend the circulation of this publication."

In the same convention of the General Synod, 1827, the Pastoral Address thus refers to *The Intelligencer*: "The Maryland and Virginia Synod at their session in 1825—convinced of the necessity of a religious periodical, devoted to the interests of the Lutheran Church—appointed an editing committee consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Krauth and Schaeffer, to commence and superintend the publication of such a work. From the commencement of this undertaking it has been thought that, notwithstanding its imperfections, it has been highly useful to the Church. Although but moderately encouraged by those for whose benefit it was intended, and at no time receiving more support than was necessary to sustain its publication, the conviction has gathered strength in the body from which it originated, and, we believe, throughout the Church generally, that its continued publication is greatly to be desired. In consequence of this, at the session at Winchester, (1826) new arrangements were made in regard to it, which consisted principally in the appointment of the Rev. D. F. Schaeffer as the sole editor. The pages of this periodical have presented to its readers much information concerning our Church in America,—and have been frequently employed in the defense of the General Synod, as well as the support of its Theological Seminary."

The Pastoral Address in 1829 states: "Our Seminary and religious periodicals are receiving more general support." These periodicals at this time were: *The Lutheran Intelligencer,* (1826), Frederick, Md., *The Lutheran Magazine,* 1827, Schoharie, N. Y., and *Das Evangelische Magazin,* 1829, Gettysburg, Pa. Thus *The Intelligencer* had the hearty official endorsement of the General Synod and the Seminary Board, as well as that of the Synod which founded it.

The Intelligencer was octavo in size, averaging about twenty-six to thirty pages to each monthly issue. It survived five years, the last issue being in February, 1831. At this time the paper had less than five hundred subscribers, "one-fifth of them residing in and about Frederick." About $800.00 were due from delinquent subscribers, and "the debt of the establishment"

was about the same. The editor states in his Valedictory: "Hence the day has not yet come that Lutherans sustain publications of any account, or support periodicals through which they are enabled to obtain information upon the subjects and operations that relate to their own Church. But when we consider that both the Lutheran and German Reformed Churches have but a few years since risen from the obscurity into which the confinement of their service to the German language placed them, and that many members read but few works, we cannot but declare that in our opinion the day is not far distant when they will, with respect to liberal contributions for the support of the ministry and periodicals, be equal to others. In other respects no Church is blessed with more zealous and faithful friends of the great cause than the Lutheran. And therefore, although we now tremble for the fall of *The Intelligencer,* and our other two periodicals, yet we still anticipate the pleasure of seeing our hopes of improvement realized, and to accelerate that period we have expressed ourselves, frankly, deliberately and as clearly as we have been capable, under the pressure of numerous duties imposed upon us by the Church which we most ardently love."

His optimism was justified, for within six months after the expiration of *The Intelligencer* an English bi-monthly was begun in Baltimore, which has survived to the present time.

In its columns repeated appeals were made for the outstanding subscriptions, but a final deficit of $500.00 on *The Intelligencer* was paid by the Synod of Maryland and Virginia.

In the final adjustment of *Intelligencer* affairs at its session, 1831, the Synod took this action: "Resolved, That the Synod feels itself bound to relieve the editor from the debt resting upon him; that a committee be appointed to devise some plan to collect the outstanding debts of *The Intelligencer,* etc.; that the unanimous thanks of this Synod, as well as of the whole Lutheran Church, are due to the late editor, as the only worthy compensation they can make him for his long, arduous, devoted, and, withal, gratuitous labors in conducting from its origin to its termination a periodical which, during five successive years, has been instrumental in doing much good in Zion and for Christ's cause in our own Church in particular; that the late editor declares to this Synod that whatever surplus may remain after the

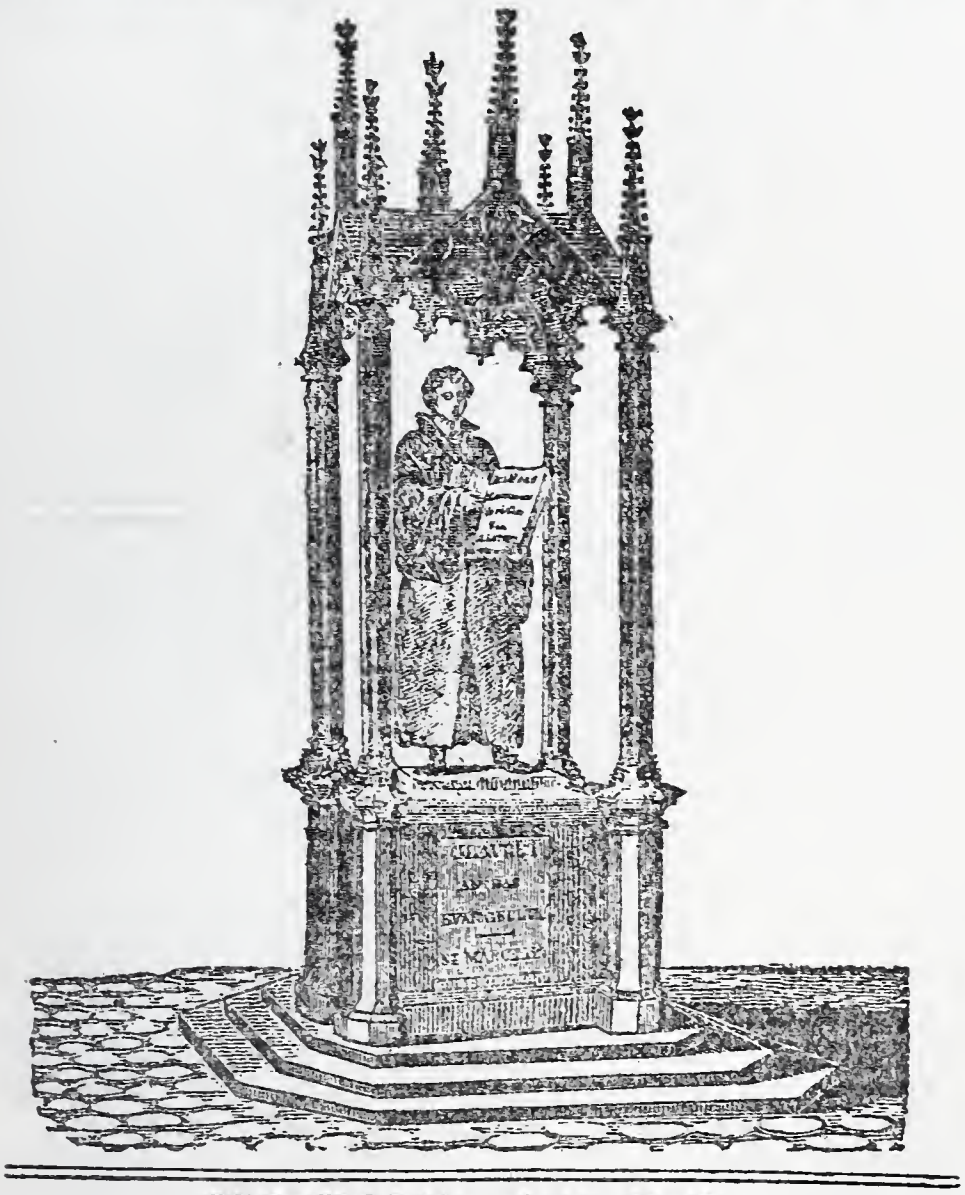
THE S. S. Schmucker

LUTHERAN MAGAZINE.

PUBLISHED BY

THE WESTERN CONFERENCE OF LUTHERAN MINISTERS,
IN THE STATE OF NEW-YORK.

VOLUME I.—FROM FEBRUARY, 1827, TO JANUARY, 1828.



SCHOHARIE, (C. H.) N. Y.
PRINTED BY L. CUTHBERT, FOR THE EDITORS.

1827.

FACSIMILE TITLE OF FIRST LUTHERAN PERIODICAL PUBLISHED IN NEW YORK, Published monthly by Western Conference of New York Synod, 1827-1831, Rev. G. A. Lintner, D.D., Editor. (Copy from which facsimile was made bears the autograph of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, who presented it to the Lutheran Historical Society).

debt is paid, he, for himself and his children, relinquishes to the Synod to be appropriated to any purposes the Synod may direct."

As to the character and service of *The Intelligencer,* Dr. J. G. Morris, who had written for it as early as 1828, in his "Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry," 1878, thus writes: "*The Intelligencer,* though not highly valued in the last several years of its existence, performed good service even if it did no more than prepare the way for other more popular journals. A sturdy pioneer in a good work always deserves respect. The Chief Editor was an active and laborious pastor of a large parish and received no compensation for his editorial work."

An enormous debt of gratitude is certainly due to Rev. David F. Schaeffer, our first English editor, from the Church of his love. Of him Dr. George Diehl says: "He labored in season and out of season; in town and in country; on the Sabbath and during the week; in the pulpit and out of the pulpit; beside the sick bed and in the Catechetical class. In 1829 was elected Principal of the Frederick Academy; in 1836 was made a D.D. by St. John's College, Annapolis; had a very important, if not a primary, agency in establishing the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg; was one of the founders of the Frederick County Bible Society; President of the General Synod 1831 and 1832; for several years, 1820 to 1831, its Secretary; had rarely less than four students of theology under his care (he himself had studied 1807-1808, under Dr. Helmuth, in Philadelphia, who, three years later, founded the first German Lutheran periodical in America. G.), and it was a common saying, in view of the great number of ministers whom he brought into the Lutheran ranks, that he was a 'Church Father.'" Dr. C. P. Krauth, Sr., and Dr. E. Greenwald were among these students.

The next periodical in the order of time was *The Lutheran Magazine,* published in English, monthly, at Schoharie, N. Y., and edited by an association of clergymen (a Committee of the Western Conference of the New York Synod), but chiefly by the Rev. Dr. G. A. Lintner of Schoharie.

The first number appeared in February, 1827, just eleven months after the birth of *The Intelligencer.* At the termination of the third volume it was transferred to the directors of the

Lutheran Domestic Missionary Society of New York State, but it was not continued.

As to its quality Prof. Reynolds says: "Particularly in the first volume of *The Lutheran Magazine* the same tendency to discuss interesting points in our Church history and doctrines or such as were connected with church government and benevolent enterprises is manifest."

With the first volume a series of appreciative articles on the Symbolical Books begins, and continues through the second volume.

In the Pastoral Address of the General Synod, in the Minutes of 1827, this *Magazine* is referred to in these favorable words: "The Western Conference has also commenced the publication of an excellent periodical magazine, in which the interests of Evangelical piety and sound doctrine are ably advocated and perspicuously proposed."

In 1827 the Editors announced: "Should any profits arise from the publication of this Magazine, they are to be applied to missionary purposes in our own Church. This is an important object, which the Editors hope will operate as a strong inducement with the well-wishers of our Church, to encourage the circulation of this Work."

But in the last number issued, April, 1831, they were compelled to announce: "The printer having considerably advanced in his terms, and editorial difficulties having presented themselves for the ensuing year, it was thought advisable by the Board to discontinue it after the expiration of the present year."

The next periodical which appeared was *Das Evangelische Magazin* der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in den vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika. It was published under the auspices of J. G. Schmucker, J. F. Heyer and W. Yeager, a committee of the recently organized (1825) West Pennsylvania Synod. It was a monthly, octavo in form, and averaged about thirty-two pages, or three hundred and eighty-four pages for the volume, and its motto was: "One is your Master, Christ, and all ye are brethren."

It survived four years, beginning in April, 1829. During this year its motto was "Who is of God, Hears God's Words." The editor during the first year was Rev. John Herbst, pastor at Gettysburg, where the *Magazine* was published by Neinstedt. For

the remaining years it was edited by the faculty of the Seminary, Drs. S. S. Schmucker and E. L. Hazelius. At the time of its inception there was no German periodical; but two English monthlies, above referred to, were then appearing. The larger German constituency made its friends sanguine as to a large support. Their expectations, however, were not realized, for after four years of good service it was discontinued. Its contents were scholarly, interestingly arranged and included much of permanent value; especially the proceedings of various district Synods, e. g., Maryland and Virginia, East Pennsylvania, (Ministerium), West Pennsylvania and North Carolina. An interesting feature of the second volume is a brief life of the noble pastor, Jacob Goering, the first native Lutheran minister from west of the Susquehanna, (1754-1807), accompanying it with a steel-engraved likeness, engraved by Wagner of York.

In Volume Two (1830), there also appears a statement in popular language of the Augsburg Confession, which had just been published in this form for use in the schools in Germany, preceded by the following statement: "Notwithstanding the fact that the Lutheran ministers of America are decided friends of creed freedom (Glaubensfreiheit) and never insist on the acceptance of every little word of the Confession, to have a clear title to the name of Lutheran, they still believe that no one, be he minister or lay member of a church, has a right to the name of a Lutheran, unless he accepts the fundamental teachings of the Holy Scriptures, which are contained in the Confessions. This view our General Synod also holds, and we rejoice to know that the whole American Lutheran Church has always remained true to this view."

As stated, it was discontinued in 1833, after four volumes. The reasons for its discontinuance are not given, but it was at that time that its chief editor, Dr. Hazelius, was called from Gettysburg Seminary to the Seminary of the South Carolina Synod at Lexington. This may have been a sufficient explanation, but in the last number of Volume Four the significant announcement is made that over $500.00 were then due the printer, followed by a most urgent appeal to all subscribers who were in arrears to at once transmit what was due.

This brings us to the establishment of *The Lutheran Observer*, the only one of the earlier periodicals yet existing. We will let

THE

LUTHERAN OBSERVER.

——"whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest."—*Phil. iv.* 8.

Vol. I. BALTIMORE, AUGUST 1, 1831. No. 1.

TO OUR READERS.

The Prospectus of this publication was issued from Gettysburg, where it was intended to be conducted by Professor Schmucker and Dr. Hazelius. The Lutheran community looked with intense anxiety for its appearance under such able superintendents, but Providence has disappointed our ardent expectations. The precarious state of the health of the first gentleman has compelled him reluctantly to relinquish a field of labor in which he expected to be still more eminently useful to the church, and we all know that his distinguished qualifications would have secured for this paper an extensive circulation. In consequence of this, the whole labor of conducting the German Magazine has devolved upon Dr. Hazelius, and he did not feel at liberty to add the editorship of this journal, to his labors already sufficiently arduous. We have been requested to superintend its publication, which we have consented to do, upon the condition that all our brethren would cheerfully assist us. It is a new field of operation to us, and we need the aid of all those who feel an interest in the cause which we have espoused.

The expediency of such a periodical has not been questioned. Every other denomination of Christians has its religious Journals, and why should we be without ours? The German Magazine, though ably conducted and widely circulated, does not meet the increasing wants of the church. Our English brethren have no means of receiving information of the state of our Zion, and all agree that we should have an English paper. The Lutheran Intelligencer and Lutheran Magazine have both been discontinued, and the question now is, whether it is not possible to unite the feelings and influence of the whole church so that the permanency of one paper may be secured? May we not establish a religious semi-monthly periodical in the centre of the church, which will enlist the support of the whole denomination,—be identified with its interests, and be regarded by all as its accredited organ? We have seen that two could not be supported, —may we not then perpetuate one?

We do not think it necessary to make many professions about our system of religious doctrines and opinions. Those who are acquainted with us have had opportunities of ascertaining our opinions, and to those who do not know us, we would simply state, that we hold the great doctrines of the Reformation, and that it will be our aim to maintain them

Facsimile Title of Oldest Lutheran Periodical Now Published in America, Published semi-monthly, 1831-1833, and weekly, 1833- 1912, Rev. John G. Morris, D.D., Founder and First Editor.

Dr. J. G. Morris, its founder, tell the story of its beginning: "There was no English paper published in the Church from February, 1831, to August, 1831. On that day No. 1 of *The Lutheran Observer* was sent forth. It was a "little one," a modest unpretending monthly (strange mistake, for it was a semi-monthly. G) 8 vo. of 32 pages, but it has grown to be a power in the Church.

It has had more friends, and, I may say, more enemies too, than any paper ever printed in the Church and has exercised a commanding influence for over thirty years (1878). It was begun in Baltimore, but afterwards transferred to Philadelphia, and was first edited by a very young man, who had no subscribers, no capital and no experience. He was injudicious enough to assume the responsibility, at the earnest solicitation of some influential men of that day, and the implied understanding was that the Church was to receive the profits and he himself to pay the losses!

He has the satisfaction of having heard more than one man of judgment declare that the earlier volumes of *The Observer* are to this day very interesting and readable documents. But every man likes to hear his first-born well spoken of, especially where there is good ground for admiration! The prospectus of *The Observer* was issued at Gettysburg, where it was intended to be published; but before No. 1 appeared it was transferred to Baltimore and the aforesaid ministerial stripling was induced to undertake it.

The reason of its being transferred to Baltimore was simply this: In those days of extreme undenominational liberality it was feared that a paper issued at Gettysburg, with the name *Lutheran* as significant of its character, would give offense to the Presbyterians in that place, and hence it was brought to Baltimore, where no such apprehension existed."

Dr. Morris in his first editorial, Vol. I, No. 1, however, also explains that the intention had been for Drs. Schmucker and Hazelius to conduct it, but that ill health had prevented the former and the care of the German *Evangelical Magazine,* the latter. Hence Dr. Morris had been requested to superintend the new paper, "which we have consented to do."

In the second number Drs. Schmucker and Hazelius published a statement to the same effect, and promising that with proper

support the semi-monthly could soon become a weekly. The price was $1.50 per year, if paid within six months; otherwise $2.00. The motto was: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest."

In the second number a special appeal was made to all who still owed for *The Intelligencer* to remit at once to the former editor, Rev. D. F. Schaeffer.

In the same number the statistics of the seven Lutheran Synods in the United States showed a total communicant membership of 44,356 in 1830. But to return to Dr. Morris:

"The second volume of *The Observer* was issued in quarto form, and continued thus for one year, when the editorship was conveyed to Rev. B. Kurtz, in 1833. It may just do well here to say that the first editor never retained a cent for his services, but gave the profits to the poor.

Mr. Kurtz removed to Baltimore in August, 1833, (ill health had compelled his resignation as pastor at Chambersburg. G.), and entered upon his duties with energy. *The Observer* was then converted into a weekly quarto sheet, and continued to be published in this form for six months. In April, 1834, it appeared in an enlarged form of usual newspaper size. For twenty-five years (1833-1858) Dr. Kurtz conducted the paper with varying success." Thus writes Dr. Morris, the founder and first editor. See "Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry," 1878, pp. 312 and 313.

He gives a somewhat different but no less picturesque account of the origin of *The Observer* in his "Life Reminiscences," p. 150 (1895). He writes: "There was no English paper in the Church. This was a condition of things not to be endured. The Seminary at Gettysburg had already been in operation four years; many of our congregations were fast becoming English; all the influential denominations had their church journals; many of our ministers wanted a vehicle for the communication of their thoughts; an English paper was properly regarded as essential to our respectability and progress; and the leading spirits among us, such as Krauth, Sr., B. Kurtz, Schmucker, Keller, Lintner, Heyer, Reck and others, besides some influential laymen, determined to resuscitate the deceased *Intelligencer,* or rather create a new paper worthy the patronage of our people. The questions now were, who should edit it and where should it

be published? Gettysburg was already beginning to be looked upon as the headquarters of the Church, a sort of Lutheran Wittenberg (with the old Wittenberg spirit left out), the Canterbury of our Zion, with few Lutheran residents and no mediaeval cathedral. It was thought that the great organ should play its tunes (or at least have its bellows) in this obscure, out-of-the-way place. It was to be printed by "The Press of the Theological Seminary,"[4] as it was pompously called on the title page of a book, but which was not owned by the Seminary, but was the property of and run by a fourth-class German printer in an office eight by ten in dimensions.

Well, the prospectus was issued, and the name *Observer* was given it, without any distinguishing prefix. This non-distinctiveness—this absence of denominational cognomen—displeased some of the Advisory Council, who insisted upon a name for the infant which would indicate its family relations and pedigree. But there was one potential objection, which was simply this: the majority of the Gettysburgers were Presbyterians—very respectable people. We had lately come among them, and were poor and of little account. It was politic to secure their good will and do nothing to offend them—not to say a word or do an act that looked like sectarianism! ! ! It was argued by the leading man, who had consented to edit the paper for a time, that the title *Lutheran Observer,* would awaken denominational jealousy, and perhaps social discord. The others would not yield, and to avoid a total collapse the compromise was made of transferring the paper to some other place, where the name *Lutheran* would give no offense, and where probably a man could be found who would maintain the dignity and honor of the illustrious appellation. But it was not convenient for any of them to assume the work. They bethought themselves that there was a young man in Baltimore who might be unwise enough to undertake it. * * Well, No. 1 of *The Lutheran Observer* was issued in August, 1831, as a semi-monthly (Dr. Morris is more accurate here than

4 The Minutes of the General Synod for both 1827 and 1829 bear the imprint: "Gettysburg. Printed at the Press of the Theological Seminary, H. C. Neinstedt, Printer." Also the Minutes of the West Pennsylvania Synod of this period. In 1831 Dr. Morris was on a Committee of the General Synod "to inquire into the expediency of purchasing and establishing a printing press for the use of this body." The Committee reported at same session that: "in their opinion it was at this time inexpedient." G.

Die Evangelische Zeitung

Der Lutherischen, Reformirten und anderer Protestantischen Kirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten.

"Nicht daß wir Herren seyn über euren Glauben, sondern wir sind Gehülfen eurer Freude." 2 Cor 1, 24.

Band 1.] York, Pa. Montag, den 13ten May 1833. [No. 2.

Herausgegeben mit dem Rathe und Beistande des Ehrw. Dr. J. G. Schmucker in York, und des Ehrw. A. Helffenstein sen. in Baltimore von J. H. Dreyer, und gedruckt in seiner Office zu York, Pa.

☞ Die "Evangelische Zeitung" erscheint wöchentlich für $1 25 des Jahrs, kostet wenn innerhalb der ersten 6 Monate bezahlt wird aber nur Einen Thaler.

Für weniger als einen Jahrgang kann nicht unterschrieben werden.

Alle Aufkündigungen müssen Einen Monat vor dem Ende des Jahrgangs eingesandt werden.

Die Unterschreiber haben das Postgeld zu bezahlen, welches, für eine Entfernung über 100 Meilen 1½ Cent, für eine Entfernung unter 100 Meilen 1 Cent, beträgt.

Nicht frei gemachte Briefe, welche weder Geld noch neue Unterschriften enthalten, werden dem Herausgeber verboten, und die Absender mit dem Postgelde debitirt, wenn sie aufgenommen werden.

Vor Bezahlung des rückständigen Unterschriftgeldes kann keine Aufkündigung der "Evangelischen Zeitung" geschehen.

Joh. H. Dreyer.

Mit innigem Vergnügen haben wir aus dem März Hefte des Evangelischen Magazins der Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirche wie aus den letzten Nummern des Messenger of the German Reformed Church und des Lutheran Observer gesehen, daß die Erscheinung der Evangelischen Zeitung in dem Character eines gemeinschaftlichen Blattes für sämmtliche Deutsche Protestantische Kirchen dieses Landes, die Veranlassung gegeben hat, eine in vieler Hinsicht so wünschenswerthe Vereinigung der beiden Hauptdenominationen aufs neue zur Sprache zu bringen. Diese Erfahrung mußte uns um so erfreulicher werden, weil wir Anfangs Ursache hatten zu fürchten, unser Vorhaben mit Beseitigung alles Parthei- und Secten-Unterschieds, diese Wochenschrift fortzusetzen, werde eine entgegengesetzte Wirkung haben, indem alle zu einer gewissen Missionsgesellschaft gehörende Unterschreiber, wie diejenigen einer benachbarten Stadt, uns ihre sämmtlichen Unterschriften aufkündigten, sobald es bekannt geworden war, daß die Evangelische Zeitung künftig nicht mehr unter dem Titel einer Reformirten Kirchen Zeitung erscheinen sollte. Unser Plan wurde indessen von der Ehrwürdigen Committee, von der uns vor zwei Jahren die Herausgabe übertragen war, einstimmig und vollkommen gebilligt, und wir bitten den Herausgeber des Messenger öffentlich um Verzeihung, wegen unserer wie wir jetzt sehen ungegründeten Vermuthung seiner Mißvergnügung und Unzufriedenheit mit uns. Ganz im Sinne der Ehrw. Herren Professoren von Gettysburg hat derselbe sich jetzt in zwei Nummern seiner Zeitschrift ja darüber ausgesprochen, daß er sich über die von dem Lutheran Observer in Beziehung auf eine Vereinigung der beiden Kirchen geäusserten liberalen Grundsätze freue, und eine solche Vereinigung nicht blos als wünschenswerth, sondern auch als ausführbar ansehe. "Die Deutschen Kirchen in diesem Lande, sagt er, mit grosser Freimüthigkeit, zeigten sich, als ein Haus, das mit sich selbst uneins war, und haben den Nachtheil dieser Zertheilung erfahren, und wie viel glücklicher würden sie gewesen seyn, wenn man das schöne Wort des Psalmisten auf sie hätte anwenden können: Siehe! wie fein und lieblich ist's, wenn Brüder einträchtig bei einander wohnen." "In manchen Gegenden Deutschlands, fährt er fort, sind Reformirte und Lutheraner jetzt unter dem gemeinschaftlichen Namen "Der Evangelischen Kirche" vereinigt, und viele Protestantische Auswanderer drücken ihr Erstaunen darüber aus, wenn sie hier noch eine so weite Trennung zwischen den beiden Confessionen finden." Nicht weniger bestimmt, und einer Vereinigung günstig, spricht sich die April Nummer aus, und findet einen Hauptgrund, daß bisher noch so wenig dafür gethan worden ist, in einem wechselseitigen Mißtrauen, welches die Freunde einer Union bisher abgehalten habe, annähernde Schritte zu thun. Auf die Frage: "Was denn Gutes aus einer Vereinigung entspringen würde? will er nur die Gegenfrage thun: was sich denn von einer fortdauernden Trennung Gutes erwarten lasse? und meint die letzte sollte erst beantwortet werden, weil sich dann genug des Guten in Beziehung auf jene werde sagen lassen. Die vielen Secten, wenn die Kirchengeschichte uns Nachricht gibt, haben dem Christenthum niemals Ehre gemacht, besonders wenn man die haarkleinen Differenzen bedenke, welche grosse Spaltungen angerichtet haben, und erwäge, wie wenig Liebe erforderlich war, um die dadurch verursachte Trennung zu heilen. Das neuliche Beispiel des Stephen Girard beweise, welchen Eindruck die Zwistigkeiten der Christen auf die Kinder der Welt machen, u. die Römisch Catholische Kirche habe den bittersten Vorwurf gegen uns Protestanten, von unserer Uneinigkeit hergenommen."

So unverholen und entschieden erklärt sich das officielle Blatt der Deutschen Reformirten Kirche, und wir können uns nicht enthalten aus dem Deutschen Lutherischen Magazin folgende vortreffliche Aeusserungen, die so grossen Beifall gefunden haben, herzusetzen. Bei Gelegenheit der Ankündigung, daß die Evangelische Zeitung an die Stelle der genannten Monatschrift zum Besten der Protestantischen Kirchen überhaupt und der Lutherischen und Reformirten insbesondere treten werde, wünschen die Herren Professoren in Gettysburg, dadurch eine Thür zur Beförderung aufrichtiger Bruderliebe und näherer christlicher Gemeinschaft mit ih-

FACSIMILE TITLE OF FIRST GERMAN RELIGIOUS WEEKLY IN AMERICA,—"The Evangelical Times," Published, 1832-1834, in York, Pa., by Rev. J. H. Dreyer, with co-operation of Rev. John G. Schmucker, D.D., for the Lutheran Church.

in his former account. G). The number of subscribers gradually increased, but I do not think it ever exceeded 1,000. I devoted my time to this business for two years without compensation, but I endured much vexation, gave offense to some subscribers whom I asked for the money they owed me, and brought down on myself the "celestial wrath" of some clerical correspondents whose undigested and crude material I could not consent to publish. But this is the common fate of Editors!

Editor No. 1, upon collecting all the money he could, without, however, making much exertion, had the magnificent sum of $60 as profit of two years' work. With part of this I bought a lot of shade trees, to be planted in front of the Seminary at Gettysburg, and the balance I distributed among a few poor widows of my Church.

The subscription book which contained about $500 of unpaid subscriptions, I gave to some association of the Seminary, with the privilege of keeping all they could collect; but I believe they were not successful, perhaps because they were not energetic. Old subscription books are at the best poor stock. The full history of *The Observer* has been written and any persons curious on such historic lore may profitably consult the paper in its issues of January, 1877, or my Bibliotheca Lutherana, p. 131."[5]

Strangely inaccurate is the following account of the origin of *The Observer* published by its editor, Rev. Dr. V. L. Conrad, in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for October, 1898: "In March, 1826, the Rev. D. F. Schaeffer began the publication at Frederick, Md., of a small octavo monthly called *"The Lutheran Intelligencer."* This was the first Lutheran periodical published in America. It was continued in this form for five years, until 1831, when it was suspended for a few months, but was reissued in the same year as a semi-monthly under the name of *The Lutheran Observer.* The first numbers were published at Gettysburg, Pa., and were edited by the Rev. S. S. Schmucker. Soon after, it was transferred to the Rev. J. G. Morris at Baltimore, who became both editor and proprietor."

5 The Minutes of the Maryland Synod for 1833 show the following entry in the Treasurer's Report: "1832, Oct. 21, From Rev. J. G. Morris, being part of the profit of *The Lutheran Observer,* $25.00." Whether this sum was part of the final surplus or from the 1832 surplus, it shows the generosity of the Editor. G.

From what we have learned we can now see that this statement is unhistorical in at least the following particulars:

(a). *The Intelligencer* was *not* begun by Rev. D. F. Schaeffer, so much as by the Maryland and Virginia Synod, after actions extending from 1820 to 1825.

(b). *The Intelligencer* was *not* the first Lutheran periodical in America, as *The Evangelical Magazine* of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had preceded it by fourteen years.

(c). It was *not* suspended for a few months. It was entirely discontinued and its affairs settled.

(d). It was *not,* therefore, re-issued as a semi-monthly under the name of *The Lutheran Observer.*

(e). The first numbers (of *The Observer*) were *not* published at Gettysburg and Dr. Schmucker was *not* their editor.

(f). It (*The Observer*) was *not* transferred to Baltimore, but began in Baltimore with Dr. Morris as first editor, August, 1831.

Dr. Conrad's mistaken view is not hard to explain. For the question naturally arises in the mind of the investigator of this period: "Why was it that the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, or its President, allowed *The Intelligencer* to lapse in March, 1831, and, yet, the leading men of that day, for the cogent reasons given above by Dr. Morris, so felt the necessity of an English periodical that within six months another was begun?" The writer has been unable to find any documentary *proof* of the *cause* for this seemingly anomalous sight of the abandonment of one English monthly at Frederick and the beginning of another English semi-monthly in Baltimore within a half year; the need for an English paper being surely as pressing as Dr. Morris asserts. But the writer's personal opinion would be in favor of the theory that differences, perhaps personal, perhaps theological, had arisen between Frederick and Gettysburg; between Editor Schaeffer and Professor Schmucker.

Let us see if we can find presumptive evidence favorable to this view.

In his report as President of the Maryland Synod in October, 1831, former Editor Schaeffer says: "*The Evangelical Lutheran Intelligencer,* the first periodical that was issued in the English language by our Church in the United States, has been discontinued *for want of support,* notwithstanding *the pledges*

that had been given to the editor. As a considerable debt exists, it will be one of the first duties of this Synod to devise ways and means to liquidate it. A full and complete exhibit of the whole concern accompanies this report. I earnestly enjoin it upon the Synod to act upon this subject as early as possible, being convinced that delay may produce effects we would all regret.

That a Church derives much benefit from periodicals properly conducted the good effects of *The Intelligencer* must prove. Hence I am happy that one still exists, viz: *The Lutheran Observer.* The work is well executed and may carry on the operations commenced by *The Intelligencer.* If the brethren do *justice* to *The Intelligencer* and the late editor and see *their error* in having been *too indifferent* as to the existence of the work, then shall I have the pleasing anticipation that the blessings of God will rest upon *The Lutheran Observer.*" (The italics are mine. G.)

This document, although necessarily formal and official, seems to indicate a considerable feeling of injustice done him by the "indifference," "lack of support" and "error" on the part of "the brethren" who had made previous "pledges" of co-operation. This certainly included Gettysburg leaders, for, as we have seen, in 1827, the Seminary Board itself acknowledged the very great value of *The Intelligencer;* the relations were most close and inter-dependent.

Now let us analyze Dr. Morris' statement as to the condition at Gettysburg during the months (as his account seems to imply) just before the launching of *The Observer* and the circumstances under which he was "induced" at the "earnest solicitation of some influential men of that day," "the leading spirits among us," to assume its care. First. "It was thought that the new paper should be printed at Gettysburg by "The Press of the Theological Seminary." This would indicate a strong local influence. Second. There was an "Advisory Council" (perhaps including those "leading spirits" previously named by Dr. Morris. G), only "some" of which "insisted on a name for the infant which would indicate its family relations." This was evidently the non-Gettysburg minority in the "Advisory Council," for the local members, from what he says, took the other side. Third. The local element, which objected to the name *Lutheran* in the title, had as its "leading man" the one "who

THE EVANGELICAL

LUTHERAN PREACHER,

AND PASTORAL MESSENGER;

BEING

SERMONS AND OCCASIONAL ARTICLES,

DOCTRINAL AND PRACTICAL,

BY

Ministers of the Lutheran Church,

WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR;

ALL

DESIGNED TO ILLUSTRATE AND DEFEND THE PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION,

AS

HELD AND TAUGHT BY LUTHERANS.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY

REV. L. EICHELBERGER, WINCHESTER, VA

"GO YE INTO ALL THE WORLD AND PREACH THE GOSPEL TO EVERY CREATURE."—*Mark* xvi. 15.

"VOX AUDITA PERIT, LITERA SCRIPTA MANET."

Vol. 1.

Winchester:

PRINTED AT THE REPUBLICAN OFFICE.

1833-4.

FACSIMILE TITLE OF FIRST LUTHERAN HOMILETIC JOURNAL PUBLISHED IN AMERICA, Published monthly, 1833-1835, at Winchester, Va., Rev. Lewis Eichelberger, D.D., Editor.

had consented to edit the paper for a time." This could be no other, in 1831, than Professor Schmucker.

We see, therefore, that within only a few months of the discontinuance of *The Intelligencer* there was a strong movement at Gettysburg, presumably lead by Dr. Schmucker, for the founding of another English paper. That it was not actually published in Gettysburg was due to "the others" (those who did not agree with Dr. Schmucker and his pro-Gettysburg party) "not yielding" to the omission of the title *Lutheran* and the willingness of young Pastor Morris (of our First English Church there) to assume financial and editorial responsibility for it in Baltimore.

It is very clear to the writer, that this situation could not have been developed so soon after the cessation of *The Intelligencer* if there had not been very decided differences between the Frederick leader and the Gettysburg leader. Otherwise, it would seem as if the leaders of the whole Church, at Frederick, at Gettysburg, and throughout the Maryland and West Pennsylvania Synods would *all* have combined to so support *The Intelligencer* that its suspension would *not* have been necessitated and a successor, only six months later, launched, with the greater financial problem by reason of the failure of the earlier paper.

In fact, the writer has reason to believe that the Gettysburg authorities were contemplating a new paper even *before* the discontinuance of *The Intelligencer*. In confirmation of this view, he has recently learned of a letter that was written by Professor David Jacobs who was head of the "Gettysburg Gymnasium" from 1827 to the time of his death, November, 1830, four months before *The Intelligencer* stopped. The letter was addressed to a pastor then at Boonsboro, Md., and was to urge him to take the editorship of the proposed paper. In this letter Professor Jacobs, (for the head of the Gymnasium and his former teacher, the Professor and head of the Seminary, were, doubtless, in daily conference, in the common, small building which both schools were using), undoubtedly reflects the opinions of the Seminary Professor to this general effect; that *The Intelligencer* was deteriorating in quality and influence; that the patronage was falling off and that the Church would, probably, soon be without a paper, unless something decisive were done.

At this distance this would appear to be a prejudiced judg-

ment, at least so far as the quality and size of the fifth volume (1830-31) were concerned. As compared with Volume I, with 296 pages, it had now grown to 384 pages. It was handsomely illustrated (and the only one of the five volumes to be illustrated) by the Goering engraving. The index of subjects and authors would certainly indicate no deterioration in the variety, interest, value or evangelical and Lutheran quality of the year's contents. To the original Luther motto was now added this: "The Bible our rule of faith! The right of private judgment our privilege."

Dr. Schaeffer, in 1830, was Vice President of the Seminary Board, as he had been from the beginning. In his report of the June meeting that year, he gives this account of the writer of this letter and his work: "The Rev. D. Jacobs superintends the Classical Department. He is a gentleman, particularly gifted for the purpose, amiable, but a rigid disciplinarian." Of Dr. Schmucker he says: "A more useful Professor could not be met with." And in October he writes: "Dr. Schmucker spent a few days in Frederick lately, and among a few of the members of the Lutheran Church obtained a handsome subscription (for the new building. G.), something more than $1,000," all of which would indicate that the attitude of Editor Schaeffer was far from unfriendly.

Rev. H. L. Baugher, Sr., to whom this significant letter was addressed, declined to consider the suggestion as he could not think that he was suited to be an editor.

A suggestion of difference of theological attitude between Gettysburg and Frederick, or those representing these centers, can be inferred from the Report of President Schaeffer to the Maryland Synod, 1833, in referring to the newly appointed editor of *The Observer,* Dr. B. Kurtz: "*The Lutheran Observer* has been changed to a weekly paper and is edited by Rev. Benjamin Kurtz. The first number was issued August 24. In it the Editor says: "While, therefore, he regards the sacred Scriptures without note or comment as the only infallible rule of faith and morals, he, at the same time holds the prominent doctrines of the Reformation as substantially set forth in the Augsburg Confession and will consider himself bound according to his best abilities to defend and promote them." Whilst it must be regretted that the Synod does not publish a journal under its

own and sole control, yet, if the present editor adheres to the above declaration, *The Lutheran Observer* merits the patronage of our people generally." But, within *twenty* years, Dr. Kurtz was one of the chief promoters of "The Definite Synodical Platform!" *The Observer* was officially endorsed by the Maryland Synod in 1833, 1834 and 1835, making it practically the *official* organ of that Synod.

In 1834 Rev. Benjamin Kurtz succeeded Dr. Schaeffer in the Seminary Board at Gettysburg. Dr. Schaeffer died Jan. 30, 1837, in his forty-sixth year.

Altogether, then, we gather the impression, from the sources of information accessible, that there had developed such important differences, both personal and theological, that *The Intelligencer* could not longer command sufficient support to make it self-supporting. That this is so is shown by the fact that *The Observer,* with its evidently larger following, was at once self-supporting.

The writer has in his possession an autograph letter of Dr. Kurtz dated Baltimore, Md., February 20, 1834, the first year of his editorship, and written to Rev. Johnathan Oswald, assistant to Dr. Schmucker at York, giving an inside picture of the financial difficulties of his task. It says:

"Brother Oswald: Having recently exchanged a few letters with you, I shall again address this to you, though it is alike intended for Dr. Schmucker and yourself.

I have finally made up my mind (for various reasons which it is needless to mention at present) not to accept the call from Philadelphia, and as *The Observer* does not afford me support, I must retire to some secular employment for a livelihood or obtain it in some other way. Providence seems to be opening a door wide and inviting, but a few obstacles still obstruct my path. I am daily and very pressingly urged to organize a new Lutheran congregation in this city. A number of very respectable and influential gentlemen have waited on me and hold out the most flattering prospects. They are prepared to rent a room and proceed to work as soon as I consent. They will be satisfied with one sermon a week until my strength will admit of more frequent labor, and are of the opinion that I could in a short time have a respectable and flourishing Church in the lower part of the city.

Dr. Morris approves of the project and has no doubt of my success. But for the first year I must labor without a salary. *The Observer* affords little or no profit. Now my object in writing is to ascertain whether you and Dr. Schmucker will advocate a petition from me to your next Synod for $150 or $200 for editing *The Observer.* If that amount could be procured, I would "go ahead," and in twelve months, with God's blessing, have another English Lutheran Church in this city, which would support me without any foreign aid. One gentleman has already promised that if I organize a new Church in this city, he will give $500 toward building a new house of worship. I am so much engaged that I can enlarge no more at present, but would be glad to hear from you *immediately,* as also from Dr. S. on this subject. I intend to apply to the Synod of Maryland for similar assistance, and if I succeed shall go forward.

All this I write in perfect secrecy and hope you and the Dr. will keep it to yourselves. What I have written is all true, but should I not meet with pecuniary aid from the Synods, I wish the whole matter to sink into oblivion. In great haste, Yours, etc., B. Kurtz.

Write so soon as you shall have had a consultation with the Dr. Should I go forward, my plan will soon be made public.

P. S. Could not the officers of your Synod appoint me Missionary in Balto. for 6 or 12 months, with the usual allowance of 33 dolls. per month? Dr. Kurtz (his Uncle Daniel, pastor of the German Church. G.) as well as Dr. Morris would, I feel confident, approve of this." In the Minutes of the Maryland Synod for 1834 there is no reference to any such appointment.

Rev. E. W. Hutter, who delivered the eulogy on Dr. Kurtz at Selinsgrove, May 28, 1866, speaks thus of these days of struggle: "The sick and weary retired pastor was far from discovering the editorial tripod a bed of roses. The Lutheran Church then was not what it is now. It was strong in this country only in sequestrated localities, and was then yet essentially German, with few prepossessions on the side of an English newspaper.

The Doctor had a hard road to travel, mountains of difficulties to overcome, not the least of which was that of an empty treasury. For, to keep *The Observer* alive—to meet expenses and keep out of debt—he did not find it enough to discharge the duties of an editor, pure and simple,—but all the intermediate

drudgery in the descending scale down to those that devolve on that mysterious personage—the *"Printer's Devil."* Not only did he have to furnish all the "copy," original and selected, and read the "proof" and "revises," and supervise the mails, and post his day-books and ledgers, but he had, in addition, all the packing and forwarding to do,—and, for aught we know, was himself the carrier of *The Observer* for the city of Baltimore!"

Mr. Hutter concludes: "For *The Observer* he watched. For *The Observer* he prayed. For *The Obsesver* he tugged and toiled with unflagging perseverance. "Wer anhalt gewinnt." He did hold on. And he did win. He did make *The Observer* what he wished it to be, a power, felt and acknowledged, in the Church. From a struggling, sickly, seven-by-nine, semi-monthly, with a subscription list of from seven to eight hundred, he raised it gradually to a large, handsome, prosperous weekly, rejoicing in a list of as many thousands."

This elaborate reference is made to Dr. Kurtz for two reasons: First, because his personality made *The Observer* the influence which it became; and, second, because *The Observer* is the only survivor of all the journalistic efforts of the Lutheran Church prior to the forties. No editor of, at least the eastern section of, the Church has ever wielded so lengthy and powerful an influence as did Benjamin Kurtz.

A German weekly now appears on the scene. The last issue of the First Volume of *The Observer* (July 16, 1832) says: "We have received the first number of the *Evangelische Zeitung,* a religious weekly paper published at York by Mr. Dreyer. It promises to be an interesting and profitable publication to our German brethren. May the amiable and industrious editor receive the full reward of all his liberal exertions to improve the religious character of our German population."

Only very recently has the writer been able to discover any data relative to this magazine, the *first German religious weekly* in our Church.[6] But we have had access to what is called

6 The rare volume, "Band I," which we have been privileged to examine, was originally the property of Dr. A. C. Ehrenfeld, the father of the three well-known Lutheran ministers of that name. This volume is now in the possession of his grandson, Prof. C. H. Ehrenfeld, Ph.D., of York, Pa. We would be much interested to know if any private or public library has the 1832-1833 volume. G.

"Band I," running from No. 1, May 6, 1833, to No. 36, April 7, 1334, showing that it did not appear *every* week during that period. In the issue of March 10, 1834, the publisher in urging the delinquent subscribers to pay up the $700.00 due from them, refers to the fact that the journal had been running "three years," which confirms Dr. Morris' statement in *The Observer,* July, 1832,—and yet the volume for 1833-1834 is entitled "Band 1," or Volume 1, and its first number is No. 1.

The title of the magazine was *"Die Evangelische Zeitung* der Lutherischen, Reformirten und anderer Protestantischen Kirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten." This 8 page quarto weekly was published by Rev. J. H. Dreyer at York, with the counsel and co-operation of Dr. J. G. Schmucker, the Lutheran pastor of York, and Rev. A. Helffenstein, Reformed pastor of Baltimore. The price was $1.25 per year, but, if paid for within six months, only a dollar. Its motto was: Cor. 1:24, "Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy." In September, 1833, this magazine generously published an appeal from Drs. Hazelius and Schmucker to the delinquent subscribers to the (Lutheran) *Magazine,* just discontinued. But in October, 1833, the publisher announces that $850 were due him and, as he evidently could not print until at least some of this was forthcoming, no copy appeared until December 2, in which is an announcement from Pastors Schmucker and Helffenstein that they withdrew from any further connection with the paper. This large amount due would also indicate that the *Zeitung* had been in existence longer than since May, 1833. This issue also contains the action of the recent Lutheran General Synod, Baltimore, October, 1833, officially approving the paper, but suggesting that it become a semi-monthly instead of a weekly and that it contain more current religious news, and urging all Lutheran pastors to aid in its circulation.

This action greatly encouraged the publisher and he resumed publication, but from Dec. 2 to the last issue, April 7, 1834 it appeared only bi-weekly. In that same month, October, 1833, the West Pennsylvania Synod had also endorsed it, with similar suggestions to publisher and pastors. It is these official endorsements by two important Lutheran bodies and the value of the large amount of Lutheran personal and synodical records which

Der Lutheraner.

„Gottes Wort und Luthers Lehr' vergehet nun und nimmermehr."

Herausgegeben von C. F. W. Walther.

Jahrgang 1. St. Louis, Mo., den 1. September 1844. No. 1.

Bedingungen: Der Lutheraner erscheint alle zwei Wochen einmal für den Subscriptionspreis von Einem Dollar fünf und zwanzig Cents für die auswärtigen Unterschreiber, welche davon die Hälfte vorauszubezahlen und das Postgeld zu tragen haben. — In St. Louis wird jede einzelne Nummer für 6¼ Cents verkauft.

Vorbemerkungen über Ursache, Zweck und Inhalt des Blattes.

Die deutsche Bevölkerung des Westens von Amerika wird offenbar mit jedem Tage größer. Mit derselben wächst hier zugleich die Anzahl derjenigen, welche sich zu dem Glauben bekennen, den einst Luther den Deutschen gepredigt hat. Es stehen jedoch hier die Glieder keiner andern kirchlichen Gemeinschaft so verwaist da, als die der evangelisch-lutherischen. So viel ihrer auch hier sein mögen, die sich noch Lutheraner nennen, so leben sie doch so zerstreut und sind von allen Mitteln meist so ganz entblößt, daß sie an vielen Orten kaum im Stande sind, in einen Gemeindeverband zu treten und einen Prediger ihres Bekenntnisses zu bestellen, der ihnen diene. Die deutschen Lutheraner sind daher hier in nicht geringer Versuchung, den Glauben ihrer Väter zu verlassen; entweder nach Kirche, Gottesdienst u. dergl. gar nichts zu fragen, oder in anderen hier bestehenden Gemeinschaften Befriedigung ihrer religiösen Bedürfnisse zu suchen. Unsere theuern Glaubensbrüder in diesem Theile unseres neuen Vaterlandes bedürfen darum allerdings der Ermunterung, ihrem Glauben treu zu bleiben; sie bedürfen der Warnung vor den Gefahren des Abfalls, deren so viele ihnen hier drohen; sie bedürfen Waffen, sich gegen diejenigen zu vertheidigen, die es ihnen streitig machen, daß der Glaube der rechte sei, den sie von Jugend auf aus ihrem Catechismus gelernt haben; sie bedürfen den Trost, daß die Kirche, zu der sie sich bekennen, noch nicht verschwunden sei, daß sie daher keineswegs Ursache haben, bei irgend einer andern Gemeinschaft Zuflucht zu suchen.

Dieses gewiß von vielen empfundene Bedürfniß, und die Ueberzeugung, daß es unsere Pflicht sei, unsern hiesigen Mitbürgern darüber Rechenschaft abzulegen, was in unserer Kirche geglaubt und gelehrt, und nach welchen Grundsätzen daher von uns gehandelt werde: dieß hat den Unterzeichneten bewogen, in Verbindung mit mehreren seiner Amts- und Glaubensbrüder in Missouri und Illinois, ein Blatt unter obigem Titel herauszugeben. Dasselbe soll nehmlich dazu dienen: 1. mit der Lehre, den Schätzen und der Geschichte der lutherischen Kirche bekannt zu machen; 2. den Beweis dafür zu liefern, daß diese Kirche nicht in der Reihe der christlichen Sekten stehe, und nicht eine neue, sondern die alte wahre Kirche Jesu Christi auf Erden sei, daß sie daher noch keinesweges ausgestorben sei, ja, nicht aussterben könne, nach Christi Verheißung: „Siehe, ich bin bei euch alle Tage bis an der Welt Ende." Unser Blatt soll ferner 3. dazu dienen, zu zeigen, wie ein Mensch als ein wahrer Lutheraner recht glauben, christlich leben, geduldig leiden und selig sterben könne; und endlich 4. die im Schwange gehenden falschen, verführerischen Lehren zu entdecken, zu widerlegen und davor zu warnen, und insonderheit diejenigen zu entlarven, die sich fälschlich lutherisch nennen, unter diesem Namen Irrglauben, Unglauben und Schwärmerei verbreiten und daher die übelsten Vorurtheile gegen unsere Kirche in den Gliedern anderer Parteien erwecken.

Vielleicht nicht wenige, wenn sie dieses lesen, werden uns entweder die Fähigkeit absprechen, das Ziel, das wir uns selbst gesteckt haben, zu erreichen; oder sie werden fürchten, daß unser Blatt den Geist der Unduldsamkeit athmen, und somit Haß Verschiedenglaubender unterhalten und nähren werde. Auf das erste Bedenken haben wir nur dieses zu antworten: Wir erkennen selbst gewiß lebendiger, als irgend jemand, wie viel uns abgeht, den Beruf des Herausgebers eines christlichen Zeitungsblattes in seinem großen Umfange zu erfüllen; wir wissen aber, daß es in göttlichen Dingen nicht auf große Gelehrsamkeit und Beredtsamkeit ankommt, seinen Brüdern nützlich zu sein, sondern auf rechte lebendige Erkenntniß der seligmachenden Wahrheit und auf ein einfaches Zeugniß von derselben. Uebrigens haben wir die Absicht, in diesem Blatte die geistreichsten Lehrer unserer Kirche, insonderheit Luthern, selbst reden zu lassen, und wir meinen, daß schon allein diese mit dem Blatte dargebotenen Gaben dasselbe so gehaltvoll machen werden, daß sich der Leser das Unsrige wenigstens als eine geringe Zugabe gefallen lassen kann. Was das zweite Bedenken betrifft, so wird es gewiß bald gehoben werden, wenn die Leser nur einige Blätter mit Aufmerksamkeit und ohne Vorurtheil werden geprüft haben. Wir sind selbst eine geraume Zeit von mancherlei Irrthümern gefangen gewesen, und Gott hat mit uns Geduld gehabt und uns mit großer Langmuth auf den Weg der Wahrheit geleitet; dessen eingedenk werden daher auch wir gegen unsere irrenden Nächsten Geduld beweisen und uns alles sündlichen Richtens und Verdammens durch Gottes Gnade enthalten. Wir werden nicht sowohl die irrende Person, als vielmehr ihren Irrthum angreifen. Wir werden uns auch nicht als solche geberden, die allein rein lutherisch sein und die Wahrheit allein besitzen wollen, sondern nur Zeugniß geben, daß Gott auch an uns Großes gethan und uns zur lebendigen Erkenntniß der alleinseligmachenden Wahrheit gebracht hat.

St. Louis, Mo., im August 1844.

C. F. W. Walther,
Pastor der deutschen ev.-luth. Gemeinde ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession hier.

Zeugnisse Luthers:
Welches der Hauptartikel der christlichen Lehre sei.

In seiner herrlichen Auslegung des Briefes an die Galater schreibt derselbe: „In meinem Herzen herrscht allein und soll auch herrschen dieser einige Artikel, nehmlich der Glaube an meinen lieben Herrn Christum, welcher aller meiner geistlichen und göttlichen Gedanken, so ich immerdar Tag und Nacht haben mag, der einige Anfang, Mittel und Ende ist. Und wiewohl ich sehr viel Worte davon gemacht, empfinde ich dennoch gleichwohl, daß ich von der Höhe, Tiefe und Breite dieser unmäßigen, unbegreiflichen und unendlichen Weisheit kaum und gar nehrlich ein geringes, schwaches Anheben erreichen, und kaum etliche kleine Süßlein und Bröcklein aus der allerköstlichsten Fundgrube habe an das Licht bringen mögen. — Dieser Artikel ist der einige feste Fels und die ewige beständige Grundveste alles unseres Heils und Seligkeit: nehmlich, daß wir nicht durch uns selbst, viel weniger durch unsere eigene Werke und Thun (welche freilich viel geringer und weniger sind, denn wir selbst), sondern daß wir durch fremde Hülfe, nehmlich, daß wir durch den eingebornen Sohn Gottes, Jesum Christum, von Sünden, Tod und Teufel erlöset und zum ewigen Leben gebracht sein."

Ferner schreibt Luther in seiner Vorrede zur Erklärung des Propheten Amos von Brentius: „Solche Gabe Gottes, so vornehmlich in Dir vor andern ist, habe ich sonderlich lieb, daß Du die Lehre von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens in allen Deinen Büchern so treulich

FACSIMILE OF FIRST LUTHERAN PERIODICAL PUBLISHED IN THE WEST, "The Lutheran," Published bi-weekly by Editor, 1844-1847, and by the Missouri Synod, 1847-1912, Rev. C. F. W. Walther, D.D., Editor, 1844-1887.

it furnishes, that makes us feel warranted in giving it a place among Lutheran journals, although, strictly speaking, it was thoroughly unionistic, reflecting the prevailing spirit of that day, especially as between the German Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Dr. Good, the Reformed Historian already quoted, says (p. 184) of this *Zeitung*:—"In 1832 the Synod (Reformed) went into a union German periodical published by Revs. Dreyer of the Reformed Church and Schmucker of the Lutheran Church"; a statement not entirely accurate, so far as Dr. Schmucker's relation to the paper is concerned, but interesting as showing that the paper had been officially endorsed by the Reformed Synod also, as well as by the Lutheran.

In the issue for April 7, 1834, No. 36, the publisher made his pathetic, but not unexpected ,announcement that this number would close the life of the journal, unless through the payment of the "rückständigen Subscriptionsgelder" he would be able to resume at Baltimore, whither he was removing from York. But we doubt if he ever realized his pious hope, for we have been unable to hear of *Die Zeitung* again.

This closes the list of the real pioneers in general Lutheran journalism, but we will add the names of those of a more limited constituency and circulation and also those of yet later date, say, down to 1850.

The Evangelical Lutheran Preacher and Pastoral Messenger, being Sermons and Occasional Articles, Doctrinal and Practical, by Ministers of the Lutheran Church, with Notes by the Editor; all designed to illustrate and defend the Principles of Religion as Held and Taught by Lutherans. Edited and Published by Rev. Lewis Eichelberger, Winchester, Va. Motto: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." "Vox audita perit, litera scripta manet."

This monthly journal survived for two volumes, 1833-1835, but during its life furnished examples of the best sermonic work of the leading Lutheran pastors of the time from all sections of the country.

Dr. Schaeffer, in his President's Report to the Maryland Synod in 1833, said of the *Lutheran Preacher*: "I beg leave to draw your attention to a new work, issued by Rev. Lewis Eichelberger at Winchester, Va., under the title of *The Evangelical*

Lutheran Preacher and Pastoral Messenger. I congratulate you upon the fact that a member of this Synod was the first in the United States who had the courage and zeal to attempt the publication of a series of Lutheran Sermons. I trust he will be sustained by a large number of subscribers." This Magazine was also endorsed and commended by the Synod in 1833, 1834 and 1835.

Another English Monthly, also largely homiletic in its contents, and which also survived just two years, 1837 and 1838, was *The Lutheran Pulpit and Monthly Religious Magazine,* conducted by Rev. Charles A. Smith and published at Albany, N. Y. Its contributors were nearly all pastors of New York State, whereas, the Eichelberger Monthly drew from all parts of the Church of that decade.

The *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung und Allgemeines Schulblatt* was officially launched by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1838, the matter of beginning such a paper having been seriously considered in 1837. The leading spirit in the enterprise was Rev. Prof. Frederick Schmidt, at that time Professor of German in Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. He had been licensed in 1835 and was ordained in 1838. A letter from him at this time led the Ministerium to take up the whole subject anew, and appoint a committee of seven to "examine this subject with special care and report upon the publication of a [German] religious paper." It is a singular fact that Rev. Benjamin Kurtz, the fraternal delegate from the Maryland Synod , and editor of the English weekly *Lutheran Observer,* was *Chairman* of this committee. Their report stated (1) "that the publication of such a paper is loudly and emphatically demanded by the wants of the Church"; (2) "that a paper common to the interests of both the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, and sustained by both is highly desirable"; and (3) "that the several Synods of our Church unite in this undertaking, for the purpose of making it as much as possible a general church paper. The committee recommended as its plan of procedure (1) "that a committee be appointed to bring about the publication of a religious paper immediately, and to correspond with the authorized persons of the Reformed Church, respecting a union in the publication of a church paper"; (2) that this committee "correspond with the of-

ficers of the different sister Synods and ask their aid and assistance in the prosecution of this work"; (3) that the Synod advance a sum necessary for launching the paper; this sum to be repaid "when the profits accruing from the paper will permit" and (4) "that said Committee advance forthwith to the execution of this matter, and bring it to bear without any unnecessary delay."

Action on the item relative to the advance payment was deferred "until the brethren hand over their contributions to the Synodical Treasury."

As the Committee, the officers of Synod together with Professor Schmidt and Pastor Reichert, of Philadelphia, were elected. This Committee later reported that they (1) "regard it as very important for the success of the undertaking that the Reformed Synod should itself appoint the editor" and (2) that the Synod "at the same time pledge him a definite remuneration, at least for the first year, from the issuing of the first number."

Five were nominated and "after the votes were counted it appeared that Prof. Schmidt was elected."

It was further "Resolved: that the Synod pledge itself to bear the expense of the issuing of the first number of the religious paper."

It was a bi-weekly and the first issue was dated "August 2, 1838, Easton, Pa., in der Druckerei der Lafayette Collegiums." Professor Schmidt's name appears as "Herausgeber und Eigenthümer," editor and proprietor. This would seem to indicate that, while the Synod gave it its official sanction and a certain degree of financial support; appointed a publishing committee and elected its editor, the editor was "proprietor," or owner, and personally bore the financial burden of conducting the journal for the Church. The first volume had over 1600 subscribers and the second volume over 1400. When Professor Schmidt removed to Pittsburg as a pastor in 1840, the *Kirchenzeitung* was published there. It was continued at Pittsburg until No. 26 of Vol. 7, June 30, 1846, when it ceased publication, "nicht sowohl wegen Mangels an Unterschreibern, als aus Mangel an Bezahlern." The same old story.

The writer has not been able to trace the later relation of the

Synod to the paper after its first issue.[7] But its origin is most interesting as showing the *second* attempt of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to establish a German religious paper, the first action, as we have seen, having been taken in 1811.

Dr. Kurtz, in two articles in *The Observer* in 1838, speaks of it as the paper of the "Synod of East Pennsylvania," (as the Ministerium at that time was often called, to distinguish it from the Synod of West Pennsylvania), and as such entitled to high respect, but shows much doubt as to the outcome, chiefly on the ground that its thoroughly "evangelical" character was in doubt. This has reference, probably, to something in Editor Schmidt which was unsatisfactory to Editor Kurtz and his type of Church doctrine and life.

In February, 1840, there appeared *The Monthly Magazine of Religion and Literature,* edited by the scholarly Rev. Prof. W. M. Reynolds of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, and later, 1849, also the founder of *"The Evangelical Review."* This monthly was a purely literary journal, with only a slight ecclesiastical bearing, and survived only one year. It was popularly known as "Reynolds" Magazine. In 1843, at New Philadelphia, Ohio,

7 Dr. Jacobs informs us that in 1844 the Ministerium arranged to purchase from Professor Schmidt, for one thousand dollars, the *Kirchenzeitung;* the funds to be given by the congregations. A publishing committee, consisting of Pastors Demme, Reichert and Richards, was appointed, and were instructed "in the selection of an editor, among others, to regard the name of Rev. Spielman of Ohio."

In 1845 Professor Schmidt submitted resolutions explaining why the arrangements of 1844 were not carried out, and making another proposition. These resolutions were ordered printed and, then, indefinitely postponed. After the *Kirchenzeitung* was discontinued in 1846, the Ministerium adopted as its own the *Lutherische Hirtenstimme,* published in Baltimore by Rev. C. Weyl, changed its name to *Lutherische Kirchenbote;* and began its publication as a bi-weekly July 1, 1847, with Mr. Weyl in charge, under the "inspection" of the officers of the Synod.

It thus continued until the death of Editor Weyl, when its connection with the Ministerium closed. We give this closing reference to it. In 1850, upon complaint concerning certain statements in the paper, action was taken as follows: "Resolved: that the Synod acknowledges that the attitude of weakness which characterizes all human efforts, may also be predicated of the *Kirchenbote,* and that we advise the editor of that paper in future to admit only such articles as are in accordance with the spirit of our Church, as we announced it anew yesterday afternoon." The action here referred to is well worth recording and was as follows: "Resolved: that, like our fathers, we regard ourselves as a part of the one and only Evangelical Lutheran Church; that we, too, acknowledge the Word of God as contained in the Holy Scriptures as the only ground of our faith; and that we, too, have never renounced the Confessions of our Church, but continue to regard them as a faithful exposition of the Divine Word."

was established *The Lutheran Standard,* which still survives as the very influential weekly organ of the Joint Synod of Ohio. Its first editor was Rev. Dr. E. Greenwald, a former student of Dr. D. F. Schaeffer. Before that time, however, the Synod recommended to its members the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* which at that time was published by Prof. F. Schmidt, in Pittsburg.

Farther west, at St. Louis, 1844, Dr. C. F. W. Walther established *Der Lutheraner,* first as a personal organ, but in 1847 adopted by the Synod as its own. Dr. Walther was the editor of this pioneer of middle-western journalism until his death, and its influence in developing and unifying the forces of the Missouri Synod has been incalculable. Dr. Walther in 1855 also established *Lehre und Wehre,* the first Lutheran theological journal in that part of our country. It has always been the organ of the Synod.

In 1844,, November, at Gettysburg appeared the first number of *The Literary Record and Journal* of the Linnaean Association of Pennsylvania College. Its contents were all original and of a highly scientific character; Dr. Morris and Profs. Jacobs, Stoever and Baugher being contributors. Prof. Reynolds was also its first editor. It acknowledges the receipt for the Museum of a box of India relics (including memorials of Schwartz, the "first" Protestant Missionary to India) from Rev. C. F. Heyer, "Missionary at Guntoor in the Telugu Country, India;" also a box of minerals, fossils and Indian curios from Rev. W. A Passavant of Pittsburgh. An article by "Rusticus" (Dr. Morris. G.) strongly urges the further beautifying of the campus, a work already begun in 1839. He says: "Let them establish a tree-planting association and they will confer a favor on posterity. 'Non nobis solum' should be their motto.'" One hundred and sixty trees had been planted in 1839. This valuable magazine must have had a very stimulating scientific influence. It survived until October, 1848, when "by reason of financial difficulties the publication was suspended."

At this point reference should be made to *Der Jugend-Freund,* our *first German Sunday-School Journal,* established June 1847, by Licentiate S. K. Brobst, later of Allentown, with this as his object, as stated in his Introductory: The maintenance and extension of the German language, as well as the Christian educa-

Der

Deutsche Kirchenfreund.

Jahrgang 1. Januar 1848. Nro. 1.

Was wir wollen.

"Frisch gewagt ist halb gewonnen." Mit diesem alten bewährten Sprichwort wollen denn auch wir in Gottes Namen den Pilgerstab in die Hand nehmen, und unsere periodischen Reisen zu den deutschen Christen dieser neuen Welt, dieses Landes der Freiheit und der Zukunft, antreten und besonders an den Studirstuben der Geistlichen ohne Rücksicht auf ihren confessionellen Rock anklopfen, in der Hoffnung, daß ihnen unsere Besuche auch unangemeldet willkommen sein werden.

Der Gedanke an die Herausgabe einer Allgemeinen Amerikanisch Deutschen Kirchenzeitung ist nicht erst von gestern her. Schon längst haben wir mit vielen andern das Bedürfniß darnach gefühlt und sind von verschiedenen Freunden aufgefordert worden, uns selbst zu einem solchen Unternehmen anzuschicken. Wir haben aber bisher damit gezögert, theils weil wir die äußeren und inneren Schwierigkeiten der Aufgabe wohl kannten, theils weil wir hofften, ein tüchtiger Geistlicher in einer mehr centralen Stellung und deutschen Umgebung, wie Neu-York, Philadelphia oder Cincinnati, werde sich für das allgemeine Beste der Mühe der Herausgabe unterziehen. Wenn wir dieß nun selber thun, so geschieht es nur in der zuversichtlichen Hoffnung, daß die lutherischen und evangelischen Brüder uns ihre kräftige Mitwirkung nicht versagen werden. Denn ohne diese könnte "Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund" seinen Hauptzweck gar nicht erreichen, da er ja kein Parteiblatt sein, sich auch in die Sphäre der unentbehrlichen denominationellen Blätter in keiner Weise einmischen, sondern die deutsch kirchlichen Interessen im Großen und Ganzen im Auge behalten und ihnen dienen will.

Die Zahl der Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten wird mit Einschluß der Descendenten auf ungefähr drei Millionen angegeben. Diese Schätzung ist wahrscheinlich eher zu niedrig, als zu hoch. Wenigstens drei Viertheile derselben gehören wohl, sei es nun in Wahrheit oder bloß nominell, den ver-

FACSIMILE OF FIRST GERMAN RELIGIOUS PERIODICAL IN AMERICA, "of a Higher Order."—"The German Church-Friend," Published 1848-1859. Editors: Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., Reformed, and Rev. William J. Mann, D.D., Lutheran.

tion of the young. We mention this here, not so much because the indefatigable editor carried out successfully both of these announced objects, but to introduce and bear tribute to one of the most prolific and influential journalists in the Eastern section of the Church. His later activity should not be referred to at this place, but as to this we will quote the estimate put upon his general journalistic service to the Church by Dr. T. E. Schmauk, President of the General Council, in which body Pastor Brobst labored so helpfully: "For years he was the only regular source to which a large number of our Eastern Lutherans looked for instruction. In covering the ground historically, he ought to have a large place." *Der Jugend-Freund* still survives.

In 1848 Rev. W. A. Passavant of Pittsburgh founded *The Missionary.* It was issued as a monthly for eight years, when it was changed to a weekly and continued as a weekly until in 1861 when it was united with *The Lutheran* (founded in Philadelphia 1856) under the joint editorship of Drs. Krauth and Passavant.

Of the spirit and influence of *The Missionary* Dr. Jacobs, p. 386, justly says: "The Pittsburg Synod (1845) carried on with great success and spirit numerous missions, and extended its missionary activity as far west as the Mississippi Valley. It acted upon the principle that wherever there were those uncared for the Synod had the right to enter, when the proper call came. It was especially active in Canada, and even as far south as Texas. The Synod was composed largely of young men, and its missionary operations were guided chiefly by the unwearied activity of Dr. W. A. Passavant, whose small journal *The Missionary* for a number of years enlisted and maintained great interest in these undertakings."

Much like the *Zeitung* of 1832 in its spirit and purpose was the unionistic *Kirchenfreund,* which appeared in 1848 under the inspiring editorship of Dr. Philip Schaff, and which has been justly called "the first German religious periodical of a higher order in this country."

His colleague in this enterprise was his boyhood friend William J. Mann, whom he had, only a few years before, induced to join him at Mercersburg. Our interest in this magazine is because of the connection with it from the beginning, and during

its last six years, 1854-1859, as its chief editor, of Dr. Mann, later the distinguished and influential Lutheran pastor, scholar, author and professor. As to the magazine itself, Dr. Schaff's son, in his very valuable biography of his father, very correctly says: "The *Kirchenfreund* was established as an undenominational organ to serve the common interests of the churches of German ancestry."[8] We may also claim a large Lutheran element in Dr. Schaff. For he pronounced the Augsburg Confession "the most churchly, the most Catholic, the most conservative creed of Protestantism." And of his service to our Church in this country Dr. Jacobs has testified: "In the powerful reaction that came in the Lutheran Church in America, leading it back to its historic foundations, his influence must be regarded as a very important factor. There is not a Lutheran scholar in America, especially among those who use the English language, who does not owe to Dr. Schaff an inestimable debt."

In July, 1849, appeared at Gettysburg *The Evangelical Review,* edited by Rev. Prof. William M. Reynolds, assisted by Drs. J. G. Morris, Henry I. Schmidt, C. W. Schaeffer and E. Greenwald. This most valuable magazine has appeared quarterly ever since, under various editors; in 1870 being changed in name to *"The Quarterly Review of the Evangelical Lutheran Church."* Of it Dr. Morris says: "It has maintained a high standard for excellence. This is the "Luna inter minora sidera." It is the *oldest Lutheran Theological Magazine in America,* and the history of our Church in this country could hardly be written without reference to its files covering the past sixty-two years.

Dr. Jacobs in his *History* pays this high tribute to its abiding value and influence: *"The Evangelical Review* was the great repository of articles of permanent value, that render it almost as important for the American student of Lutheran theology today as when its numbers were issued. It was the chief link, of this period, between Lutheran theology and the Lutheran Church of America that used the English language."

In a true history of our journalistic origins, certainly, the occasion for founding what has become so venerable and influential a factor in our Church's life is worthy of our notice at this point. And, fortunately, we have the clear word of the master

8 Life of Philip Schaff, pp. 156-157.

spirit who was its father. In a letter to Rev. Charles Porterfield Krauth of July 19, 1849, Professor Reynolds writes as follows: "Well, the *Review* is at last out. Need I tell you that, so far as I am concerned, like any work of genius, it does not adequately represent the idea of the artist? Still it will do for a beginning. * * * Thus far the reception has been flattering beyond my most sanguine expectations. The brethren here with one accord express their unqualified satisfaction. I take it as an omen for good that Dr. S. S. Schmucker has said nothing to me about it. I think that there is a "Noli me tangere" character about it that will inspire both him and Dr. Kurtz with a salutary respect. On the other hand, some of our plainest ministers, never suspected of that most terrible of heresies, "Old Lutheranism," have already bid me God-speed. I have for a long time written for the *Observer* only because I did not wish to lose my rights, and to indicate that there really was a feeling in the Church which the *Observer* did not represent, and also because I still "hoped against hope" that there might be a change for the better. But now I have lost all hope, and believe that the only thing left for us is to have *a new Church paper* that may circulate in these parts. There has for some time been a tendency in that direction and I have opposed it, but now I shall do so no longer. * * * I do not know whether you require any additional information as to the state of feeling among our intelligent church members in regard to the *Observer,* but here is one that surprised me last night as coming from Chambersburg, where Dr. Kurtz has enjoyed the highest popularity, and where "new measures" have been supposed to have attained their perfection. I know the writer, Dr. Lane, only by reputation. He thus expresses himself in subscribing for the *Review*: "I have long desired to see some able and dignified exponent of the doctrines of the Lutheran Church, and am much gratified to see you thus employed. The *Observer,* I am sorry to say, comes far, very far short of either ability or dignity. This "anxious bench" system has, in my humble opinion, done more to retard the progress of vital piety, and lower the dignity of the Lutheran Church, than anything that could have been contrived."

In the second number of the *Review* Dr. Krauth had one of his most brilliant contributions on "The Relation of Our Con-

fessions to the Reformation, and the Importance of Their Study, With an Outline of the Early History of the Augsburg Confession." This article, of which Dr. Reynolds said, when he received the manuscript, "It is the very thing for the times," as was to be expected, "brought down upon it the condemnation of Dr. Kurtz and his friends." This second number of the *Review*, in Dr. Kurtz's opinion, "killed it dead by its Old Lutheranism." The *Review* henceforth was to him "the most sectarian periodical he ever read." With special reference to Dr. Krauth's article, he raises the question: "How many such articles would it take to convert a soul?" and throws out the thrilling apostrophe: "Poor Charley; what a prostitution of talent!" On the other hand, Professor Reynolds maintained, in a letter of January 7, 1850, that "the man whose heart does not warm as he reads that article of yours, particularly the introductory part, has not a drop of Lutheran blood in him. The fact is, there is a large body of men in our Church who have no knowledge of her history, no sympathy with her doctrines, no idea of her true character, and whose whole conception of the Church is that of a kind of mongrel Methodistic Presbyterianism, and of this party Drs. S. S. Schmucker and Kurtz are the coryphaei.

I am sure I speak but the common feelings of all true members of the Church when I most fervently thank you for that article. And this was, no doubt, the meaning of that hearty hug which Morris gave you when you last met.".

Just one more illuminating quotation. It is from a letter to Dr. Krauth while Dr. Reynolds was in Columbus, Ohio, President of Capital University, and is dated Dec. 15, 1853, four years after the founding of the *Review*. He says: "You speak of the *Review*, and your contributions and efforts in its behalf show how deep an interest you take in its complete success. To me it is ever more and more evident, than it was even when I penned its first introductory article, that the great mission of the *Review* is to bring the Lutheran Church in this country to self-consciousness, and to present her properly both to her own children, and to strangers who use the language of this Western world, to which she has been transplanted."

Surely, nothing more is necessary to be said to indicate the high-minded devotion to the historic ideals of our Church which

THE

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

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Professor in Pennsylvania College.

ASSISTED BY DR. J. G. MORRIS, PROF. H. I. SCHMIDT, REV. C. W. SCHAEFFER, AND REV. E. GREENWALD.

"Es sei denn, dass ich mit Zeugnissen der heiligen Schrift, oder mit öffentlichen, klaren, und hellen Gründen und Ursachen überwunden und überweiset werde, so kann und will ich nichts widerrufen."—LUTHER.

VOL. I.

GETTYSBURG:

PRINTED BY H. C. NEINSTEDT.
1849-50.

FACSIMILE OF FIRST AND OLDEST LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL JOURNAL IN AMERICA, Published at Gettysburg, 1849-1912, Rev. W. M. Reynolds, D.D., Founder and First Editor.

constrained its founder to establish *The Evangelical Review* at Gettysburg in 1849!

Its editorial roll records the names of (Vol. VI) C. P. Krauth, D.D., Sr., (Vol. III) C. P. Krauth, D.D., and W. M. Reynolds, D.D., the founder of *The Review,* but now President of Capital University, Columbus, O., (Vol. IX) C. P. Krauth, D.D., W. M. Reynolds, D.D., and M. L. Stoever, (Vol. XIII) W. M. Reynolds, D.D., and M. L. Stoever, (Vol. XIV) M. L. Stoever. With this volume the name becomes *"The Evangelical Quarterly Review,"* and Dr. Stoever continues as sole editor until his death, July 22, 1870, just after issuing the third number of Vol. XXI.

To the scholarly, noble founder and first editor of *The Review,* Rev. Prof. William M. Reynolds, D.D., the Rev. Prof. James A. Brown, D.D., a later editor, (1871) pays this most deserved tribute: *"The Evangelical Review* was originated and established by the Rev. W. M. Reynolds, then living at Gettysburg and Professor of Latin in Pennsylvania College.

To his enterprise, zeal and liberal views, it owes its first existence. To this work Professor Reynolds brought special qualifications. His large acquaintance with the history and men of our Church in this country, his extensive and varied scholarship, together with his classical attainments, rendered him peculiarly fitted for the undertaking. Along with himself, Prof. Reynolds associated several of the ripest scholars and ablest theologians of the Church. This, at once, secured for *The Review* a character, and the earlier volumes contain a variety and richness of material, that make them of great value, especially in reference to the history and doctrines of our Lutheran Church."

Dr. Reynolds' connection with the Review extended from 1849 to 1862, and that of Dr. Stoever, editorially, from 1857 to 1870. To these two men, more than to any others, is the Church indebted for this monumental literary and theological achievement.

Prof. J. W. Richard, D.D., a still later editor, (1898) pays this tribute to the particularly valuable services of Dr. Stoever during his incumbency: "In the entire twenty-one years of its existence the Review never changed its *position.* It always remained "Lutheran in the broadest and in the strictest sense of the term," (as promised by Professor Reynolds in his original prospectus in 1849. G.) Dr. Stoever sought especially to

bring together in its pages the most diverse views and tendencies and to make it a *concilium oecumenicum* for the discussion of subjects of general and special interest to Lutherans. He also caused it to be enriched by the contributions of scholarly gentlemen without the pale of the Lutheran Church. Dr. Stoever's greatest service to the Church through *The Review,* was the preparation and publication in it of eighty reminiscences of deceased Lutheran clergymen, in consequence of which he has been called "The Lutheran Plutarch of America" (Morris. G.) These sketches were written with tenderness, sympathy, impartiality and dignity. They record much Lutheran history, which otherwise would have been ignored and forgotten."

Dr. Charles W. Schaeffer has also written of Dr. Stoever's services, through his connection with *The Review,* thus: "He was connected with *"The Evangelical Quarterly Review"* from its beginning in 1849, and was its sole editor from 1857 to the time of his death. He had an article in every number (Dr. Morris says: "Except two issues." G.) and the Church will ever remember with gratitude his faithful record of the lives of the good men, who, after an earnest ministry, entered into their rest, and whose names and memories have been rescued from oblivion by his industrious and ready pen. He has been called and deservedly, "The Plutarch of the Lutheran Church"; for in the variety of his subjects, in the patience of his investigations, in the heartiness of his work, and in the artistic harmony of his details, he seems to have followed, though it may be involuntarily, the high example of that illustrious father of biography."

Succeeding *The Evangelical Quarterly Review,* the first issue of *The Quarterly Review of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* appeared in January, 1871, as a "New Series." It is now in its forty-second year, but into its history the scope of our paper does not permit us to go.

We will conclude without entering upon the second half of the past century, the more recent history of whose journalistic products can be more easily traced, and may be treated in a later paper.

In closing, allow the writer to offer some observations on the whole field covered, viz:—from the beginning (1812) to 1850:

1st. The first journalistic attempts were Synodical and official, viz: Pennsylvania Synod, 1812; Maryland and Virginia

Synod, 1826; Western Conference of New York, 1827, and West Pennsylvania Synod, 1829.

2nd. The roll of pioneers and heroes in this early warfare with the devil, through the medium of printer's ink, would exalt the following honored names in our history: Helmuth, Schmidt, Schaeffer, Krauth, Sr., Lintner, Herbst, Hazelius, Schmucker, Jr., Morris, B. Kurtz, Schmucker, Sr., Eichelberger, Smith, Greenwald, Walther, Passavant, Brobst, Mann, Reynolds and Stoever. Helmuth, the editor of 1812, was theological preceptor to Schaeffer. And, similarly, Schaeffer, the editor of 1826, was the preceptor of Greenwald, the editor of 1842.

3rd. The chief bane of all the unsuccessful periodical enterprises of our early days was *the delinquent subscriber!* Moral: Enforce the *Cash-in-Advance Rule* and our Church's periodical literature will flourish abundantly.

York, Pa.

ARTICLE II.

THE PRACTICE OF WRITING.[1]

BY ELSIE SINGMASTER.

I have tried to gather together into a short paper the principles which I have found indispensable in writing. I do not wish to pose presumptuously as a master of diction, nor to repeat what learned men have written about the philosophy of style, nor to attempt a literary analysis of any composition; I wish to give you the rules taught me in several University courses in the technique of writing. The men who planned those courses believed that any ordinarily intelligent student may learn to express himself clearly, that the sometimes sincere but oftener lazy excuse of the student that he "cannot write and never could" is mistaken. These sanguine gentlemen have been reminded that the great masters of writing knew no theme courses; they have answered that their aim is not to create genius, but to teach young men and women to speak correctly, to narrate well the incidents of daily life, to write intelligible letters, to describe accurately the tools of their trade. Happy that young man, who, in the discipline of a well-directed college composition course has been given reason to hope that eventually, after infinite pains, he may learn to write well; equally fortunate he who has realized that his literary ability is limited to the needs of every day life.

It is a great pleasure to talk about the business of writing to a group of students who have the desire to write well and who are to have the time and opportunity to fulfill that desire. You are not a class of Freshmen, dragged unwillingly into a theme course in which you have not learned to see any good; you are not a class of electrical engineers, whose presence in English 1 has been decreed by a university which is determined that you shall at least learn to describe a piston rod or a double-acting cylinder before you leave her gates; you are theological students, desirous of making clear and plain to others, through writing

* A paper read before the students of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg.

and speaking, what you hold to be the most important message in the world. Having learned to be clear, forceful and elegant, you wish also to strengthen your message with all your knowledge and experience and to dignify it with all the skill and taste at your command.

Ian Maclaren describes in one of his stories the sermon which won for the Reverend Mr. Saunderson election to the parish of Kilbogie.

"It was a happy beginning," he says, "to draw a parallel between the locusts of Joel and the mice of Kilbogie, and gave the preacher an opportunity of describing the appearance, habits and destruction of the locusts, which he did solely from Holy Scripture, translating various passages afresh and combining lights with marvellous ingenuity. This brief preface of half an hour ....led up to a thorough examination of physical judgments, during which both Bible and Church history were laid under liberal contribution.....It goes without saying that he was immediately beyond the reach of the ordinary people on the second head (the doctrine of visitations,) and even veterans in theology panted after him in vain, so that one of the elders, nodding assent to an exposure of the Manichaean heresy, suddenly blushed as one who has played the hypocrite. Some professed to have noticed a doctrine that had not been touched upon, but they never could give it a name, and it excited just admiration that a preacher, starting from a plague of mice, should have made a way by strictly scientific methods into the secret places of theology." There followed "the application of all that had gone before to the life of Kilbogie, and the preacher proceeded to convict the parish under each of the ten commandments—with the plague of mice ever in reserve to silence excuses —till the delighted congregation could have risen in a body and taken Saunderson by the hand for his fearlessness and faithfulness."

Now, I do not believe that any congregation to which you will ever preach will be delighted with you if you lead them from the locusts of Joel to the ten commandments by such a path as this. You are much more likely to win their approbation if you choose as your model such a sermon as the one which I have asked you to read and which I shall use as an illustration, the Easter Sermon of Phillips Brooks. In this selection I do not wish to usurp

the office of the Professor of Homiletics; I wish merely to use as illustration that form of literature in which you are most deeply interested.

Besides small collections of examples of Exposition, Description and Narration, the only text book used in the theme courses to which I am indebted, was Mr. Barrett Wendell's *English Composition,* which book I urge you to buy and to study. I shall be glad to have you discover there many of the things I shall have to say. Mr. Wooley, in the preface to his useful *Handbook of Composition,* says of Homer:

> "What he thought he might require,
> He went and took."

I also "went and took."

I am sorry that I must be didactic. I cannot preface each direction by the statement that you are probably well aware of what I am going to say. There are no new rules for writing, and students who have come through preparatory school and college into a higher school must have heard many times all that exist. Since I have heard few of your compositions, I am not certain that you need even a review.

Whether you speak extemporaneously or read from manuscript, you will need to cultivate a good written style, with a foundation of careful thought and good paragraph and sentence structure. I imagine that most of the great modern preachers, Brooks, Spurgeon, Beecher, Stork, spoke without manuscript. Analyze their sermons, however, as we have them now from stenographic reports and you will find therein all the elements of good writing. I do not believe that the art of speaking well can be attained otherwise than by the way of careful writing.

Your sermons, like those of Beecher and Brooks, may be considered worthy of a stenographic report; in that case you must prepare them for close scrutiny. The appeal of your voice and your personality and the sympathetic atmosphere of churchly surroundings will then be absent, your words will be judged by those who object to the squinting construction and to disregard of the great law of balance. You may safely declare to a drowsy congregation that "Travelling rapidly down Broad Street appears the City Hall"; you cannot safely spread that remarkable

statement before them in writing. The reader will not condone the split infinitive, nor will he fail to notice the statement of the fervent orator that "the wheels of the government are trammeled by sharks which beset the public prosperity like locusts."

The first great rule to obey in learning to write is to write constantly. All of us have to learn to write as we have to learn to walk, to read, to sing. We may be born with good voices, but we do not have the ability to use them correctly. A child brought up in the house of a master of singing, hearing only perfect tone production, would be saved much of the drudgery of practice. In the same way, a child, hearing only correct speech, reading only classic literature, would learn unconsciously what many have to struggle over for years. But both children would have to learn to use their perfect tools.

All great writers have trained themselves to write, have given themselves, day after day, year after year, actual theme courses. They have studied the masters of style, they have thought out carefully their own outlines, they have molded their paragraphs and sentences until the paragraphs and sentences possessed, —whatever may have been the names their creators gave these qualities—Unity, Mass and Coherence, they have been exquisite in their use of words.

Most of us, alas! are not brought up to hear and read only perfect English. We hear, on the other hand, a great deal that is poor and imperfect. When we come to write, our unconscious imitation of incorrectness must cease, we must consciously and speedily train ourselves out of it.

My advice to you is that you write *daily*. By this I mean that you give a stated time each day to the technique of writing, to its principles and rules, to the actual form, rather than the content of your sermons. A recent lecturer urged you to devote all the morning hours to study. I am sure that in that time he would be willing to include a half hour or an hour of devotion to the actual business of writing. Take then your next Sunday's sermon, or your last Sunday's sermon as a subject, so as to connect your study as closely as possible with your week's work. You will find in connection with your sermon many interesting and improving exercises. Is the outline of it clear, can it be put into one sentence, does it compare favorably with the clear, simple plan of a sermon like the Easter

sermon? Have you given sufficient space and prominence to important divisions of your thought, have you made lesser divisions subordinate? You will find this task ample for one day.

On another day, read aloud to yourself a few paragraphs of great prose, of Newman, of De Quincey, of Macaulay, then a few paragraphs of your own composition and note the differences or resemblances in sound. Are your sentences varied, have you avoided the succession of like sounds, is the effect pleasant, smooth?

Consider at another time your introduction and your conclusion. Phillips Brooks opens his sermon by saying, 'There is only one subject for to-day," have you opened yours as well, with words carefully calculated to attract at once the attention of your congregation? Have you risen to a climax which repeats the message of your sermon in a form which your hearers will remember if they forget everything else you have said?

"He is alive!" cries Phillips Brooks, in conclusion. "Do you believe it? What are you dreary for, O, mourner? What are you hesitating for, O worker? What are you fearing death for, O man? Oh, if we could only lift up our heads and live with him; live new lives, high lives, lives of hope and love and holiness, to which death should be nothing but the breaking away of the last cloud, and the letting of life out to its completion.

"May God give us some such blessing for our Easter Day."

Above all, have you said what you have to say as simply as possible, as accurately as possible, as briefly as possible, and then —oh, rare accomplishment!—have you stopped short?

This is not work for a week, not even for a single year. As you go on, planning for each day some short exercise such as these, others will suggest themselves, you will begin to take pleasure in the task, you will look forward eagerly to the half hour or hour which you give to it, and better still, you will realize that the clearness of expression which you have been accomplishing by conscious effort, is becoming an actual, unconscious quality of your style.

In your writing, you will have to deal with four elements; whole compositions, paragraphs, sentences and words. The first two, whole compositions and paragraphs are to be considered and planned before you write, the last two, sentences and

words should receive your most careful attention in revision. Your whole compositions, paragraphs and sentences should each possess the qualities of Unity, Mass and Coherence. Each should deal with one subject, each should be well arranged, each should exhibit clearly the relation of its parts.

You will remember from your elementary composition courses that if your production possesses unity, you are able to put into a single or "topic" sentence the sum of what you have to say. You have discovered that the central thought of Phillips Brooks's sermon might be stated in some such words as these.

"Because Christ is alive forevermore and has the keys of death and hell, you are free, your lives are ennobled, you are assured of resurrection and reunion with your dead."

The actual text of Phillips Brooks's sermon is this:

"Fear not; I am the first and the last: I am He that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive forevermore, Amen; and have the keys of death and hell."

A production which possesses unity has always a strong, visible framework. You have observed in your reading of this sermon how Phillips Brooks makes the various clauses of this text serve for the first half of his outline. In his first paragraph he states his subject, in the second the location of his text and its infinite importance to the disciples. The third paragraph expounds the clause, "I am He that liveth," the fourth the same clause with the added thought, "I am He that liveth and was dead," the fifth and sixth, "I am alive forevermore," the seventh, the final clause, "I have the keys of death and hell."

Many tests will make a complete topic sentence for you, many will present, with equal thoroughness an entire framework for your discourse, a skeleton upon which to build the flesh and blood of your application. Your Bible-trained minds must suggest many outlines made to your hand. "Let no man despise thy youth," says Saint Paul, "but be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity." We have joined together for us the girdle of truth, the breastplate of righteousness, the shoes of peace, the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, the sword of the spirit; we have the six blessings of our benediction, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee; The Lord make his face shine upon thee and be

gracious unto thee; The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace."

You have discovered that the latter half of Phillips Brooks's sermon, the outline of which is of his own making, is as clear as the first. He has explained the meaning of his text, that Christ who was dead, now liveth forever and has the keys of death and hell; he now applies that marvellous conclusion to our daily life. This knowledge must make us free,—that is the subject of Paragraph 10, with a further exposition in Paragraph 11. This knowledge ennobles infinitely our duty, that is the subject of Paragraph 12. This knowledge assures us of reunion with our friends, that is the subject of Paragraph 13, which is, except for the actual conclusion the last.

What could be simpler, more easy to follow? Yet such simplicity is not inborn. Phillips Brooks had learned to sift his thought, to reject ruthlessly all that did not apply directly to his purpose, to give his composition unity. He may have written his outline on a single sheet of paper. He may have written each division on a card and arranged them as seemed best to him. It is more probable that at this period of his ministry he needed to do neither, that he had outgrown the necessity for mechanical devices which we beginners cannot safely do without. Somehow, he has managed to say a few simple, direct, impressive things about one subject.

I should like to repeat that Phillips Brooks says a few impressive things about one subject. It has seemed to me as I have read various examples of the successful modern sermon that it is very much like the short story. "For here at least (in the short story,)" says Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "we have the conditions of perfect art; there is no subdivision of interest; the author can strike directly in; without preface, can move with a determined step toward a conclusion and can—O highest privilege!—stop when he is done." Is it not true of the writers of sermons that they should strike directly in, should move with a determined step toward a conclusion, and should stop when they are done? A past generation and that a Scottish generation may have travelled from the mice of Kilbogie to the ten commandments through the Manichaean and worse heresies until, as Dr. Maclaran relates, the elder had had two fifty-minute naps and various supplementary dozes, and the maternal

supply of pepermints had given out entirely; but a modern audience will endure neither the length nor the elaboration of such a sermon.

Phillips Brooks's thought is not only clear, it is well arranged; it possesses not only Unity but Mass. He catches the attention of his hearers at once, he rises finally to his most appealing thought. Our greatest joy in the resurrection of Jesus Christ does not come from an added sense of freedom or from an exaltation of duty, it springs from the conviction that we shall be reunited with our friends. He places his important subjects in important places, the beginning and the end of his discourse. He announces that there is but one subject for Easter Day, the Resurrection of Christ, he concludes by promising that at that day our dead shall come forth.

It seems pedantic to apply to a composition so powerful and so tender the technical terms of Rhetoric, but having called your attention to its Unity and Mass, I must call your attention to its Coherence, the principle that the relation of each part of a composition to its neighbors shall be unmistakeable, a subject which needs only a word n passing. When you have thought out your plan carefully, you will not find it difficult to step from conclusion to conclusion so that your going is apparent. To the preacher such connectives as first, secondly, thirdly, are always allowed. There are many other less abrupt transitional words which you will use. "See, what Christ says of himself, then," is the end of one paragraph; "But this is not all," is the beginning of another. "And yet we have not finished all our Lord's description" is the opening of a third; "And so, again" of a fourth.

Do not be afraid to repeat what you have said, before you begin upon a new thought; and summarize frequently. In spoken discourse there is no possibility of going back and glancing over earlier paragraphs.

I have said that in your building of whole compositions you will have to deal with three principles, Unity, Mass and Coherence. These principles apply equally to your paragraphs. You must construct them so that each may be expressed in a single sentence. The topic sentence of Phillips Brooks's third paragraph is "I am He that liveth," the paragraph possesses Unity. You must place the important sentences in the most important

places, the beginning and the end, where they most readily catch the eye. Phillips Brooks's begins his sixth paragraph by saying, "And now think what this great self-description of the Savior means and what it is to us," he ends it with three important sentences. "The devils of discontent, despair, selfishness, sensuality, how they are scattered before that voice, really heard, of the risen and everlasting Christ. He stands before the door of the tomb and speaks, and those dark forms that have enchained their souls and fettered the activities of men fall on their faces, like the Roman soldiers, who in the gray dawn of the morning saw Him come forth from the tomb of the Arimathean. . . . . Would God I could make you hear that voice on this Easter morning!" This paragraph possesses Mass.

You must relate your sentences each to each as you relate your paragraphs. This is attained by more subtle connectives than in whole compositions, by personal pronouns or relative pronouns, for instance, or by similarity in sentence form. The second of these last sentences which I have quoted begins with a personal pronoun "he" which refers to the subject of the previous sentence. It contains also the word "those," another allusion to the preceding sentence.

I do not believe that you need to be reminded to vary the length of your paragraphs. You will naturally wish to say a great deal about some subdivisions of your subject, and little about others.

It is only in the matter of sentence structure that I have despaired of giving you in so short a paper any information, even reviewed information, of value. It is not that there are no rules to help you, there are a few simple, easily-learned general rules and many specific ones, but that the transgressions are so many and so ingeniously varied. You will find in Mr. Wendell's book the general rules, you will find there one which makes even the use of *shall* and *will* a simple thing; you will find in Mr. Wooley's book, between pages 12 and 58 all the specific rules which you will need. I urge you to consult them both.

Mr. Wendell gives a simple definition of a sentence. "A sentence is a series of words so combined as to make complete sense." He does not mean every sentence which conveys an impression, every sentence which is intelligible to its hearer. "We was there" is perfectly intelligible, none of you would fail to un-

derstand it. But "we" is a plural subject, "was" is a singular verb, the two cannot be combined to make good sense. We hear every day the statement, "I says." But "I" is a pronoun in the first person, "says" a verb in the third, they cannot be used together. We sin against this rule when we say "he don't" for "he doesn't." The words "he do not" convey no sensible impression; neither does their combination "He don't." We are prone to follow words like "each," "everyone," "none," with plural verbs. "None" means "not one," "everyone" means "every one," certainly there is no more absolutely singular object than "one." The two verbs "do" and "see" have, like poor Shylock, all their parts, there is the past, "did,"and the past "saw," why are we called upon so often and so sadly to remember the man who said that he "had made but one mistake in his life and the minute he done it he seen it"?

These are mistakes of speech rather than of writing, but it is certain that he who has no regard for his speech will have great difficulty in acquiring a good written style.

Sentences, like paragraphs, should vary in length. They may be varied also in another way, they may be periodic or loose. "In a period the sense is suspended until the end. Sentences in which this is not the case are termed loose.". Since you are writing sermons for all classes of people, and since your sermons are to be heard rather than read, I should advise you to give your style compactness by using short, periodic sentences, rather than long, loose sentences.

Here too apply our old friends—Unity, Mass and Coherence. You may think that a sentence is too short a composition to lack unity. Let me read you one from a letter published recently in a city newspaper.

"Now, I must confess that all of the many of these lectures of travels in the interior of South America as well as the writing up of some of the most ridiculous railroad projects, one of which I read in your paper about a railroad in Parana, which, by the way, will never be built or even started within the next 50 years, this account seems to me to be so absurd and misleading that the management of the University of Pennsylvania Museums should be asked to be more careful in the selection of the so-called explorers with an experience of six months or perhaps a year of life down there, most of which time is spent in the unhealthy

little towns along the river fronts, among so-called civilized people, but who are, in fact, very much below the standard of the Indians physically and morally, making fool trips through jungles, such as no Indian would care to make unless compelled to do so by dire necessity, and as a rule getting swamp fever, as the sun never reaches the ground in these jungles and men's clothing is soaked with dampness from the time they enter until they leave them."

There is small danger that any of you will fall into such an abyss of disjunction as this, but there is danger that you may shift your subject, or may pile up too many predicates. Try to make your sentences periodic; there is no surer way of giving them unity.

Just as in whole compositions and paragraphs you place your important thoughts at the end and at the beginning, so should you do in sentences. Mr. Wendell gives us an example of this principle, the sentence"End with words that deserve distinction," in which the important words "end" and "distinction" are placed, the one at the beginning, the other at the end. The sentence is well massed.

Like whole compositions and paragraphs, sentences should be coherent. Mr. Wendell gives three general rules, for sentence coherence; first, put together words that belong together; second, make phrases similar in matter, similar in form; third, use connectives when necessary. Once more I urge you to consult Mr. Wendell and Mr. Wooley upon these matters.

I have asked you to consider whole compositions, paragraphs and sentences. We come now to words, the most delicate, the most immediate material of your craft. Confucius said that "a blemish may be taken out of a diamond by polishing; but if your words have the least blemish, there is no way to efface it."

Use simple words, and use them accurately. Avoid all suspicion of pedantry, not only for the sake of the immediate effect of what you have to say, but for the sake of its permanence. The scholar often scoffs at the taste of the unlearned, he considers it utterly neglible, he has frequently to be reminded that the greatest of living literature was directed to the unlearned, the plays of Shakespeare to the rough audience of a London theater, the speeches of Abraham Lincoln to great crowds of simple people, such as you will have in your congregations. Let no word of

what you have to say escape them because it is the word only of a pedant or a bookworm.

I wish, by no means, to prohibit long words. You will need to use them, you will find for many abstract thoughts no short Anglo Saxon words, there will come a time when your mood will demand a stately phrase, when you will remember a line of Milton, a fragment of Johnson, when you will say that your thought sounds like that to you, when you will wish to give it that stateliness in the ears of others. Then let its very contrast with your practical speech of every day give it added effect.

My second charge is, "Use words accurately." Do not use "credible" for "creditable," "affect" for "effect," "aggravate" for "vex" or "annoy," "let" for "leave." "can" for "may," "deprecate" for "depreciate." Find the word which will fit your thought exactly, be satisfied with no other. Often it seems to linger in the back of your mind, or on the tip of your tongue. You may know a word very much like it, you may know its antonym. Then use your thesaurus—Roget's has helped out several generations of writers—and your discomfort will end. You will find many lists of words incorrectly used—there is one in the back of Wooley's book—go over them with humility of spirit, discuss them together. Use your dictionary constantly. The dictionary of these days is not simply a list of words in reputable use, it is a list of all words, good and bad. But it is also a Bradstreet, giving the standing of words in the world of speech. "Aint," for instance you will discover, even in an abridged dictionary, is an "illiterate colloqialism," banish it into outer darkness.

While you are helping yourself out with the dictionary and thesaurus, strengthen your vocabularies. Learn all the words you can, and learn exactly what they mean. A cultivated man may confess that he has failed to understand the thought of another—for the involved construction of a careless writer knows no glossary—but let him not acknowledge that he has failed to understand a word for a longer time than it takes to travel to the nearest dictionary. In this search your Latin and Greek will help you greatly; fortunate are you to have their aid.

Remember also to select words that are in good use, that is, use which is reputable, national, present. The word "cinch," for "sinecure," is in national and present use, but you would

not think of inserting it in a production which you expected cultivated persons to read. The word "bulkhead" for an outside cellar door is in present and reputable use in New England, but you would not expect it to be understood in Pennsylvania. The word "slow" used as an adverb may have been a few hundred years ago reputable and national, but it is not now. Therefore, when you erect warnings to careless drivers, do not say "Danger; run slow," even if your board has to be three inches longer. In the same way, modern English knows no such word as "heighth." It is the "Breadth and Length and depth and *height*" of which the apostle speaks. Similarly, it has been many years since it was proper for a speaker or writer to allude to himself as "we."

He who determines to write and speak well will avoid slang as he avoids profanity. There are certain picturesque expressions, the invention of the commercial traveller or the college boy, which have no place in religious addresses, and which it is safest not to use at all. I once heard a preacher urge his hearers solemnly to "get right with God." Brooks, Spurgeon, Beecher were all popular preachers, you may search their sermons in vain for such inelegancies as that. Yet they held and thrilled great masses of common people. You are not preaching for to-day, you are preaching for all time, if you fit to a high thought a worthy expression, your words cannot die.

Words are living things, they bear within them history, ethics, poetry. Says Archbishop Trench, "He who first spoke of a delapidated fortune, what an image must have risen before his mind's eye of some falling house or palace, stone detaching itself from stone, till all had gradually sunk into desolation and ruin." The poet Keats, when he first read Chapman's Homer, felt like "some watcher of the skies when a new planet swims into his ken." Could his thoughts have been more crowded, his surmises more thrilling than his who first realized that for the familiar objects of every day, for the members of families, for the Godhead, the great Indian, Greek, Latin and Teutonic races have the same words? How his soul mnst have joined itself in kinship to those who had been aliens and strangers! Must he not have remembered suddenly and with awe that garden planted Eastward in Eden which science had declared a myth?

Let us look at words with curiosity, let us regard them with respect and affection. Let us be thankful that we have so many words for tender, beautiful things. There are nations which have no word for thanks, there are nations which distinguish a dozen different varieties of murder, but which have no word for home. Let us keep our English pure, let us use it exactly, let us not wander too far from its historical spelling. We owe it this service.

I am through now with rules. Let me assure you for your comfort that it is my conviction that if you obey those which I have recommended, you will need no more if you fill the world with books. But I must give you one more charge. You will remember to write daily, to try with your whole souls to be plain and clear. Remember also to read. For the sake of your own pleasure and information, for the sake of your written style, read all the good literature for which you can possibly find time.

Read poetry, there you will see words used exactly, preciously. Practise the writing of it; if you know German, put short poems of Heine and Uhland into English. Read it aloud for the very sound of it; the swing of blank verse is not far removed from the swing of great prose. Shelley's *Ode to Sorrow* begins thus:

> "I saw Osirian Egypt kneel adown
> Before the vine-wreath crown
> I saw parch'd Abyssinia rouse and sing
> To the silver cymbals ring."

Tennyson's *Oenone* begins,

"There is a vale in Ida, lovelier than all the valleys of Ionian hills."

Fill your ears with such music; it cannot fail to have an effect upon your speech.

Read poetry also for knowledge. You will feel the necessity occasionally of beautifying your thought with the more delicate expression of the poet. Read, therefore, and mark with your pencil, your Shakespeare and Milton, your Tennyson, your Wordsworth, so that their words may be ready to your hand. Let no man ever hear from you that "right is forever on the scaffold," or that "lives of great men all remind us," or that

"the saddest words of tongue or pen are these sad words it might have been." Seek pastures new, there are hundreds of them.

Read history, acquaint yourself with the wonderful story of the making of nations, learn the history of your own country as written by our own historians, Parkman and Prescott. Read the great essayists, especially those who write simply and clearly, Irving, Lamb, Stevenson, whose craft is closely connected with yours.

Read also novels, the novels I mean, of the wholesome, sane, Christian masters of novel writing, George Eliot, Dickens, Thackery, Hugo, and our own pride Hawthorne. Here you will find the histories of men, here you will learn to love mankind with a deeper love. Read of the titanic struggles of Jean val Jean, read of the punishment of Arthur Dimmesdale, read of the blessed healing of Silas Marner. You are not old enough to have watched histories such as these, you have not had time to think them out for yourselves. The ministry of many of you has begun already. You need an illustration of the healing power of love, there is Silas Marner with the little foundling who saved his reason and his soul. You need a story of a punishment visited upon a sinful man; you have Judge Pyncheon in the *House of Seven Gables,* determined upon further persecution of his cousin whom he had ruined. "You shall not enter!" cried poor Clifford's sister, Hephzibah. "God will not let you!" And God does not. You remember how all the afternoon, all the night through, while Clifford and Hephzibah are fleeing through the streets, Judge Pyncheon sits motionless, visited by the stroke of God.

I urge you to waste no time upon any books but the best. There are hundreds of good books which you cannot read, but you can read enough to fill your minds with a rich store.

In conclusion, I wish to congratulate you upon the great advantage which you have over other men in your search for good style. You are not engineers learning to write, you are not clerks in counting houses as was Lamb, or sitters in the seat of custom as was Hawthorne, your days filled with details of business infinitely removed from writing. Your profession is the most distinguished, the most cultivated in the world. Your business deals with the Bible, that great example of the literary art, studied and dreamed into perfection by the greatest minds

of many generations. Every moment which you give to its study should have its effect upon your style. Do you seek a model sermon? You have there an outline of the most wonderful sermon ever preached to mankind? Do you wish to know how to tell a story well? What a multitude of perfect examples must occur to you, Ruth, Esther, Gideon, the parables, and that most tender, most marvellous story of all, "and it came to pass in those days that there went out from Caesar Augustus a decree that all the world should be taxed." Do you seek for admonitory language to take the place of the langnage of the shop or street? "Therefore now amend your ways and your doings, and obey the voice of the Lord," cried Jeremiah. Do you need a reminder that the great literature of the world is simple and clear? "All ye that labor and are heavy laden, Come unto me and I will give you rest." "Now when he came nigh unto the gate of the city, behold there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow."

Would you learn to embellish your language with figures of speech? You will find a thousand examples.

"When they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way, and the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail; because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets;

Or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern."

Or, "I am the rose of Sharon, and the lilly of the valleys."

Or, "The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart; his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords."

Do you wish to make your language terse, vivid? Says the preacher of death, "There is no discharge in that war." Says Solomon of the strange woman, "Her feet go down to death." Says Jeremiah of those who are accustomed to do evil, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good."

Do you seek for music upon which to mould your own speech to smoothness? I have opened the Bible at hazard, I have taken from opposite pages the first verses upon which my eyes fell.

"Keep me as the apple of the eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings."

"He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies."

"The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork."

"The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple."

"The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes."

"More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold; sweeter also than honey or the honey comb."

"Let the words of thy mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my strength and my redeemer."

Incorporate the expressions of the Bible into your own speech, it is a borrowing for which you have great precedent, a borrowing which will be looked upon with approval, a borrowing which will warm the hearts of your pious hearers, and which will convince others that with the book of your life's devotion you, like other thinking men, can find no fault.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE III.

FROM DUTY TO BEAUTY.

BY PROFESSOR W. H. WYNN, PH.D., D.D.

In every community we find cultured men and women, who retain their early susceptibility for the poets and for art. They have made beauty a usable element in their lives, and are resolved that it shall not fade away from their maturer sky.

But it is hard work, this thing of beating up against the commonplace. Cares come on, and we get wrapped up and tangled in the perplexities and casualties of life. We grow weary, and breathe heavily in the race. There is ennui on the one side, and confusion on the other—heat and dust in the air, or, otherwise, the chill rigors of the invincible cold. There is no music in the harsh sounds that must be dinning in our ears all day long, and, now, in an age of tyrannizing industry, through the troubled hours of the night.

And then, alas! we are losing sight of the woods and the fields. Of uninvaded nature, there is hardly a league of it left. Despite Ruskin, the smoke of the engine has blotted out the landscape, and its iron throroughfares have cut down the hills. When beauty would make amends, by staking out parks on the fringes of our municipalities, these also must be violated, even if, in pulling up the shrubbery, like Aeneas at the grave of Polydorus, they should bleed at the roots.

Coming nearer home, the cuisine and nursery cannot abate their claim. The man who has his mind weighed down and troubled with the risks and responsibilities of his business interests and his name, and must watch the subtle enemies that are prowling around the inner citadel and stronghold of his soul, why—he has not a moment left for music and the moon. There is for him only the unpitying round of ruthless routine—grim commonplace with hurdles and the whip. Moreover, as the years come on, there are physiological changes that harden up the tissues of the mind. The blood beats with less buoyancy in the shrinking veins. The flush of youth will fade from the cheek, and the sky will want back its patch of azure from the waning

eye. And so on and on. Is it not inevitable, as against all these crowding disabilities, that beauty should take down her banners, and march remorsefully away?

Well, no, we refuse to be settled into a temper of that kind. In our darkest musing we should recall Coleridge, that rich and rare genius, who fell but little short of being beauty's high priest and choregus in one. He held that it was possible to retain youth's delicate sensitivity as to beauty, through all the years. With some care and a simpler regime of every-day tally, the son of Helios might drive his father's chariot all over the heavens, and celebrate his achievement in the gorgeous pageantry of the sunset sky.

He reasoned in this way. Wonder is at the heart of all beauty —the emotion of the soul, that looks out upon nature with the feeling, that here we cannot do other than stop and adore. Wonder! Wonder! That, at least, is everywhere the sapphire pavement, on which the devotee of beauty traces his way to its otherwise inaccessible shrines. A school of poetry, which for some unaccountable reason but yesterday shut up its doors, and went into bankruptcy—but yesterday, the last coruscating representative of that school fluttered out in obscurity, and now the long aisles of that temple are deserted and dark— that school must have had Coleridge's apothegm for shibboleth, for it was avowedly on the harpsichord of wonder that all its great masterpieces were set in tune.

But wherefore should they fail? Well, they should have known, that it is a law in psychology, that all emotion is paroxysmal in its way, and wonder, their bruited secret, was no exception from the rule. It, like the rest, would have its seasons of intense ardor and glow, and then die down in exhaustion, to what might seem to the unwary, the vacuity of a dream. But if art is to exist at all, this volatile essence of it, must be somewhat and somehow under our control. We must be able to call back this coy sprite, from its hiding-place among the hills.

Victor Cousin, in that work of his entitled *"The Good, the Beautiful, and the True,"*—a work that, with those who know it well, will never grow old—has this way of making our subject plain. You look upon the sea for the first time; your rapture carries you away; you have the poet's ecstacy which loses itself in an access of unutterable joy. Turning away, for a time, then

looking back again, you find that your wonder has somewhat abated in intensity; another time with still further decline; until you have settled at last into the sailor's apathy for one of the sublimest objects that nature has to show. What is to be done? Is beauty an illusion, and must we surrender, wholesale, to the tyranny of the commonplace? No, no, no—this is what we may do, we may catch the first flashes of wonder on the sensitive plate of our creative imagination, and then proceed to reproduce it, in some form of art, which will put it on companionable terms with us, at all hours of the day.

The poet, the painter, the sculptor, the musician—herein they find their imperishable title to the lofty uses to which they devote their lives—the business of keeping back beauty from being banished from the world. For all around us we find the minions of the commonplace; people who seem to believe that the appetites are our highest human investment, and that we are in for drudgery whether we will or no. Art! Away with it, or, at best, let it be but the fiddler's accompaniament to the dizzy dance! The poets! We have heard of them in our youth, but always from the lips of sickly sentimentalists, shiftless dreamers, who, could not make their way in the world. The practical man! We have use for him, in this great age of the dynamo and the iron rail—the man with an imperious will, cold reticence, a heart of adamant, and a leer on his face for everything that will not savor of money, or of the place and opportunity in which it may be made. The practical man, as thus understood, is secretly, and often avowedly, the ideal man among a large circle of business men, whose opinions on other matters we should be bound to respect.

Well, well, we are absolutely sure that there is another kind of practical man; a man of the highest style of business ability; a master in finance; an organizer; a captain of industry; but who never loses the traces of his early training in the finer susceptibilities of thought and life. He recalls having once learned, over what a wide realm of nature and human nature beauty holds sway; and he has an abiding reverence for all art, and for the literary art especially, as making beauty accessible to him, in times when the horizon of his life would be otherwise darkened with clouds.

Of course it is necessary to discriminate, here, on the thresh-

old of our discussion—we would be the eulogists of beauty only as newly defined. A great master in this line of thinking, has this concerning it: "Beauty is the eye's heritage of truth. Where beauty is, and so long as it is, there cannot enter into the mind the thought, that the being that lies in and behind beauty, hides an end or consequence foreign to the being of him whose eyes are the ministers of beauty."—That is, beauty witnesses to the eternal kinship of man and God. If this is true, and not the mere dilettante speculation of a dreamer of dreams, we shall have to revise our notions of it, and take it up as a systematized discipline for our daily lives.

Or, we may go on with Keats, and define beauty as an imperishable joy, and that will assure us, that we are not merely hovering on the surface of things.

"A thing of beauty is a joy forever"—how often we quote that famous opening line of Keats' *"Endymion,"* making it stale by repetition, and yet fail to get its full meaning as it dwelt in the poet's mind! To catch that, we should read sympathetically the thirty or more lines following it, making up what we should call the prologue to the story he has to tell. The philosophy of beauty is there, transmuted into music, with such mellifluous flow of glowing prosody as only Keats could use.

Let us read on. After having defined beauty as "a joy forever," the poet must sing that great idea into emphasis, in the lines following:

> "Its loveliness increases, it will never
> Pass into nothingness"—

Another way of saying, with the philosophers, that beauty is an end in itself, as, indeed, everything constant and imperishable in this world must be.

Beauty was never more adequately defined. If the cruel criticism of *Endymion,* as "a weedy wilderness of sonorous and superfluous verse"—a criticism which was said to have killed the young poet—if there was any ground for this in the body of the poem, these opening lines, defining and glorifying beauty, betray nothing of the kind. Beauty an imperishable joy!—Who has uttered a wiser word than that? We recall the endless speculations about this thing of beauty, among the older metaphysi-

cians ideally inclined; and, more recently, among a class of psychologists, whose formulas are all made up of crass data limited to time and space—from all which we turn in weariness away, and hasten to sit down with our poet under the trees and the moon, and those "glories infinite" which, he says, "must be with us, always, or we die."

"Glories infinite"—there it is in full. Imagine a speculative scientist of our day, taking that formula down into his laboratory, with the view of subjecting it to some sort of decomposition, and recomposition, in his alembics and tubes. It cannot be done. These "glories infinite" resist analysis of every kind, even the most generous, as when Mr. Ruskin would exploit the varied beauties of a gorgeous sunset, by classifying the clouds.

O, well, of course, a man is not expected to stand absolutely mute and undemonstrative, before any and every object of beauty that meets the eye. Utterances of ejaculatory wonder he cannot suppress. Nor may he altogether refrain from locating and defining his emotion, when the ecstacy of his vision has fairly folded its wings, and is gone. Science—we must not slam the door in the face of science; it is cordially at liberty to work all round the domain of beauty, but must not invade its inviolable shrines.

A story is told of Keats, which will illustrate the point we have in hand. The distinguished painter of that day, Haydon, gave a dinner party at which Wordsworth and Keats were the honored guests. Keats startled the party by proposing as a toast: "Confusion to the memory of Newton," and when Wordsworth asked for an explanation before he would drink to it, Keats' answer was: "Because he destroyed the poetry of the rainbow, by reducing it to a prism." Now, of course, this was a mere by-play of the poet's wit; he meant no disparagement of Newton's fame. It is a matter, always, of immense moment to know that the colors of the rainbow are due to the refraction of light; and it is not to be inferred that the great physicist's appreciation of beauty in the rainbow was, in any sense, diminished by the discovery he had made.

Simply this—a general principle it is, that must always be the staple of the poet's creed: In proportion as the mind is absorbed in the analytic or scientific aspects of any subject, or object, to that extent its aesthetic sensitivity is under a cloud.

Beauty is an end in itself; speaks to us in its own name; does not undertake to tell us how something else must be. The prism analyzes light; says how the colors of the rainbow come to be what they are; nowhere in the process does the idea of beauty even venture to intrude.

Science has a sphere of its own; is moving always, in a quasi-mechanical world, in which one thing leads to, and is the cause of, some other thing, lying beyond and outside of itself. The great utilities, for example, that are the wonder and wealth of our modern world, are all, as we know, the direct product of the laboratories, manipulating masterfully among the mysteries of motion and force; and we cannot look upon the dynamo, the main agent for these marvelous results, without feeling that there is a kind of iron majesty about it, that carries with it a distant suggestion of the physically sublime. But it is a slave, and beauty is evermore free—has the chartered liberties of the earth and sky, always and only in its own name.

Therefore we say, that beauty is a spiritual something, whether it pictures itself in the sensuous or in the moral worlds. The distinction which originated with Plato, and of which our early English bards so fondly dreamed, between beauty of idea and beauty of form, fades out entirely before our modern conception of the spirituality of beauty—Keats' idea of beauty, as everywhere and always an imperishable joy. The mythological beauty of that youth, Endymion, with which the moon became enamored, the same that kindles the adolescent flush on the maiden's cheek, and the purpling splendors of the dawning day—we no longer think of designating this as sensuous beauty, in distinction from a beauty that is higher up. Because simply, we are emboldened to say, that beauty is one and indivisible, the self-same divine thing wherever it is seen.

Keats caught the secret; our modern consciousness has developed it into a creed. Whether, without the poet, we are contemplating the sun, or the moon, or "the daffodils, with the green world they live in," or, are with him "on a tranced summer night," under the "tall oaks, those green-robed senators of mighty woods," or, are dwelling with him on the "grandeur we have imagined for the mighty dead"—it is all one; it is beauty that has us in its enraptured embrace. And that is spiritual, because it interests us on its own account. We may put no price upon

it; it is never entered as negotiable property in the markets of the world. Like the dear God of beauty, it is to be sought for and loved for its own sake; for the joy that is in it; for the elevation of soul that always goes with it, wherein are assuring glimpses of an enduring reality, pervading and illuminating our dullest commonplace.

Shall we make a religion out of it, then?—now that we have put it in the list of our spiritual values, that can never pass away; among the good things that fall around the footsteps of God, for everybody to enjoy in every rank of life?

To this oft-mooted question, we must answer yes, and no. In so far as it is spiritual, it is an aspect of the Divine; the light of His countenance; the flowing of His robes—in this sense, when so recognized, a religion let it be. But our enthusiasm in this direction is seasonably checked, by a well-known infirmity in human nature—a weakness, whereby the aesthetic impulse may easily degenerate into a luxury of feeling so essentially selfish and sensuous, that all susceptibility to the spirituality of beauty may become permanently dulled—and, in that case, genius itself becomes an idolater, in realms where the true worshipper had, alone, a right to dwell.

Let us turn, now, to the more practical matter, of schooling our faculty for the beautiful, in the wide domain of nature, which everywhere invites us to come in and enjoy. Nature! Nature!—we should bear in mind, at the outstart, that nature has her native home in the fields yonder, in the woodland uninvaded by the smoke of the engine, or of the frontiersman's axe, and along the green-growing margin of her flowing streams. In the city she is but a transient guest, or a shy visitor, leaving the fragrance of her footsteps behind her, in the perishable bloom of the hot-house culture, or on the close-shaven lawns and artificial groupings of suburban parks. We are at home with her under the open sky; along the country road; threading the mazes of her immemorial groves. We must leave the din and dirt of the city behind us, if we would be sure of her ancient assiduities, her inspirations, the kindly breathing of her breezes on our foreheads and in our hair.

Where she is, in her primeval simplicities, we are certain to find the utmost range of her horizons sweet and clean. Health is there; and, but for the filth that clings so stubbornly to the

wasteful ways of men, there were never a germ of disease on her salubrious air. We cannot repeat it too often, that nature is inimical to filth, and that disease, therefore, as ,for the most part engendered by filth, must be laid at the door of the unregulated habits of shiftless and uncultured men. O, when shall we rid ourselves of the Manichaean vagary, that nature is the foe of man, crouching for his ruin in countless forms of unprovoked malignities, haunting him at every step of his way! On the contrary nature is the planetary house in which we were born; the planetary bosom on which we were nourished; the cradle in which we were rocked; the very food and drink upon which our bodies and souls must subsist.

Therefore, it is by no means folly, to think, betimes, to give ourselves over, in unreserved surrender to nature's gentle sway. We should get away, occasionally, from the artificial life of the city streets; the grind of business and professional routine; the shams and shallowness that too much absorb the better thoughts of men; the clamor of conflicting interests and passions; and lose ourselves in unsyllabled communion with the soul of the world.

But what is meant by this?—it will not do to advise in terms so mystical and vague. Well, in the first place, a stroll to the country—everybody knows what is meant by that. You commune with nature only by going where nature is. But when safely out in nature, the thing you are there for, must not be expected to work itself. There is no magic about this matter; nothing of the occult. We are warned against that way of communing with nature, by Byron's picture of Manfred's frenzy, and the Mephistophelian infatuation of Goethe's Faust. No, it is a simple process, this thing of giving ourselves over to the charm of nature, the spell of beauty in a frame of quiet and unforced receptivity, the soul open at every pore for what the view has to give, of the kind of experience you are there to enjoy.

We have an instructive analogy for this, in the manner in which the man of science does his work; only the man of science, instead of waiting on beauty to unveil its face, is listening in silence for the august revelations of cosmic law. But whether beauty or law, the mood is the same; the mind must be in a frame of absolute receptivity for what nature has to give. The man of science listens submissively to what his facts may have to

say—the story they will tell—and is evermore on his guard against allowing any hypothesis of his, to slip in surreptitiously, and give a sinister meaning to his facts. In like manner the poet, the artist, the common man, you and I, seeking respite from the round of cares that makes up the harsh discipline of life, would find a balm in nature, in her free beauties that beckon to us from field and flood under the open sky. But the condition is, we must be absolutely disinterested in our search.

We must avoid what Ruskin, somewhat pedantically, calls "the pathetic fallacy," the disposition, as we take it, to manufacture for our selves a kind of experience we do not enjoy. As if, after looking for a time over an expanse of landscape, and failing of any conscious exaltation of feeling, we should proceed to goad ourselves into sensitivity, and persuade ourselves that we are actually on the wing. "See, I am sailing; the world is under my feet"—when, as a matter of fact, there is nothing of the kind.

There is a constant besetment of this sort, as we all know to our sorrow, in all those realms of human experience that have emotion in the lead; in religion, especially, when a specific phase of feeling is understood to be the great matter itself. The penitent, for example, who thinks to witness the opening of the gates of the kingdom by some sudden flash of overpowering emotion, "lapping him in elysium," will often wrestle and groan, call loud and long, but the coveted experience will not come—then—alas, that the words should have been put into his mouth, by those who were over him as guides—he says: "Why here it is; I have the joy for which I sought"—and, what is remarkable, the delusion may last long with him, without attesting its religious value, in any visible transformations of the life.

But beauty, and not religion, is the object of our holiday quest—beauty arrived at by the method of "quietism," holding the soul in a frame of passive receptivity, as the subtle thing steals in upon the susceptibility, from meadow and mountain, sky and cloud.

And now we may ask: What profit is there in it; what do we get in return for our time and pains? Not money, of course, nor the glad solution of some scientific or economic problem that was troubling our brains. We are in a realm of experience not absolutely detached from the stern utilities of life, but lifted, so to speak, on broad and buoyant wing, up into the empyrean of

the human soul, quite out of reach of the tables of the money changers, and close on the borders of the spiritual world. The sordid self subsides; we are, for the moment, in the audience chamber of God. We may recall, in this connection, Goethe's famous maxim of: "Renunciation, once for all, in view of the Eternal"—meaning that the mind, in communing with nature after this manner, gets, in a measure, beyond the limitations of its finite estate.

If it were the artist asking this question—the artist whether of the pencil or the pen—he could readily make answer for himself. He gets his vision in this way, which he will carry with him into the solitude of his sanctum, where, in painting or poem he will embody his inspiration in a sensuous form, and, possibly, in a masterpiece, render universal and enduring, that which must have otherwise flashed over his spirit, to be lost, next moment, in the hopeless inane. But for the common man, for you and me, who have nothing in reserve beyond the specific experience then and there to be sought for and enjoyed—what good is there in a momentary fit of ecstacy, if the commonplace awaits us immediately as the ecstacy is exhaled?

Beware! beware!—beauty is the halo around the footsteps of God. No man gets a vision of it, without being near the gates of Damascus, and having the tides of his life perceptibly turned toward larger and nobler ends, than the sordid self is able to entertain. He has had a glimpse of the eternal, robed in light; and, coming down from the mount, he will carry the reflection of it with him—that is to say, he will be a better man.

Suppose, for the sake of illustration, you are abroad some fine spring morning, on your own account; companionless, as was Wordworth's custom; bent on getting the inner meaning of things by some kind of blending of your life with theirs. It is possible Wordsworth's theory of this matter was a poet's dream—the idea that the life of nature and the soul of the poet, coming together, were instantly fused into a new experience, for which neither element, in isolation, could be made to stand. It is a theory of somewhat subtle psychology, too recondite, we fear, to be cordially accepted in our day, notwithstanding it gave rare and rich fruitage to the poet of Rydal Mount, in that golden garden of Hesperides he so industriously tilled. It is suggestive, however, and, in our effort to realize it, we become

certain of one thing—long brooding on any patch of scenery before us, or any object of beauty, will work for us a rapture, the philosophy of which we need not care to understand. Enjoyment is the object, a mometary exaltation of soul that will assure us, that we need not be life-long prisoners to the commonplace.

Suppose that, on this morning walk of yours, you have caught a vista; a rare, long-reaching avenue among the trees; slopes that sweep in curves round the undulating hills, until an expanse of water terminates the view, with the overhanging sky mirrored in its depths. Spring is over it all; its footsteps of verdure; its choral voices; its mantle of green. Now you miss it, if you turn a listless eye thitherward, and then, presently, be up and away. You are to linger there, subduing your body into a frame of deepest repose, and intent on reaping what Wordsworth calls "the harvest of the quiet eye." Indeed the eye is the chief agent in this magic result—invisible beauties will make themselves visible to the patient eye. You steady your gaze in absolute receptivity of the glories of the scene, not, in the temper of the critic, to single out the elements of beauty that play hide-and-go-seek with you under the covert of the trees, but simply to let nature have her way with you, through the unobstructed channel of the eye.

All impulse to analyze must be held in check. How does this impress you? How that? Hush! a mood of worship must brood in silence; an articulate whisper may dissolve the charm. It is to be a clear case of photographing on the retina of the eye, first, and then this precious negative to be developed afterwards in the chambers of the brain. For, look you, beauty is a subtle thing, a coy goddess—the very genius of silence stands guard at its gates. It is even said, that the great artists are those who have the gift of silence in an extraordinary degree; can, at will, call off all tumult of passion, when beauty puts its index-finger on its sealed lips.

But we are a restless race; our people prefer the bustle of the streets; this regime of ours is in imminent peril of being dismissed with a bluff. We are living in a busy age. You must not go moping on a springtide morning; you have no time to lose; you are due for stern service in the warehouses and the banks.

One of our great money magnates will go far, and be at lavish expense, to buy up an accredited masterpiece of the old masters, who throve in the days when beauty held its magic wand over ecclesiastical councils and the courts of kings—not knowing that there was, at his disposal, without money and without price, a masterpiece above all masterpieces, in the near-by grove and meadow that awaited the brooding of his pensive eye. He knew nothing of the pensive eye. His taste and training had tied him to the city streets, and his highest aspiration from youth up had been, to hold the keys of the money vaults. Then came a time of surfeit, when he awoke to the consciousness that the better portion of his nature was suffering loss, and he went groping, a hopeless amateur, to find restoration in the faded canvasses of the mighty artists long since dead.

Better far to have gone to nature first-hand, but for the fact that, now, at his time of life, the door of direct access had swung to on heavy hinges, and would not yield to his most importunate call. "Nature first-hand"—that should be our formula; we must woo beauty in its out-door haunts, with no intermediary as interpreter, save the reverent silence of our own souls. It is an act of worship. We are in the very vestibule of the august temple of God; the roll of its anthems is audible only to the inner ear; its gates are wide open to those only whose steps are ordered in innocence, and whose hearts are attuned to the deeper solemnities of her snow white shrines.

Nature becomes an oracle, with deep spiritual and religious import, to those only who are of a serious mind; who can be still betimes; who are familiar with the experience of voiceless prayer; who can stand in awe before the morning star, and witness the garments of God, in the cloudy pageantry that kindles and vanishes along the evening sky. The key to all this, we cannot cease to admonish, is the disciplined silence of the susceptible spirit, holding itself, in absolute sincerity in the presence of the object, whose secret of beauty it would hope to win.

But, this matter of susceptibility—we should have a word on that. And yet when we come to define it, and account for its unequal distribution among the endlessly diversified temperaments of men, we are at a loss—finding it everywhere to be the jealously guarded secret of the beauty-loving soul. One thing we can do; among those who have it, as an impassioned outgush

of feeling, it is possible to speak of it in somewhat intelligible terms, calling it always an emotion of overflowing and perennial joy. Perennial!—in the literal meaning of that term, enjoyable all the year round. Rain and shine; heat and cold; night and day; in the tangled wildwood, or on the inaccessible mountain peaks, that keep their snow-covered summits in communication with the stars—everywhere, and in all her moods, nature has her store of unstinted beauties, which they of congenial temper are invited to enjoy.

Of congenial temper?—yes, but who are they? We must not even seem to say, that nature-lovers are an exclusive guild; that these glories of the earth and sky are accessible only to the favored few. Sometimes an infatuation of that kind will get hold, not only of amateur artists, and literary men novices in their craft, but also of men of genius as well. They feel themselves distinguished above the common herd. They organize themselves into cliques. They are the wards of the gods. The penetralia of nature, shut against all others, are thrown wide to them, and they come down from their high places mumbling her mysteries in an unknown tongue.

We recall the "Aesthetic Movement" of 1879, as a literary fiasco of this kind—young men of genius, betrayed by their early successes into the wildest assumptions of artistic exclusiveness, as to nature's latest mystery being intrusted to them. So monstrous was the egotism of that movement, that the world was not surprised to see nature herself lay the brand of eroticism on its audacious leader, and force him to drop his emblematic flower before the bars of a culprit's cell. Alas! for the infirmities of genius—may they not, rather, claim our pity and patience, than the over-harsh judgments of an offended moral sense?

And, yet, we must go on to repeat, that beauty is free, and that nature can never be charged with parsimony in the distribution of her store. But is she not manifestly partial in the bestowment of the sensitive eye? This susceptibility to beauty, of which we are making so much, is it not, as a matter of fact, lavishly bestowed on a favored few, while to the masses it is meagerly measured out, or not given at all?

This last condition of things, we have reason to believe, does not exist. Beauty is the conscious experience of every normal mind. Only, men differ greatly in the degree of temperamental

sensitivity, wherewith the eye looks upon beauty—differ as one star differeth from another in glory. This need not surprise us, for it is in the nature of sensitivity, everywhere to be infinitely diversified, but we must know, that this law of organic nature says nothing at all against the absolute freedom of beauty, as it peers in upon us from every obscurest corner of the world.

In all cases—we should not hesitate to say—it is a species of enjoyment, which, by education and training, may be greatly intensified and enlarged. What we deplore is, that a man of ardent susceptibility should indulge the delusion, that beauty is, somehow, a thing of his own; that he is nature's favorite; that his faculty puts him in possession of that which others cannot have. It is the old infirmity that clings to our frail humanity in every line of pursuit. The man of special gift so easily becomes puffed up in his own conceit, and is carried beyond the bounds of a commendable self-complacency, into that habit of mind which we call dilettantism in art, caste in social rank, bigotry in religion, and covetousness, or meanness, in those to whom money-getting is the one sole aim in life. Above all things exclusiveness, or the assumption of special privilege, should have no shadow of a foothold in religion or art, however it may be winked at in other lines of pursuit. "Whosoever would be greatest among you, let him be your servant"—in that tone religion speaks, and it is inconceivable, that any other maxim should ever have currency in the realms of art.

That this disinterested, quasi-religious, habit of beauty may commend itself in the concrete, here is a case in hand. Visible from my window, in the Cascade Range, is Mt. Tacoma, that "rarest miracle of mountain heights," wrapped in eternal snows, and presenting an ever-changing panorama of light and shadow, under the deft *chiaroscuro* of the setting sun and rising moon. We are looking at it at night, when the full moon is rising immediately behind its loftiest peak, on its way to an eclipse, with an absolutely cloudless sky awaiting it beyond. It is a vision of beauty to be seen only once in a series of years. As that great orb slowly rolls up its magnificent disc, there is, for the moment, a delicate blending of the softest colors all round the mountain crest, and the white crags that stretch in silence down its sides, blush faintly, as if surprised in their solitudes by the unwonted glow. A little halo of flocculent mist, that was with the moon

in its rising, is dropped somewhere behind the embattled distances, in order, it would seem, to present a face of unsullied glory before the encroaching shadow of our intruding earth.

For one ecstatic moment we are in a frenzy of unutterable joy. But scarcely have we turned around, when the moon lifts its periphery from the bosom of the snows, and begins contracting its dimensions, and toning down its ardors, till it resumes its commonplace splendors in its monotonous voyages through the azure seas. One thing happened, however, in the climax of our vision of beauty, which will impressively illustrate nature's way of putting her seal of universality on all that is entitled to go by that name. You cannot witness such a sight, without wishing to have somebody else share with you your overflowing joy. I will call my wife, my son, my daughter, even the little four-year-old, out of whose childish eyes the cherubs are looking, for some coy radiance of heaven in the commonest of things—or those idle gossipers, wandering aimlessly on the streets—come—here is a rapture that I must not enjoy alone—a vision of beauty thrown over the mountain tops to gladden the eyes of every one who can see. There is no *ad valorem* on beauty; her exhibits are as free as the air.

And now, finally, why be so solicitous about beauty, when duty has forever and forever the prior claim? Duty is obligation to right, to truth, to the inviolable sanctions of the moral law. Duty is the pilot on the vessel, whose skill and vigilance can alone steer it safely over the pathless seas. If that hand drops at the wheel, the ship and its cargo will wander wildly, until caught in the jaws of the pitiless storm. Yes, but beside the wheel and the rudder, there must be the reef and sail, or otherwise the engine, that will furnish inspiration or driving force to the ship. Of course, all power however ample and adequate, must be subject to the wise direction of a governing will, or it will rush into ruin the very machinery to which it has been hitched.

Now, it will not be too much to say, that beauty, or aesthetics in the widest acceptance of that term, is the inspiring force of all noble endeavor undertaken by men, the driving power of every beneficent agency that looks disinterestedly to the good of mankind. Therefore duty and beauty go forth hand in hand, in all lines of laudable human effort; in politics and religion, in business and barter, in art and science, and above all in the homes

and hearts of the civilized man. But alas! there are times when both beauty and duty seem to have fallen at their posts, and our great social armada goes rolling and pitching at the mercy of the seas. An age of decadence comes on, and an ominous darkness lowers low on our skies.

At such a time, it would be unpardonable folly to put forth beauty as the leading agency in social reform. Beauty was never a saviour, in the sense of charming into quiet the rebellious passions of men, and holding their tempestuous ambitions in seasonable leash. We recall Heine's discomfiture; he would have thrown himself in utter self-surrender at the feet of the *Venus de Milo,* had he not discovered that she had no arms—a confession, in metaphor, of the inability of beauty, single-handed and alone, to speed man onward to the haven of his hopes.

Our thesis, "From Duty to Beauty" contemplates no such transposition of moral values, as would make beauty our keen-eyed and strong-nerved pilot over perilous seas. Simply, beauty shall be our token of the renewed energy and restored courage of our disabled ship. We see her moving; the fires have been rekindled in her furnaces; an auspicious wind is in her sails; the captain is at his post; the arms of stalwart sailors lay hold of the rigging; soon she shall weigh anchor, and be out on her voyage towards the havens of light, that await her yonder on the infinite seas.

Tacoma, Washington.

ARTICLE IV.

DUTY AND DESTINY.

BY CHARLES H. SUPER, PH.D., LL.D.

When we reflect upon the lessons of history and study the motives of our fellow-men, we soon become aware that mankind may, roughly speaking, be divided into two classes: those that shape the destiny of the world and those that are the more or less conscious instruments of that destiny. It is true we can not draw a hard and fast line between the two classes any more than we can divide men into the good and the bad; but the distinction is sufficiently accurate for our present purpose. And what is history? Nothing more nor less than a record of the effects produced by the contact of mind with matter. How little of it is ever written! How utterly futile would be the attempt to write a complete history of the smallest community! Yet the life of the greatest nation is for the most part made up from contributions furnished by its smallest units. But the activity of these units is everywhere so much alike that the world is only interested in what is unusual, or in their combined effects. Just as perfect health in the largest animal is conditioned upon the soundness of each individual cell, so the health of a nation depends upon the perfect discharge of its functions by each individual unit that contributes to its corporate life. Or we may reverse the analogy and say that disease of the whole depends upon the proportion of the diseased parts to the entire body. No nation is perfectly sound just as the health of no human body is perfect. The biological school of sociologists is rarely at a loss to point out similarities between animal and corporate life. But this does not further concern us here. A great orator said long ago that it is not the strong alone who win victories, but the vigilant, the active and the brave as well. Neither is it the intellectually endowed alone that make a mark in the world, but rather those who have the will to use rightly such endowments as they may have, be they many or few. The mental power of the foremost nations of the earth has probably not varied greatly from the remotest times; yet there have been times when it

seemed as if a sort of intellectual and moral asphyxia had fallen upon an entire people from which the most stirring events among their neighbors scarce aroused them, while these entirely failed to spur them to action. In other cases there was only needed a leader to bring about the most surprising effects. A pile of combustibles may lie for weeks, for months and even for years and not a thought be given to its possibilities for mischief. But let a spark be thrown into it and the latent physical energy stored up in the mass will at once make itself felt, often disastrously. So the torch is sometimes applied to the minds of men that sets their intellectual and moral energies free and the consequences cause amazement to all who take note of them. Let us not make the mistake of supposing that the world's leaders either in thought or action create the forces with which they operate. Those who come to the front in any sphere, no matter how large or how small are always leaders, never creators. Whether a man be foremost in a township or an empire, or in any intermediate governmental unit, or in a social group, it is because he has attracted to himself men and women who look up to him for guidance. Men, in any extended sense, can not be driven; they will only go in the direction of national taste and temperament. We see this in the efforts to civilize the backward races: it has always meant entire or partial extermination. Note too the process by which monarchies have been established on the ruins of quasi-republics. It has always been the same; for although the world has not had much experience of this sort, it has had enough to demonstrate that the course of events is remarkably uniform. First a large part of the population has been trained to military service; next the political and social conditions make the frequent change of rulers fraught with danger to the public tranquility; lastly appears a commander who quiets the fears of the timid and silences the murmurs of the obstreperous. Louis XI, to whom more than to any other monarch is due the consolidation of France and the overthrow of the feudal system, simply directed with skill the national aspirations.

Although as a man he broke every precept of the moral law, his political perspicacity was greater than that of his opponents while his private character was no worse than that of most of them. The average man was benefitted at the expense of the nobility. Victor Emmanual could never have brought the Ital-

ian people under his scepter if they had not long been weary of the political particularism that prevailed in the Peninsula. In Germany, Bismarck was merely the final instrument in the accomplishment of an object for the realization of which the best and wisest of her citizens had long labored and suffered. The policy of expansion that has played too important a part of the politics of Europe since the discovery of America, strikingly illustrates the futility of a small group of men trying to drive a nation into a course for which it has no natural aptitude, and for which the conditions have not been made favorable by nature. Spain has been in the expansion business for four centuries: how this has been carried on we know and the results also. Spain made the serious mistake of planting colonies and of trying to govern them for the benefit of the mother-country. France, on the other hand has fared but little better because she has pursued a policy not widely different. A recent French writer complains that Algeria, though but a day's journey from France, attracts few Frenchmen and is a terribly expensive venture. He declares that it contains but 260,000 of his countrymen and that to plant them there cost 150,000 lives and five milliards of money. When the North American colonies took up arms against the mother country, it was supposed that Canada, so largely French and so recently transferred to Great Britain, would be eager to shake off the freshly imposed yoke. But no uprising took place, and to this day some of England's most loyal subjects can not speak English. Russia apparently presents an exception to the general law. Here we have an infamously corrupt government, the very embodyment of tyranny, enlarging its territory by expansion, and until recently by continuous conquest. For one thing the added provinces were contiguous and for another Russian administration is so peculiar in many respects that it is impossible for an outsider to know much about it. It seems probable that it was best for the cause of true progress that she was defeated in the recent conflict with Japan, but that the result was chiefly due to intrigue, inefficiency and jealousy is made clear by the Memoirs of General Kuropatkin. Albeit, even Russia has made remarkable industrial progress within recent years; nor can it be denied that her stern and repressive rule is beneficial to the half civilized hordes over whom her sway extends. It may be and indeed is highly probable that

with industrial progress and commercial expansion will come in time a larger measure of political liberty. Russia is simply one or two centuries behind the rest of Europe or at least behind its most enlightened portions, in the growth of her political institutions, a fact that is to be explained to a considerable extent by the passive character of the Slavic race.

Let us turn our eyes in another direction and glance briefly at another people, the English. Three hundred years ago there were perhaps five million Englishmen on the face of the globe. England had no sea power, for it was not until the defeat of the Spanish Armada that she began to develop her strength in that direction. Nor is England well situated to become a first-class maritime nation. Great Britain has not one good natural harbor. Her seaports are mainly the work of man; partly the result of necessity, partly of interest, enlightened self-interest. Even one hundred and fifty years ago there were more Frenchmen, more Germans, more Italians and more Spaniards than there were Englishmen. What is the state of the case to-day? The British Empire numbers nearly four hundred millions of direct and indirect subjects. In so short a time has the most democratic among the world's governments literally spread over the face of the earth. With this marvelous progress the spread of the English language has kept pace. Nearly or quite one hundred and fifty millions of people speak English, although it is not the exclusive speech of so large a number. Yet no government is directly responsible for this expansion. It came about by a very natural and easily explicable process of development. Most of the emigrating nations prefer to place themselves under English institutions and thus soon lose their national identity. The English colonies have flourished because they are simply protected and left to work out their own material and spiritual salvation as they see best. This is not to say that English rule is ideal. It still has as it always has had its shortcomings. But such matters must be looked at from the comparative standpoint. If we do so we shall find that they have been always in the van and have recognized the rights of the individual more fully than any other. It is worth nothing that for centuries the continental writers upon politics have held up the English constitution as a model of what such a document should be. The insinuating character and ineffable charm of the

French language and the literature of which it is the medium are well known. For two or three centuries it was the fashionable speech of the civilized world, while French literature and French ideas made their way everywhere. But it was chiefly form without substance. There is an element, a substratum of insincerity in French literature and French ideas that in the end repels those who are seeking the truth. This criticism of course does not apply to French science, for science is the same throughout the world. Some of the most attractive French writers have preached morality in strikingly persuasive terms while themselves leading immoral lives. Nowhere do we find political liberty so eloquently defended as by French orators; yet until recently it hardly existed in their native country. Not only French thinkers but even the masses seem to have recognized the superiority of English institutions, notwithstanding the long continued hostility between France and Great Britian. I have already spoken of the unexpected quiescence of French Canada during our Revolution. It is well known that their conquest was conducted with much brutality at times. But those were days when mild treatment of the conquered was unknown. Francis Parkman, whom nobody will accuse of partiality as a historian, says, when writing of this event. "The English conquest was a grand crisis of Canadian history. It was the beginning of a new life. With the English came Protestantism, and the Canadian church grew purer and better in the presence of an adverse faith. Material growth, an increased mental activity, an education real though fenced and guarded, a warm and genuine patriotism, all date from the peace of 1763. England imposed by the sword on reluctant Canada the boon of national and ordered liberty. Through centuries of striving she had advanced from stage to stage of progress, deliberate, and calm, never breaking with her past, but making each fresh gain the basis of new success, enlarging popular liberties while bating nothing of that height and force of individual development which is the brain and heart of civilization; and now, through a well-earned victory she taught the conquered colony to share the blessings she had won. A happier calamity never befell a people than the conquest of Canada by British arms." Albeit, this extract would not be worth the time necessary to transcribe it if it referred only to the particular event which caused it to be

written. Its importance rests in the philosophy that underlies it. I have no wish to extol England; none the less English institutions mean personal liberty, progress, protection to life and property, freedom of the press, in short everything that men are wont to class under the blessings of civilization. It has become the fashion within late years to use the term Anglo-Saxon in this connection. But the fact is that popular government somewhat feeble in its beginnings, dates from the English revolution of 1688, and preceded similar efforts elsewhere by nearly a century and similar achievements by a much longer period. I am here concerned to show the close connection between democracy and destiny, and that we ought not to write the latter word with a capital initial is if it were something beyond human control, but that the two go hand in hand, if men so will it. The destiny of a nation is in its own keeping and the destiny of that nation will always be the most glorious where there is the most thoroughgoing determination on the part of the progressive element of the population to see justice done to every citizen; where there is the largest personal liberty consistent with public order; and where there is that enlightened self-interest which is essential to a healthy civilization. It is due however to a group of modern French writers, some of whom are contemporary, to say that they have been extraordinarily active in preaching to their countrymen the need of a higher morality. They profess to have implicit faith in their countrymen and in the potency of a wisely directed will. I am inclined to believe that the profoundest pedagogical thought, using the term in its widest sense, that has been produced within the last two or three decades, had its origin in France. Some of the most philosophical books on education have recently appeared in that country, while some of her ablest men are laboring earnestly to awaken their countrymen to a realization of the potent influence that may be exercised on the morals of the body politic by teachers. Of the greatest and most popular French writer of the nineteenth century a recent American critic says: "Balzac was more than moral. He was religious." "This Frenchman with his amazing gift of insight into the springs of human character, is almost the only great story-teller who fathoms the motive of the sacred calling." "Never in the history of the world was genius more closely wedded to erudition, industry, personal pu-

rity, artistic finish, productiveness." "Against all examples to the contrary he insisted that simple habits and absolute chastity were essential to the development of the highest faculty, and that all excess is the ruin of talent." An important element of continued national prosperity and progress is the subordination of military to civil tribunals. In almost every instance where a military regime gained the ascendency it degenerated into a despotism. The wisest monarchs have rarely had equally wise successors, it seems to be a law of nature that families should degenerate. No ruler however alert can attend to everything. His representatives soon sink into mere place-men whose sole object is to hold their positions by perfunctorily doing what they believe to be their master's will. That even the French have learned to realize this fact was strikingly shown a few years ago when a leading journal took a vote on the question, Who was the greatest Frenchman? Napoleon fell to fourth place, being preceded by three civilians, The first decade of the twentieth century has emphasized this fact with unprecedented insistence. Whatever may be the motive for peace, it is improbable that any of the great nations will ever again engage in a conflict with one another. Nor is mere intelligence a pledge of continued progress. There seems to be no doubt that for a considerable time during their existence, some of the Eastern Califates were thoroughly permeated by the spirit of inquiry. The Moors were driven from Spain by a people less enlightened than they themselves were. It is probable that a thousand years ago, or even earlier, China was as civilized as any country on the face of the earth, perhaps the most civilized. But the Mohammedan domination was overthrown or sank into decay, while China entered upon the stage of arrested development from which only very recently her people seem to be endeavoring to emerge. The Germanic tribes that appeared upon the scene of history as the champions of personal liberty and who by sheer individual valor and pertinacity overthrew the Roman empire, in the course of time degenerated, or at least underwent so marked a transformation of national character that for centuries the Teutonic branch was a conspicuous example of self-abnegation in matters political. Many melancholy thoughts pass through the mind of the student of history as he contemplates the vicissitudes of the human race. When he reflects upon the mighty empires that

once existed in southern and western Asia, in northern Africa, in southern Europe, and even in the central regions of America; when he recalls that only ruins are left to attest their former splendor, he can hardly help asking himself whether this destruction was inevitable. Is decay indissolubly connected with growth? Is there no escape from national degeneracy? Is it not possible so thoroughly to understand the laws of human progress and to direct them so wisely that there shall be no relapse? Is it an unavoidable law of corporate life on a large scale that rise and fall shall succeed each other in cycles like the diurnal ebb and flow of two tides? In the light of evidence we can scarcely refuse to answer in the affirmative. If this be the correct answer then surely we must write Destiny in large letters. Yet hardly anybody believes in this fatalistic creed. Just as we feel that we might have avoided the mistakes of our individual lives, so the students of history can readily point out the errors of national administration that brought on national decay. Not only *might* all this have been otherwise; it *ought* to have been otherwise. Nations are the arbiters of their own destiny in even a larger sense than individuals. If this be not so, life is a curse; the belief in a moral order a delusion, personal virtue a sham; and faith in a supreme ruler with its concomitant, individual responsibility, the crowning heresy of the ages. Professor Huxley once said: "I know no study which is so unutterably saddening as that of the evolution of humanity as set forth in the annals of history. Out of the darkness of prehistoric ages man emerges with the marks of his lowly origin upon him. He is a brute, only more intelligent than other brutes, a blind prey to impulses which as often lead him to destruction, a victim to endless illusions which make his mental existence a terror and a burden, and fill his physical life with toil and battle. He attains a certain degree of comfort and develops a more or less workable theory of life in such favorable situations as the plains of Mesopotamia or Egypt, and then for thousands of years struggles with varying fortunes, attended by infinite wickedness, bloodshed, and misery, to maintain himself at this point against the greed and ambition of men." It is a sad truth which this arch evolutionist here puts before us. But we may well ask whether this same evolutionary force has stopped. He surely would not deny that the

world is in the main better now than it was at any time in the past. Most of his fellow evolutionists look to this same inscrutable force to continue until an almost ideal state of social happiness shall have been attained. With the increase of knowledge physical comfort has also been increased: and physical comfort is the sole standard of happiness with the great majority of mankind. The nature of disease is far better understood and its ravages have been greatly diminished. Epidemics are now little feared. Travel is infinitely more safe and comfortable than it was even half a century ago. Sanitary conditions are everywhere so greatly improved that the span of life has been considerably lengthened. There is nothing mysterious in this; it can hardly be said to have come about in a natural way, for it is by no means universal. It is the result of intelligently directed effort,—effort not so much on the part of communities as of individuals. Men in their corporate capacity may encourage and promote, but they can not inaugurate and direct. What body of men has ever made an important discovery or hit upon an important invention? What body of men has ever initiated a noteworthy reform, or even wisely directed one? Where would the healing art be to-day if no physician ventured to depart from traditional methods of treatment until he had gained the consent or approval of a majority of his confreres? The theory of modern education is based upon the postulate of the possibility of intelligent direction towards rational ends. It is true, doing is not synonymous with knowing; but knowledge is indispensable for intelligent action directed towards rational ends. We never hear it said of a body that it acts in obedience to a physical law and that it was its destiny to do so. But it is not unusual for men whose projects fail through their own ignorance or shortsightedness to speak of their discomfiture as if it were foreordained. It is an easy way to excuse human frailty or human ignorance. Albeit, in nine cases out of ten this ignorance is either culpable or cowardly or both. Nor is this true of individuals only but of nations as well. Of many illustrations that occur to my mind I shall cite but one. Few persons, I imagine, who followed the course of events preceding our war of '61-5 will say that there was any destiny therein, at least in the sense that a conflict was inevitable. The result of the action of certain moral forces was clearly

foreseen by all who had not doggedly made up their minds to look at but one side of the questions at issue, whether they lived in the United States or elsewhere. Powder and fire when brought together inevitably produce an explosion: that is the physical law of the case. But as long as it is in the power of free moral agents to keep them apart, it is idle to talk about the inevitable. A willingness on the part of the leaders north or south to look the facts squarely in the face; to permit a full and free discussion of the issues involved would have averted the expenditure of much blood and treasure, a course of procedure that lay wholly within the province of human volition. Look at the course of events as I will; ponder the lessons of human experience as I may, I am compelled to believe that there is a moral law as unfailing in its operation as any law of the physical world, although its operations have not the same minuteness. If a man violates the canons of health he gets sick although not always forthwith, and it does not matter whether it is recklessness or ignorance. The prudent man will therefore seek to conform his manner of life to the rules of hygiene; and in so far as he does not know them will endeavor to inform himself. The upright man is just as certain to incur the penalty of infraction as the villian. On the other hand, the evil-doer may, by the exercise of prudence, be successful, as the world measures success, and to all appearance end his days in peace. Yet I am persuaded that somebody must pay the penalty for his misdeeds and this penalty will be severe in proportion to the rank and ability of the criminal. No one will deny that the good often seem to pay the penalty of other people's wrong or criminal acts. The Savior is a conspicuous example. Moreover, vicarious sacrifice has played a great part in the moral order of the world.[1] But we must look at the problem in a large way. Thus regarded, it presents some aspects not evident from a narrow point of view. The author of Romola gives expression to some profound thought in the following words. "It is only a poor sort of happiness that could ever come by caring very much about our own narrow pleasures. We can only have true happiness, such as goes along with being a great man, by having

1 I have discussed this subject from a universal standpoint in the *International Journal of Ethics,* Vol. XV.

wide thoughts and much feeling for the rest of the world as well as ourselves; and this sort of happiness often brings so much pain with it that we can only tell it from pain by its being what we would chose above everything else, because our souls see that it is good." I do not profess to understand the feelings of the man who has no conscience. I can not find out by introspection, and I have never been intimate enough with such a man to make him feel that he could unreservedly communicate to me his thoughts. There may be men who if they have been so fortunate as to gain property by totally ignoring the principles of right and justice, gloat over their success like the Indian who has lured an enemy into a place whence he cannot escape the torture in store for him. But I have never found a man, no matter how devoid of conscience he appeared to be, who did not acknowledge the validity of the moral law. The most consummate hypocrite does so by pretending to be what he is not. If this state of mind does not make a man any better, it makes him a dissembler; it constrains him to do outward homage to a power that he pretends does not exist. There is not a man living in any civilized country who does not feel disgraced by having it said of him that he cannot be trusted. The worst men profess to be upright even though it be their nature to pursue crooked courses. Hypocrisy is nothing more than the homage vice pays to virtue. The good that is in every normally constituted human being crops out under the most unfavorable conditions. What would become of the business or professional man who openly acknowledged that he would tell an untruth if he thought it to his interest to do so? or that his higher interest required it? Would not everybody say that he was abnormal? The deadliest insult that can be offered to a man is to call him a liar even when he knows he has lied. His resentment is kindled by the suggestion that he has violated that fundamental law of honor which binds man to man and is one of the main pillars upon which organized society rests. Nobody admits that he is just as ready to get property by theft as by purchase, even when such an admission would be the truth. The thief usually justifies his actions by pleading stress of necessity, or by his inability to get justice in any other way. "Thou shalt not kill"; "Thou shalt not steal"; "Thou shalt not covet"; "Thou shalt not bear false witness"; "Love thy neigh-

bor as thyself" were written on the human heart before they were promulgated from Sinai. These precepts were recognized where no revelation had gained access. To this truth both Christ and Saint Paul bore witness. It is not uncommon for men to seek to justify actions which they know to be wrong by the assertion that they have the statute law on their side. As if ten thousand man-made laws could make one wrong right! If the greatest happiness of the largest number can not best be promoted by universal intelligence there is no known way by which it can be done. This is the only method that has never been tried. Whenever, until quite recently, governments have fostered and promoted the acquisition of knowledge their efforts have been restricted to a greater or less degree to a part of the populace. The education has likewise been more or less one-sided. It has preceeded on the assumption that not all knowledge but only some knowledge, the knowledge of particular subjects is good for every citizen. It seems to have been assumed everywhere that there is one kind of information suitable for rulers and their representatives and another kind for the subject. It has been taken for granted that it is the prerogative of some people to command at all times and of others to obey at all times. It has been held, at least in practice, that an interchange of relations was only feasible to a limited extent. The logical result of this doctrine was that the great mass of the citizens were regarded as minors whose period of tutelage never came to an end. This method was practicable so long as the ruling class could supply the wants of the ruled, but since wants increase almost as fast as they can be filled the process eventually came to an end. There is likewise everywhere a tendency for the consuming class to increase faster than the producers. It is natural for men to seek their ease by going through a routine that requires but little thought and renders unnecessary any effort in hitherto untried directions. Hence it is that every government which makes its power felt everywhere through its functionaries is more or less stagnant because of its implied hostility to individual initiative. The only true sovereignty is the sovereignty of intelligence, which is something vastly different from mere knowledge. It is an intellectual grasp of events and the forces that have shaped them. It is the knowledge of the history of man and of his efforts to obtain justice; and justice is

often only another name for expediency in the highest and best sense. Of course, it will never be possible to eliminate wholly from the body politic all those acts that are designated as criminal and which are more or less voluntary, but it will be possible to reduce them to a minimum and to convince a preponderating portion of every community that the highest interest of all are best served where all get justice as nearly as such a thing is possible for fallible human nature and in a condition of society where the relations of its members are inextricably complex. Unless I am greatly mistaken, there is in the most enlightened countries less and less disposition to restrict by legislation the activity of the individual. I know there are many who hold the opposite view. They point to the constantly increasing number of laws that are put upon our statute books. But many of them are of trivial importance. When we recall that in the not very distant past men were hampered in the exercise of their religion; how the smallest communities tried to regulate trade and prices; how difficult was the intercourse between even the different sections of the same country; and how all this has been changed, one can hardly maintain that the apparent increase of legislation means a corresponding growth of burdensome restrictions. There must always be more or less legislation so long as a state has not reached the stage of stable equilibrium; and he is a bold man or a very vain one who is ready to declare just how much and how little is best. Good laws do not go very far toward promoting either private morality or justice; they go very far toward securing public justice to all. That government is best which makes its power felt negatively rather than positively; which allows the subject the largest measure of freedom consistent with equal freedom to every other subject. Under such conditions each citizen is not only, in a great measure the arbiter of his own destiny, but also of the destiny of his country. That the comfort, the happiness and the well-being of each are to a great extent conditioned upon the well-being, the happiness and the comfort of all is a lesson that men are everywhere learning,—slowly, it is true, but learning it none the less. In the olden time when men imagined much and thought little they sought the Golden Age in the past; but gradually this age was relegated to the realm of poetic fiction. Then their hopes began to turn to the future. Isaiah

was confident that at some time hostile beasts and hostile men would dwell in peace together; that righteousness and peace would prevail throughout the earth. When the present was most cheerless and the outlook for the future most discouraging this hope was often a source of consolation to men who looked beneath the surface of things. The Hebrew prophet did not lose heart though he lived in one of the darkest periods of his country's history. Plato wrote his Ideal Republic when Greece, torn and distracted, was bleeding at every pore. Augustine, composed his City of God when the Roman empire was trembling on the verge of dissolution; and Sir Thomas More, to mention no others, thought it worth while to depict a Utopia in the reign of one of the most ruthless tyrants that ever sat on the English throne. The belief that virtue is rewarded and vice punished runs like a golden thread through the literature and tradition of almost every people from the remotest ages to the present day. In spite of the fact that experience seems to be very much against them men have clung with wonderful tenacity, or as some have said, with a strange infatuation, to the conviction that veracity, fidelity, probity and their kindred virtues would at some time regulate the inter-course of men with each other; and that their corresponding vices would scarcely be known. If we take the position that God does not mete out rewards and punishments according to desert, or that there is no God and that all men from time immemorial have been groping in the dark, we can at least not deny that they have discovered, faintly it may be, a light shining in the gloom. Nobody has ever maintained that the world would be better if men were less sincere, less truthful, less virtuous, less humane than they are. But if here below men are held accountable for their actions, and on this postulate all government is based, we must believe that it is better not only in this world but in the next for the man who conforms to the moral order as nearly as he can than it is for him who conforms only in so far as he must. This conformity consists not merely in doing right when uprightness and our temporal interests are clearly identical, but in making right conduct the standard of our walk and conversation under all circumstances. Man has existed upon the earth a good many thousand years. Wherever he has been he has established some kind of government, partly in obedience

to a law of his nature, partly because he hoped in this way to promote his own welfare. These governments have all been monarchial or oligarchial, and in every case hardly more satisfactory to the rulers than to the ruled. With democracies the world has had but little experience, hardly more than a century. Golden opportunities lie before it. If these are not improved and the representatives of democracy prove recreant to their trust it were better for all who might yet be born that our planet should be speedily rent into fragments and the book of doom closed forever.

Athens, Ohio.

ARTICLE V.

THE AMENDMENT OF THE DOCTRINAL BASIS OF THE GENERAL SYNOD.

BY J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

The General Synod, meeting at Richmond, Indiana, in 1909, passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* That the Common Service Committee be and hereby is instructed to codify the several resolutions and statements explanatory of the Doctrinal Basis of the General Synod, adopted at York, Pa., in 1864; at Hagerstown, Md., in 1895; at Des Moines, Iowa, in 1901, and at the present session of the General Synod, and incorporate the substance of the same into one clear and definite statement of our Doctrinal Basis, and to report the same at the next meeting of the General Synod by amendment in the manner prescribed by the Constitution itself, there being no intention in this action in any way to change our present Doctrnal Basis."

These several resolutions and explanatory statements cover a little over two large pages in the latest edition of the Hymnal (pp. 234-236).

The Common Service Committee, to our personal knowledge, wrought faithfully on the task assigned to it, and agreed to present the following report, which was unanimously adopted by the General Synod, at Washington, in 1911, for submission to the vote of the district synods.

"In accordance with the instructions of the General Synod the Committee on the Common Service has prepared the following amendments to the Constitution and recommends their submission to the District Synods:

First Amendment. The insertion of a new article to be known as

ARTICLE II. DOCTRINAL BASIS.

With the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the fathers, the General Synod receives and holds the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God and the only

infallible rule of faith and of practice; and it receives and holds the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the faith and doctrine of our Church as founded upon that word.

Second Amendment. The insertion of another new article, namely,

ARTICLE III. THE SECONDARY SYMBOLS.

While the General Synod regards the Augsburg Confession as a sufficient and altogether adequate doctrinal basis for the co-operation of Lutheran Synods, it also recognizes the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalkald Articles, the Small Catechism of Luther, the Large Catechism of Luther, and the Formula of Concord as expositions of Lutheran doctrine of great historical and interpretative value, and especially commends the Small Catechism as a book of instruction.

Third Amendment. Change the number of the present Article II to IV, strike out its third section, and substitute for it the following:

Art. IV, Sec. 3. Any properly organized Lutheran Synod may be received into the General Synod at any meeting, provided it shall have adopted this Constitution with its Doctrinal Basis as set forth in Article II."

The amended article on the Doctrinal Basis is the most important. That on the Secondary Symbols is simply a declaration of a fact whose recognition was authorized by the General Synod. The last amendment is necessary in view of changes contemplated by the first.

The present Constitution does not contain a simple and clear Doctrinal Basis in an article by itself. The Basis is expressed in a relative clause (in Art. ii, Sec. 3) as follows:

"All regularly constituted Lutheran Synods, not now in connection with the General Synod, *receiving and holding with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the Word of God as contained in the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine word, and of the faith of our Church founded upon that Word,* may at any time become associated with the General Synod by adopting this Constitution,

and sending delegates to its convention according to the ratio specified in section first of this article."

The proposed amendments, in the judgment of the committee, cover the matter embodied in the several actions of the General Synod, without in the least modifying the content of the Basis or altering the sense. By placing the present form and the proposed form side by side, it will be perceived that the latter is less ambiguous and much simpler. Since the adoption of the existing form, meanings have attached themselves to certain words and phrases which were not originally intended. Living languages are in a perpetual state of flux necessitating constant revision and new interpretation.

A comparison of the two forms would impress the casual reader that they stand for the same things and that they look much alike. Nevertheless, there are differences which may well be pointed out, and which ought to justify themselves if they are to be approved by the Synods. We call attention to the following variations:

1. The present form very awkwardly accepts the confessional attitude of "Synods not now in connection with the General Synod." The amendment makes the Doctrinal Basis that of the General Synod itself, expressed in one plain sentence.

2. "Our fathers" is changed to "the fathers" because the former might be understood to refer to the founders of the General Synod, whereas the reference is to the Reformers.

3. The word "contained" is eliminated, because the General Synod has been charged with holding that specious doctrine which finds a revelation only here and there in the Bible. Hence, the new form declares that the General Synod receives the Bible "as the Word of God."

4. The use of a semicolon in place of a comma between the two parts of the doctrinal basis differentiates the Scriptures from the Confession, and emphasizes the former.

5. The introduction of the qualifying word "unaltered" was demanded by the instructions to the committee, and is justified by facts, as will be shown later.

6. The change from "the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine word, and of the faith of our Church founded upon that word" to "the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the faith

and doctrine of our Church as founded upon that word" is demanded by the fact that the Augsburg Confession is not and was never intended to be a compend of all the fundamental doctrines of the Bible. Moreover, the word fundamental has hitherto been a fruitful source of useless discussion.

7. The addition of the words "and doctrine" was deemed desirable for the sake of fulness and clearness. "Faith and doctrine" embrace the subjective and the objective aspects of belief—the personal faith and its formulated statement.

It is entirely proper that the foregoing changes should be carefully considered by those who are to vote upon their adoption, and at the same time it is quite inevitable that they should be criticised. No human statement—not even that of the critics—is infallible. It is, however, quite possible that a committee of fairly competent men, after painstaking labor extending over two years, may have anticipated objections which occur to a critic on the spur of the moment. It is also possible that a statement which has resulted from protracted discussion in a committee may be quite as free from objections as one that has occurred to a brother "over night." Indeed, the readiness and frankness with which critics have retired from positions, very confidently taken at first, is an acknowledgment that no one man can be entrusted with the construction of a fixed formula.

The purpose of this paper is to present the matter under consideration in a lucid form, and to answer, in an entirely objective way, the criticisms which the amendments have called out. We have read probably everything which has been written on the subject and have been impressed with the fact that the criticisms are aimed not so much at the work of the committee as at the General Synod itself which authorized the work. The amendments are simply the embodiment of the various declarations made from time to time by the General Synod. Whether the amendments be adopted or not, the declarations have been embodied already in the Hymnals and thus scattered broadcast over the Church; and they will be continually reprinted unless the action authorizing it be repealed. It is scarcely conceivable that any convention of the General Synod will repudiate any of its confessional statements. Their omission from the Hymnal can be justified only when their substance shall have been incorporated as proposed.

Of the criticisms the following may be considered worthy of notice:

1. The heading "Doctrinal Basis" has been criticized as inexact, and "Confessional Basis" suggested instead. But in this case their purpose and meaning are synonymous. The former expression, however, is preferable because of the greater prominence given to the Word of God as over against a human "confession."

2. It has been objected that the Basis is not inclusive enough, because there is no reference to the ecumenical creeds. This is true also of the present form, which has not been found deficient for a lack of such reference. The committee, bearing in mind its instructions to prepare one clear and definite statement, was satisfied that the present type of form was desirable. Moreover, the Augsburg Confession itself endorses the ancient creeds, and is in a real sense an amplification of them. Our forms of worship also prescribe the use of at least two of them.

3. It is asserted that "the Word of God" and the "Augsburg Confession" are too closely connected, and that they should have been mentioned in distinct and separate sentences. As a matter of fact the new form very clearly separates them both by grammatical construction and punctuation; and yet it also properly unites them in the same sentence. To say that the General Synod receives the Bible and builds upon it would be the merest truism. If this self-evident proposition were all that is desired there would be no need for a Doctrinal Basis from the Lutheran point of view. But we receive the Bible as interpreted by the Augsburg Confession. This differentiates us from other religious bodies, and is in accordance with common usage. For instance, the Doctrnal Basis of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to which its ministers must subscribe, contains the following question: "Do you believe in the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures as set forth by the Articles of Religion?"

4. Some would remove all allusion to "the fathers" because we are old enough to stand on our own feet! The General Synod, we trust, is quite unprepared to repudiate the fathers of the Reformation. It joyfully acknowledges its human paternity. Its roots go deeper than the beginning of the last century. It is not ashamed of its historical antecedents, nor is it willing to

forego its heritage. We claim to be the Church of the Reformation.

5. The critics have declared that the Church is not founded on the Word, as declared in the Doctrinal Basis, but that the Church preceded the Word! "Jesus Christ founded the Church before there were any New Testament Scriptures," it is said. But this is quite misleading, for the Word existed before it was committed to writing, as everyone knows. Moreover, "the law and the prophets," the Old Testament was extant. Our Lord Himself has forever settled the relative positions of Word and Church in His declaration to Peter, the living confessor, "Upon this rock I will build my church" (Matt. 16:18). It is the fundamental error of Rome that the Church is anterior and superior to the Word. It was against this that the Reformers contended, and affirmed the supreme authority of the Bible, making it "the formal principle of the Reformation." The Doctrinal Basis correctly represents the Church as founded upon the Word.

6. The chief objection to the proposed amendments centers upon the word "unaltered," although it has appeared frequently and without offense among the deliverances of the General Synod. It is true in a sense that there is but one Augsburg Confession—that which was presented in Latin and German at the Diet in 1530. The autograph copies, however, were never seen afterward by any Protestant, and disappeared entirely from the Catholic Archives within a few years. Even the author of the Confession, Melanchthon, did not preserve a complete copy. The hope of the recovery of the original is therefore, not entertained.

Before the Diet had adjourned, numerous unauthorized and imperfect copies were circulated. Melanchthon, therefore, with the consent of the Elector, although forbidden by the Emperor, reproduced the Confession from "a copy of good credit" in his posession. This is the so-called "editio princeps" of 1530-31, and is apparently unchanged in content from the original, though it probably differs from it in language.

Beside this edition Melanchthon prepared a Latin "Octavo Edition" in 1531, and also a German Edition in 1532. The so-called "Textus Receptus" of the Confession which appeared in the Book of Concord belongs to this period, having been derived probably from an unfinished copy of the original. All these

editions are known as *invariatae,* or *unaltered,* not because they are verbally or textually alike or literal copies of the original, but because they present the doctrinal content unchanged. The word "unaltered" has reference to content and not to verbal form.

Over against these editions is that of 1540, in which there are decided changes. This is known as the *altered* or *variata* edition. But even this edition passed current for some years, until its manifest effect led to its repudiation.

It is perfectly true, in a strictly literal sense, that there is no "unaltered" or absolutely pure text of the original Confession extant. The same thing is true of all ancient writings, even of the sacred Scriptures, but this lack does not discredit them. In the case under consideration the word "unaltered" is used to differentiate the editions in which the content is unaltered from those in which the content is altered.

The critics say that if there be any defining words, they should be *"editio princeps"* from which the present translation in our Hymnals was made. But this misses the point at issue, which is not one of textual criticism. The *"editio princeps"* belongs to the general type of the unaltered as over against the altered Confession. It is the best text now obtainable, though it is not inconceivable that even a better text might be discovered. The mentioning of the words *editio princeps* would not be quite explicit enough, for as Kolde says "Of this so-called *editio princeps* at least two principal kinds must be distinguished which must have originated from the fact that during the printing slight divergencies occurred in separate sheets, or changes were made necessary through corrections, while the printer, as was frequently done during that period, circulated copies without the corrections." (See *Confessional Principle,* p. 523). From this it appears that the designation, *editio princeps,* would be more confusing and inexact than *unaltered,* which stands for the type and not for a particular text of that type.

In the case under consideration "editio princeps" and "unaltered" both refer to the identical thing. Hence, there would be no gain whatever in exchanging words. The objection to the expression "editio princeps" is that it is pedantic, unusual, and unhistoric. We venture the assertion that in over three and a half centuries the words "editio princeps" have never appeared

in the confessional statement of any congregation or synod. The word "unaltered" occurs in nearly all the older treatises on the Confession, is found in the confessional statements of European and most American Lutheran bodies, and was incorporated in the constitutions of the churches in America by Father Muhlenberg.

But why use any appellation? The General Synod has found its use necessary in self-defense. Misunderstanding and misrepresentation will be avoided when once the unequivocal word "unaltered" appears in the Doctrinal Basis. Moreover, the evasive and Jesuitical claim that the subscriber to the simple unqualified Augsburg Confession may choose for himself any form of it can not be allowed for a moment, and now makes it actually imperative to use the word "unaltered."

A word should also be said in reference to the new Article on Secondary Symbols. It has been alleged that the article begins in too apologetic a manner, and that it is not positive enough. We suspect that for some it is entirely too positive. At all events it meets the purpose for which it is intended. The General Synod's instructions demand the recognition of these symbols "as expositions of Lutheran doctrine." Nevertheless, it stands by the generic Confession "as a sufficient and altogether adequate doctrinal basis for the co-operation of Lutheran Synods." Mark the expression. It does not affirm that the Confession is a sufficient doctrinal basis for theology, but for synodical co-operation. It wishes to say that the Augsburg Confession is broad enough for all Lutherans to stand upon, but that the secondary symbols are useful and instructive. It mentions the Small Catechism in particular as a book of instruction because the General Synod has adopted it and published it as such.

Taking the amendments all in all they are a decided improvement on the existing constitution. They are simple, clear and unequivocal. They depart in no sense from the present confessional attitude of the General Synod, and only express its own repeated deliverances and interpretations. Should the consciousness and the conviction of the Church hereafter demand a restatement of its Doctrinal Basis, it can be made all the better from the vantage ground gained by the present amendments.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE VI.

THE INDIA MISSION, 1900—1910.

BY REV. JOHN ABERLY, D.D.

Reports of the India Mission are published annually. Biennial reports are made at the meetings of General Synod. It might seem that any further reports ought to be unnecessary, and yet a survey covering a decade has its advantages. It enables one better to estimate the progress made. It also permits attention to be called to marked features that cover a number of years and distinguish them from other periods. In the Lutheran Quarterly for 1876 (Vol. IX P. 263) Rev. Rowe wrote an article which brought the records of the Mission up to his time. It is a most valuable document and could not be replaced now. In 1902 a review of the decade from 1890 to 1900 was published (Vol. 32 P. 101). In the present article the attempt is made to bring this review up to date. It is not history. It is hoped, however, that the facts brought together may be of value to the future historian of the Mission.

The period from 1900 to 1910 was a very prosperous one whether viewed from the support given the Mission in America or its development in India. The equipment of the Mission was very materially enlarged. Two new stations were added during this time, those of Chirala and Sattenapalli, and a third, that of Tenali, was provided for and almost completed. The orphanage bungalow and orphanage buildings were built during this same period. Two splendid new churches, the only ones that can in our Mission compare with Churches in Christian lands, one at Rentachintala, provided for largely by Dr. and Mrs. Albrecht, and one at Guntur, largely paid for by Mrs. Stork, have been erected, as also the Hospital Chapel built by Mrs. Zimmerman after her visit with Dr. Zimmerman to our Mission. The College has been extended by adding a second story to the eastern wing. A house-boat has been provided for work in the part of our District under irrigation. Projects launched and provided for but not yet completed are the Sylvanus Stahl School for Girls, the Chirala Hospital, the Converts'

Home and the Children's Ward and Nurses' Home in connection with the Guntur Hospital.

The record of the Mission, as revealed in the statistical table, shows unparallelled progress for the period under review. At the beginning of 1900 the baptized membership was 18,964; at the close of 1910, 40,198. The number, it will be seen, was more than doubled in these eleven years. During this period no less than 29,00 persons were baptized. Communicants have risen from 6,762 in 1900, to 13,839 in 1910; Inquirers from 496 to 5,734; benevolence from $1260 to $2160; all Indian money receipts from $7600 to $18,700; pupils in Mission schools from 5,781 to 8,859; Indian workers in congregations and schools from 418 to 723; the number of villages in which work is carried on from 529 to 777; and the number of villages in which there are Christian congregations from 426 to 526. It has been one of the most encouraging periods in the history of the Mission when viewed from its statistical record. The following table shows the details for this period:[1]

The period was ushered in with a famine, the most severe that India has experienced since 1876-77. The famine was the Church's opportunity to show practical Christian help and sympathy with India's starving millions. Americans were especially active in this kind of ministry. Mr. Klopsch, of the *Christian Herald,* undertook to provide for 5,000 famine orphans for a period of five years. He not only redeemed his promise but even extended the period of support to seven years. It has well been called one of the largest organized charities of all times. Nearly a million of dollars were administered by the *Herald* for famine relief and for the support of the orphans whom the famine left in Christian orphanages. Our mission shared in the benefits of the fund at the same time that it supplemented it by famine relief funds of its own. As a direct result of this

1 The following Table shows the details for this period:

Year.	Baptisms.	Net Increase	Membership	Year.	Baptisms.	Net Increase	Membership
1900	1962	1522	20486	1906	3829	2056	36109
1901	4191	3686	24172	1907	1317	840	36949
1902	2551	2190	26362	1908	1228	306	37255
1903	3022	2474	28836	1909	1681	981	38236
1904	1979	1588	30424	1910	3159	1962	40196
1905	4094	3629	34053				

Baptisms 29013; Net Increase 21234.

there has been added a new department to our mission operations, that of an Orphanage and Industrial Institute.

Another of the results of the famine, no doubt, was a larger ingathering into the Christian Church than we would have otherwise had. At the time of famine there were reported no less than 20,000 Inquirers. This might give occasion for those unfriendly to Missions to bring the charge, so often repeated, of their being rice Christians. The fact that seven years after the famine there were still nearly 6,000 Inquirers ought to be proof sufficient that the movement towards Christianity is deeper than a mere desire for the loaves and fishes. The famine furnished occasion to preach the Gospel to India in a practical way. The rich of India did very little to save men from starvation. This service had to be rendered by Christians on the other side of the globe. The human heart responds to kindness everywhere. It does so in Christian lands. This famine relief was a chapter in Christian Evidences which the unsophisticated villager of India could understand. This it is that not only gave us the large numbers of Inquirers at the time of the famine, but has also, as the figures will show, resulted in a steady increase of our membership ever since. Some indeed went back but the large majority remained steadfast.

The period under review was also characterized by changes of vast moment in matters educational, especially in so far as it affected higher education. Lord Curzon's viceroyalty marks an epoch in India's history in more than one respect. One of the tasks he assigned himself on assuming the helm at the head of the Government of India was to reform higher education. Before giving effect to this purpose a Commission was appointed early in his administration to examine and report on University education in India. India has four chartered universities—those of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Allahabad. These cities are, however, not the places where these Universities have all their institutions. Indeed, they are not teaching institutions at all. The Senates of the Universities mark out the courses, conduct the examinations and confer the degrees. The studies of candidates for degrees must be pursued in an affiliated college which has been approved by the Senate. Thus the colleges of which each university is composed are scattered all over a Presidency. The reforms recommended affected the composition of

the Senates which were made smaller and more efficient. They especially affected the courses of studies. Standards were raised. Colleges were required to have better equipment. Electives, which had hitherto been limited to the last two years in the course, were now extended to the entire course. The university idea of a group of subjects along the line of which each student has to specialize is now followed from the beginning of the preparatory to the end of the college course. It has been a step forward but it has required a large increase in expenditure to meet the new demands. A number of colleges have had to close their doors as a result. Our college went through this critical time but not without its effect on the institution. In 1900 the college cost the mission over and above receipts from Government grants and students' fees only $1200; in 1905 the cost was as low as $400; in 1910 it cost the mission $4300; in 1905, before the new regulations went into effect, there were 985 students in college, high school and lower secondary school; in 1910 there were 514. Our mission can congratulate itself that it passed through a crisis which some sister institutions could not meet. But it must be evident that we are remiss in not providing for our college a permanent endowment. It is the only Church college in our General Synod that has no endowment. As long as the general fund provides the funds needed to maintain it, this may be thought a matter of no importance; but it does not seem wise mission policy to make the institution dependent on funds that may at any time be restricted; nor do we see any more reason why the college here shoud be dependent on the regular benevolence of the churches than that the colleges at home should be thus supported.

In line with the changes along educational lines must be noted the political changes of the decade. They perhaps, more than any other, will be regarded as the chief events that will deserve to be chronicled during this period. Just about the middle of the decade Bengal was divided into two administrative units. This was done, it was claimed, to ensure administrative efficiency but it was done in spite of the wishes of the Hindu people of Bengal. The Mohammedans, it ought to be noted, have all along supported the Government in the matter of the partition. The protest of Hindus seems to have been based on sentiment only, but one must sympathize with the sentiment that

wants to keep the people whose mother tongue is the same under the same government. The protest was, however, disregarded by the authorities. The Bengalee then resorted to other measures to compel the authorities to reconsider their action. English goods were boycotted. All were urged to buy only Indian goods. This became the occasion for agitating all kinds and degrees of nationalism. Extremists would send the foreigner out of the country bag and baggage; others would work out their political and economic salvation under the protection of the British Government. The extremists are in the minority, it is true. But it is they that have perpetrated the acts of violence that have given the world a new idea of the capabilities for good or ill of the mild and gentle Hindu when once he is stirred up. Officials in the country have been assassinated, both native and European. The bomb has been hailed as the emancipator of India. A spirit of patriotism unknown before has been aroused especially among the students of the land.

This has its effects on missions. It needs to be emphasized that hitherto the movement has not been anti-missionary. Many instances of friendliness towards missions by the leaders in it could indeed be cited. Acts of violence against missionaries in connecton with the movement have been limited to two or three. However, the movement has been patriotic and India's patriotism can hardly be disassociated from its religion. Think of India, without any history except such as its religious books, with all their extravagances, enable one to trace; India, with every act of daily life fixed by a religious custom; India, with its social organization resting entirely on caste, an institution that claims religious sanction; how could a revival of patriotism take place dissociated from a revival of religion!

In the agitation against imported goods it was only natural, therefore, that there should be included an agitation against a foreign religion. This has led to a revived interest in the religion of India. Young India realizes, however, that this must have new life put into it if it is to meet the demands of the present. So there has been a following of missionary methods often while opposing missions. Missions have been active in opening schools in the country; Swadeshi (the word used for the new movement, meaning *pro patria,* one's own country) schools were opened along similar lines. Missions have worked among

the secluded women in the zenanas and in relieving suffering in hospitals, the *Seva Sadan* Society (Servants of India Society) has been organized to work along similar lines. Heretofore, missions alone have befriended the outcaste population of India among whom are numbered one-sixth of the population or 50,000,000 people; now nothing is more common than schools for the "untouchables" (a new name that the movement has given to the outcaste) and conventions held for their social amelioration and uplift are of very common occurrence. All these have so affected missions in the large centers that work there has become increasingly difficult. It has not yet reached the smaller places but signs of its coming there are not wanting.

Along with these more unfavorable features of the movement are a number that must be considered a result of the impress of Christianity on India. There is an agitation for the abolition of caste. The practical reason for it is that India can never be welded into a nation while caste differences divide them as they do now. There is also an agitation in favor of the elevation of women. The Purdah system has become much less rigid during this decade even in the smaller places in India. In line with this there is an agitation that India's temple endowments, which are very extensive at the famous shrines, should be diverted, from at least the support of temple prostitutes and devoted to educational and other useful work. In line with this, temple prostitutes have already been abolished in some of the native states. There is also an agitation for compulsory education and a bill now in the legislature, if passed, will mark the beginning of its introduction into India.

It would lead us beyond our purpose to describe the political changes in India except in so far as they have their effects on mission work. The decade has brought missions, especially in the large centers, face to face with a new condition of things. We now are threatened with rivals in our work among the very classes which India's castes heretofore, because they would not think of touching them, had left entirely to us. Opposition, as the work extends to the middle and higher classes, promises to become much more active. Hitherto the caste Hindu has remained unconcerned about our doings as long as we did not invade his caste or home and make converts there. Now he is beginning to become aggressive and to follow our methods of work

while labelling them as his own. One often is led to wonder whether this motive, which, however, pure in some, in the majority is resting on a spirit of opposition to missions and their proselytizing methods, will have strength and endurance enough seriously to affect and move India's 300,000,000 people. It is hardly safe to assume the role of the prophet yet one is inclined to believe that the movement will wane for lack of a sufficiently powerful motive to make the sacrifices that will have to be made to effect India's regeneration. We can, therefore, view the movement without alarm, even with sympathy. Missions can be grateful for the best of all recommendations that this movement has given them. Mission methods have often been criticized in India as elsewhere. The fact that those who are most keen in opposing the work of missions begin by adopting many mission methods certainly is acknowledgment that we are working along right lines. We also believe that in the ranks of reformers and social workers, which the movement has called forth, there are those who have received inspiration from Christ and Christian teaching and example, and in this we may well see one of the fruits of the sowing that has been done by the Christian missions in India.

Coming to the Christians in India, this spirit of nationalism has not been without its effect on them. A national missionary society has been organized which has been doing good work though not yet on a large scale when the needs of a great country like India are considered. Everywhere there is a desire, and it is a legitimate one, for larger control of the Church's affairs by the Christians in India themselves. In our own mission the way for such enlarged responsibility has been prepared by the organization of a Synod, which must be chronicled as one of the chief events of the mission in this decade. Missionaries, Indian pastors and an equal number of lay delegates now consider the questions affecting the Indian Church and largely control the work and workers supported from all funds raised in India. Sufficient emphasis has hardly been given to the Synod's adaptation to a time like the present. In it we have the organization fitted for any new aspiration toward self-government and self-support in the Indian Church that the changed times may bring with them.

One of the outstanding features of the decade in our mission

history is the encouraging beginning made in work among the Sudras or farming classes. Hitherto our work has had results chiefly among the laborers attached to these farmers who, in their condition, do not much differ from serfs of the soil. The farmers on the other hand are the bulk of the population of India which is almost entirely an agricultural country. If once we can win them, then India's redemption will be nigh. In the Palnad this class has become exceedingly friendly because of the special efforts made to work among them by the missionaries of that part of our field. Between four and five hundred from a number of sub-divisions of the Sudra classes have actually been baptized during the last few years while a great many more have enrolled themselves as Inquirers. The spirit of friendliness among the Sudras extending to almost every part of our mission field gives promise of similar ingatherings elsewhere. This movement introduces us to perplexing problems, chief of which is how much concession is to be made to their caste prejudices. But we look on the beginning of this work as the most cheering feature of the work of the past decade. India moves not by individuals but by masses. It is the beginning of work among a class that is most difficult. It was so among outcastes. It took thirty years of work among them in our mission before they moved in any considerable numbers. Now such a movement is beginning to appear among the bulk of the population in India. It is small as yet. It needs wise direction. But do you wonder that as we contemplate its possibilities we are overpowered with the thought of what God permits us to see of His working in this our field? For this open door we have been waiting for a long time. Now that it is at least giving promise of opening will the Church not send forth laborers sufficient to enter it?

The period under review, it will be acknowledged, has been one of marvellous doings whereof we may well be glad. A new spirit has come over India, which, though not always friendly to missions, even often avowedly hostile, yet adopts many of the objects and methods of mission work. The membership of our churches has more than doubled during this period. An educational crisis has had to be met by our college. It has passed through it safely and its continuance is assured if the Church will meet the increased cost of maintaining it.

A new movement has begun among the Sudras of our dis-

trict which has the promise of increasing and spreading very rapidly in the not-distant future. When the history of the mission is written we believe that it will be found that there has been no more fruitful period in its history than that which we have thus briefly attempted to review.

Guntur, India.

ARTICLE VII.

ACTUAL ATONEMENT FOR SIN AN ANTITYPAL CLIMAX.

BY REV. HIRAM KING, D.D.

Divine revelation became redemptive at the fall and man's deliverance from sin could be wrought only through suffering. It was foretold in the protevangel, not only that the "seed" of the "woman" should destroy the serpent but also that the serpent should lacerate his person (Gen. 3:15). It was, moreover, assumed in the protevangel, that the serpent and the woman were jointly generic for the prospective race in the sphere of morals, and that the divinely inspired enmity between them would be transmitted to their respective offspring. As the seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman would be the successive generations of men, it follows that man's redemption was not meant to be miraculous but historical—not the instantaneous achievement of the woman's first-born son but the *final* accomplishment of her greatest offspring, in whom would culminate, at last, the redemptive agency, incipient subsequently in the person of "righteous" Abel. The struggle for world supremacy was, therefore, to take place, not directly between God and Satan, but through the two inimical divisions of the race itself, and to proceed from the inauguration of hostilities in Eden to complete race-disenthrallment at the *climatic* "bruising" of the serpent's head at Calvary. It is subject of Biblical record, finally, that revelation was, in all respects, modified and dominated by the protevangel as its terms imply, and that, in its historical expression, the protevangel became functional for the institution of a soteriological order for the world through the redemptive self-sacrifice of the Deliverer it promised.

Redemption is deliverance from sin, and as it was by *sacrificial offering for sin* that atonement was made, the pivotal question at once arises, What was the expiatory significance of the respective sin-offerings of the Old and New Testaments? Under the old covenant, the sin-offering consisted of two goats (Lev. 16); under the new covenant, the sin-offering was Christ (John 1:29).

The goats were the annual offering for sin in the administration of the Old Testament ordinances; Christ was the final offering for sin at the abrogation of the Old Testament institutions and the inauguration of the New Testament economy. As the two offerings were thus wholly dissimilar—dissociated, in fact, on the scale of being itself—and as the former offering was a prophesy in type and the latter offering its antitypal fulfillment, it is confidently anticipated here that the correct exposition of the expiatory significance of each sin-offering will demonstrate the truth of the propositional title of this paper, that Actual Atonement for Sin was an Antitypal Climax.

In the discussion of the dual subject, the purpose is to establish (1) that the sin-offering of the Old Testament made sin harmless, and (2) that the sin-offering of the New Testament removes sin.

1. *The sin-offering of the Old Testament made sin harmles.*—Many generations subsequently to its declaration, the protevangel was restricted to Abraham and his descendants as the human parties to the old covenant (Gen. 17:7) and the Messianic promise became concrete in the life and politico-religious institutions of the Hebrew race. The Old Testament economy, from beginning to end, was, in fact, nothing more nor less than the protevangel in its historical expression, and all its capabilities for the purpose of its proclamation were functional in the Old Testament ordinances.

As now, the *content* of the protevangel was only the *promise* of man's deliverance from the serpent, it plainly follows that his *actual* deliverance was still in *prospect* all the way from Adam to Christ. The conclusion is fully warranted by the New Testament Scriptures which declare, in unmistakable terms, that the Old Testament believers "received not the promises" (Heb. 11:39) and that they "all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them and greeted them from afar" (V. 13). As, moreover, the expiatory provision of the old covenant was, necessarily, restricted to the *scope* of the protevangel, the plain inference is that the Old Testament atonement for sin was only the prefiguration of the actual atonement for sin—its ceremonial promise.

It was, in fact, not the primary function of the protevangel to atone for man's sin but to mediate the birth of man's De-

liverer, and its effectiveness for its purpose was necessarily contingent on its historical expression, since the ultimate fulfillment of its promise depended on its plastic power in human life from the beginning. The moral nature of man at the fall was, in the main, still elemental and the birth of the Deliverer at the beginning of race-reproduction, or in an early generation, was quite impossible, because he was to be *divine* as well as human (Isa. 7:14; 9:6; Luke 1:31-35) and man, prior to his ethical and spiritual evolution, was manifestly unqualified for union with the Second Person of the Trinity (John 1:14)—in a virgin birth (Isa. 7:14). Nor was man's elevation for the prospective incarnation at all possible without the dominance, in race history, of the supernatural factor of the protevangel. It is true that the civilizations of Egypt and Assyria and Greece and Rome were marvelously great, but they were, nevertheless, buried under the ruins of their respective empires and their archaeological monuments bear eloquent testimony to the utter failure of the old-world titans to climb into the coveted Olympus of the "world rulers" (Eph. 6:12) for their moral self-disenthrallment. Not only was the old world, thus in its *maximum self-evolution,* unable to free itself from the coils of the serpent, but, even under the historical impulse of the protevangel itself, it required forty centuries of the moral and spiritual sublimation of human nature to make the chosen people "peculiar" (Deut. 14:2) enough for the race-mediation of salvation (John 4:22)—in an incarnation.

The Old Testament, then, was the expression of the protevangel in man's life that, as the final fulfillment of the Messianic promise, the seed of the woman should be *theanthropic.*

While, however, the Old Testament was thus *preparatory* to the New Testament and even indispensable for its institution, the New Testament was really *causative* for the Old Testament and conditioned it from the fall to Pentecost. It may seem paradoxical but it is true, nevertheless, that the normal order, in causation, is universally from the ideal to the actual—from the future to the present, as it were. The causation of the Old Testament by the New Testament was due, in point of fact, to the well-known law of *evolution,* which is basic for development and growth everywhere, and under whose marvelous operation, things in *prospect* project into *present* conditions the potencies

of their own transition from *ideal* to *actual* existence. Thus, for example, it is a recognized fact in natural science that the fruit blossom is conditioned on the *prospective* fruit, although it anticipates and mediates it. The *ideal* fruit projects the *actual* blossom and determines its species. The child, in like manner, precedes the man in actual life, but biological science teaches, nevertheless, that the *ideal* man is formative, in race reproduction, from conception, through childhood, to *actual* manhood. So also was the prophetic utterance conditioned on a *future* event, the prophet *fore*telling its occurrence by *pre*vision. It was thus that the Old Testament was projected by the New Testament, and that the Old Testament became, in turn, the medium of the historical expression of the New Testament in the birth of the promised Deliverer.

The mutual relation of the two covenants was, accordingly, typical and antitypal, and it is here that the New Testament estimate of the Old Testament ordinances becomes decisive for the true interpretation of the Levitical ceremonial institutions.

Under the general designation of "the law," the sacrificial system of the Old Testament is declared by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews to have had "a shadow of the good things to come, and not the very image of the things" (10:1). This exegetical authority, it may be assumed, is altogether unimpeachable and the key to the expiatory significance of the respective sin-offerings of the two covenants will be found in their mutual relation as *shadow* and *substance*.

The expiatory shadow was manifestly cast by the *prospective* sin-offering at Calvary upon the statute book of Moses at Sinai. The sacrificial goats were the *fore*shadow (prefiguration) of the "Lamb of God." The two sin-offerings were, accordingly, an exemplification of the law of evolution in the sphere of divine revelation, and, like the two covenants themselves, they were mutually typical and antitypal.

As, then, the Levitical sin-offering was not a sacrifice in substance, at all, but only the shadow of the prospective offering for sin, it follows that atonement for sin was not really wrought by Levitical expiation. This is the conclusion of logic. Is it also the teaching of the New Testament Scriptures? Yes. "For it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin," is the unqualified and unmistakable affirmation of

the writer of Hebrews (10:4). Revelation must necessarily confirm logic here, because, as all the world knows, it is impossible for a shadow to perform the functions of the substance that casts it.

Since, then, Levitical expiatory sacrifice did not actually atone for sin, what was the real significance of the Levitical sin-offering? The function of typical expiation was twofold. As it affected man, the sin-offering *renewed the consciousness of sin.* The spectacular confession of the sins of the people, by the High Priest, over the head of the scapegoat for their transportation into the wilderness, was only the *typical assurance of antitypal expiation.* The whole dramatic expiatory ceremonial, on the Day of Atonement, was meant, not to remove the sins of the worshippers but *to lay them on their consciences.* "But in those sacrifices there is a remembrance made of sins year by year" (Heb. 10:3), is the unequivocal declaration of the New Testament Scriptures, that Old Testament expiatory offering really *aggravated* the burden of sin. In its relation to God, the function of the Levitical sin-offering was *to put sin out of sight.* The conclusive proof here is that the primary meaning of *kaphar,* the Hebrew word to make atonement, is, not to remove but to *cover.*[1]

Thus, while the New Testament Scriptures teach that the Old Testament sin-offering did not take away sin but brought sin to remembrance, the Old Testament terminology proves that the expiatory rite made sin invisible to God. The sin-offering of the Old Testament, therefore, made sin harmless.

2. *The sin-offering of the New Testament removes sin.*—At the establishment of the new covenant, the "shadow of the good things to come," which the law had, was succeeded by the substance which had cast it in the annual expiatory ceremonial. The *Ideal* Christ, who was the "very image of the things," which the law had not, came into *historical manifestation as the Antitypal sin-offering* and was, therefore, the final fulfillment of the age-long symbolism and prophecy of the Old Testament expiatory typology.

1 Righteousness could not have been "of the law" because "a law" was not given to "make alive" (Gal. 3:21). The "inheritance" is not "of the law" but "by promise" (V. 18).

The tragedy of Calvary was enacted in full accordance with the terms of the protevangel and the "image" was the *actual* victim in the antitypal offering. The serpent could sting only the "heel" of Christ by slaying Him, because "In him was life" (John 1:4) and He rose from the dead at will (John 10:18). On the other hand, Christ crushed the serpent's "head" in His death and resurrection, because He "gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity" (Titus 2:14), "gave Himself a ransom for all" (1 Tim. 2:6) and "was delivered up for our tresspasses, and raised for our justification (Rom. 4:25). These Scripture proofs of the atoning efficacy of the death of Christ are elucidated and fully justified by the identification of Christ and the constitution of His Person. The answer to the ever-recurring question, "Who is Christ"? is the following:

He was *pre-existent.* "Before the world was" (John 1:1; 17:5), He was with the Father.

He was the *Creative Agent.* Through Him God "made the worlds" (John 1:3; Heb. 1:2).

He is *divine.* His divine sonship was declared by a voice from Heaven (Matt. 3:17). His deityship was predeclared by the Psalmist (45:6) and also implied in His acceptance of its ascription to Himself by Thomas (John 20:28).

He is *the Second Person of the Trinity* (Matt. 28:19).

As to the constitution of the Person of Christ, God and man are united in Him and He is the *Theanthropos,* the *God-Man.* Like an ordinary man, He is a member of the race by birth. But then, He assumed the human *order* of life in His supernatural conception (Matt. 1:20) and, as prefigured by Adam (Rom. 5:14), became the spiritual progenitor of the race. With evident reference to the spiritual generation of man from Him, He is called the "last Adam" (I Cor. 15:45). As a mere descendent of Adam, He could not possibly have wrought the atonement. His expiation of sin would have been impracticable, because He could not have assumed the "sin of the world." He could not have borne "our sins in his body upon the tree" (1 Peter 2:24) just as the scapegoat could not actually carry the sins of the Jews into the wilderness. Sin is personal and personal accountability absolutely prohibits its transfer for vicarious expiation.

The key to the atonement is, in fact, not found in the *death* of Christ but in His *progenitorial relation to man.* The death of Christ derived its expiatory efficacy wholly from the constitution of His Person. The order of human life was regenerated at its assumption by Christ (the incarnation) and He was personally free from sin. Constructively, however, as the spiritual progenitor of the *fallen* race (the order of human life a constituent of His Person), He was "made to be sin on our behalf" (2 Cor. 5:21).[2]

As the transgression of the "first Adam" preceded the exercise of his progenitorial function and thus tainted the race-life in his person before its transmission in natural generation, he plainly committed the race to the fall prior to its *actual* existence. His breach of the moral law, in fact, impaired his progenitorial function and his race is *mal*formed in birth. The natural race being thus only potential in Adam when he fell, found itself involved in sin absolutely without its own agency.

Was, now, the spiritual race in like manner only potential in the "last Adam" when He atoned for sin? And did He redeem the race from the fall before it *actually* existed? Yes. Christ is the author of the new creation, not by *creative act* as in the first creation (John 1:3), but by *spiritual regeneration* (John 3:5; 1 John 3:9). As the regenerative function could exist in Him and be exercised by Him only as the "last Adam," it is quite plain that it was only when the "Word became flesh" that He (Christ) was constituted the spiritual progenitor of the race. It is thus demonstrated, by reason, that the spiritual birth of man was impossible prior to the institution of the New Testament economy, and logic is here again confirmed by revelation. "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit (in baptism), he can not enter into the Kingdom of God," is the explicit declaration of the "last Adam" Himself on the subject, and it is self-evident that the regenerative function could not have been exercised in baptism prior to the appointment of this initiatory

2 "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me"? was a cry of horror and marked the climax of the antitypal expiation. As separation from God involves a moral being in the rayless despair so fittingly symbolized by the darkness which enshrouded Christ when He uttered the cry, it is apparent that, at the moment, He suffered the extreme penalty for sin.

ordinance (Matt. 28:19) and the effusion of the Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2).[3]

As, now, the order of human life was not only regenerated in the constitution of the Person of Christ but also cleansed from its original sin-taint, it follows that the spiritual race is free from sin. Just as the natural man partakes of the old race-life in his descent from Adam, so the spiritual man partakes of the new race-life in his generation from the Person of Christ. As, moreover, Adam is the progenitorial type of Christ, the generative parallel is complete. The law of generative heredity is therefore operative in the spiritual realm as well as in the order of nature (in regeneration just as in natural generation) and the spiritual man, like his progenitor, is not only *theanthropic* but also *sinless*. The key to the atonement is, accordingly, the progenitorial relation of Christ to the race.

Do the Scriptures, however, confirm the conclusion that the people of God, under the new covenant, are free from sin? Yes. "Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin, because his seed abideth in him: and he can not sin, because he is begotten of God" (1 John 3:9), is the affirmation of the Lord's most intimate disciple. The "new man" (Eph. 4:24), constantly loyal to righteousness in distinction from the "old man" (v. 22), persistently waxing corrupt, is without sin (by voluntary act), and the expiatory significance of the respective sin-offerings of the Old and New Testaments was correctly estimated by John the Baptist when he bade his disciples "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

Somerset, Pa.

3 As children of God (Ex. 4:22), the Old Testament people were typical as well as their religious ordinances, and Pentecost, like Calvary, was an antitypal climax. Their spiritual life was not *theanthropic* but *anthropic*. They are, in fact, characterized in the New Testament as school children, "Kept in word under the law" which was their "tutor" to bring them to Christ (Gal. 3:23, 24). So, also, the believing dead under the Old Testament, who "received not the promises" (Heb. 11:39), were not to be made "perfect" "apart from us" (v. 40) under the new covenant. The inference is fair that they were made "perfect" in actual childhood to God at the antitypal fulfillment of the "promise" and that the Holy Spirit fell on the expectant believers in Hades, at Pentecost, as well as on the living disciples at Jerusalem.

ARTICLE VIII.

FAITH AND SIGHT.

BY PROFESSOR J. M. HANTZ.

The Province of Faith, in relation to the reception of religious truths is frequently, and in various ways, contrasted with that of Reason. The contrast between them has sometimes even been carried so far as to represent the two as separate faculties of the human mind, conversant about the same objects, and arriving at different, and even contradictory conclusions. (On belief as distinguished from knowledge, compare Pearson on the creed *init.*)[1] At other times they have been described, not indeed as opposed to but as wholly distinct from and independent of each other, as having each its own action and its own object with no mutual communication from one to the other; Reason being distinct from Faith, as seeing is distinct from hearing; and the knowledge derived from the one being incommunicable to the other, just as the eye can take no cognizance of sounds and the ear can give no apprehensions of colors.[2]

1 This antagonism between Faith and Reason is assumed in the well known passage at the conclusion of Hume's Essay on Miracles: "Our most holy religion is founded on *Faith* not on reason; and it is a sure method of exposing it to put it to such a trial as it is by no means fitted to endure." The distinction which in Hume's hands serves only to point a sarcasm against Christianity has been seriously adopted by some later writers, as a mode of reconciling the claims of Christianity with the supposed requirements of physical science. Such seems to be the view advocated by the late Professor Powell who in his *Order of Nature,* p. 429, says, "From what has preceded, it appears that, while the difficulties of miracles are fully seen, if not explicitly avowed, by some theologians, the acceptance of them is regarded purely as a matter of religious *faith,* and spiritual apprehension, not as a point of reason or a deduction of the intellect, to which they admit it is even opposed. And thus this on the side of religion entirely concurs and harmonizes with the verdict of philosophy, which if it fail to recognize physical interruption, freely acknowledges spiritual influence and the power of Faith, and when its own dominion ends, cordially recognizes the landmarks of the neighbor territory, and allows that what is not a subject for a problem may hold its place in a creed." Other passages to a similar effect may be found in the same work, p. 439, and in the essay by the same author on the Evidences of Christianity. *Essays and Reviews,* pp. 127, 142.

2 In Mr. Roger's admirable essay on "Reason and Faith" the contrast is expressed in language of this character expressing perhaps too strong a line of demarcation "While the bright eyes of Reason are full of piercing and restless intelligence, his ear is closed to sound; and while Faith has an ear of exquisite delicacy; on her sightless orbs, as she lifts them towards heaven, the sunbeam plays in vain.". *Essays,* Vol II, p. 252.

It is not my present purpose to enlarge upon these contrasts, or to inquire how much truth or error is contained in either of them. Some indirect light may perhaps be thrown upon them by considerations suggested from another point of view; but directly I wish rather to call attention to the fact, that, in the language of Scripture, (2 Cor. 5:7), Faith when it is spoken of as a mode of receiving religious truth, is opposed, not to Reason, nor to any faculty or act of thought or reflection, but to an act of intuition,—to the immediate perception of a present object. This opposition is not affected by the question, whether the words διὰ εἴδους should be translated, as in our authorized version "by sight"; or whether they should not rather be rendered "by means of *appearance,*" or "of *visible form;*" thus denoting not the act of vision, but the object or thing seen. Whichever rendering we adopt, we have still the same act viewed in one or the other of its constituent elements. The act or object of Faith, and the context of the words point to the same interpretation; Faith in that which is absent is contrasted with sight or visible appearance of that which is present. In this life, being at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord; and by reason of this absence we are compelled to walk by faith and not by sight, looking forward however to the time to come, when we shall be absent from the body and present with the Lord.[3] Other passages of similar import will readily suggest themselves. Such is that in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which Faith is described as the substance, (or rather the confidence—ὑποστ ασις) of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen (Heb. 11:1); and that in the Epistle of the Romans, where of Hope, whose confidence is Faith, it is said "hope that is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for." (Romans 8:24). Similar again to this is the language of St. Peter "In whom though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." (I Peter 1:8).

Sight on the contrary, and the same may be said of every exercise of the intuitive faculties, whether external or internal,

3 "Opponuntur inter se fides et species; fides in morte terminum habet, h. l. ergo tum incipit species." Bengel, Cf. the LXX version of Numb. 12:8. στόμα κατὰ στόμα λαλήσω αὐτῷ, ἐν εἴδει καὶ οὐ δὶ αἰνιγμάτων, which illustrates St. Paul's contrast ἄρτι δὶ ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνιγματι, τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρός πρόσωπον. Compare Alford's note on 2 Cor. 5; 7.

necessarily implies the actual presence of the object on which it is exercised. "Presentia si dentur, credentur absentia," says St. Augustine; and the context of his words is especially worthy of attention, as extending the distinction to the other modes of mental no less than sensitive intuition. "If," he says, "I should call your attention by words to any object which you may see with the bodily eye or perceive or remember to have perceived by any other bodily sense, scents, savors, temperature and such other things as we perceive through the body, by sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch;—or again, to any thing which you may so see by mental intuition as you see your own life, will, thought, memory, intelligence, knowledge, faith, and such other things you behold with the mind; and if in this manner you are convinced of the existence of the object, not merely by belief but by actual sight;—this object you consider me to have exhibited to you. But if I do not so exhibit a thing that it can be perceived and grasped by any bodily or mental sense, and yet make an assertion concerning it which must needs be true or false, but cannot be seen by either of these two kinds of sense,—it remains that we merely believe or do not believe. And such an assertion, if supported by the clear authority of these Holy Scriptures which are regarded as canonical by the Church, is without any doubt to be believed.[4] Faith then, according to this distinction, is not, as it has sometimes been called, "a kind of intellectual sensibility" or "a beholding of a truth";[5] it is rather an accepting for true that which we do not behold. When St. Paul was

4 St. Augustine. *Epist.* cxlvii, 4. Hanc itaque distinctionam tene, ut si quid te admonuero, disserendo, quod ita videas oculis carnis, vel alio sensu ejus senitas, sen tu remisse recolas sient sentiuntur colores, fragores, odores, sapores, fervores, et si quid aliud per corpores; ceruendo audiuendo olfaciendo gustando, tangendo sentuamus, aut ita videas mentis intuitu, at vides vitam, voluntatum, cogitationem, memoriam, intelligentiam, scientiam, fidem tuam, et quid quid aliud nudute conspicis, atque ita esse non tantum credendo, sed plane videndo non dubitas, hac me judices ostendisse. Quod autum non sic ostendero, ut aut corporis aut animi sensu visum perceptumque teneatur, et tamen dixero, aliquid quod aut verum quidem aut fulsum esse necesse sit, sed multo illorum duum genere videatur; restat ut tantummodo credatur vel non credatur. Sed si divinarum Scripturarum, carum sellicet quae canonicae in Ecclesia naminantur, perspicua firmatur auctioritate, sine ulla dubitatione credendum est.'

5 Thus Mr. Morell (Philosophy of Religion, p. 24), speaks of Faith as "the highest intellectual sensibility," and Coleridge, in a passage quoted in the same place, describes it as "a light, a form of knowing, a beholding of truth." So too F. Aucellon (Glauban und Wissen, p. 42), defines philosophical belief as consisting in an immediate perception of supersensible existence.

caught up to the third heaven, and had visions and revelations of the Lord and heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for man to utter, (II Cor. 12:1-4), the consciousness of what he then saw and heard was not Faith but intuition.[6] But when the same apostle, in the midst of the tempest, when all hope that they should be saved was taken away, declared, against all human probability, that there should be no loss of any man's life, and assigned as the reason of his assurance, "for I believe God that it shall be even as it was told me," (Acts 27:25),—his confidence was not in the visible, but in the invisible; not of sight, but of Faith.

Another characteristic of Faith, as depicted in Holy Scripture, is that it is frequently spoken of as something for which a man is responsible; something which he may be praised for having or blamed for not having; and which, therefore, is regarded as being in some degree under the control of his will. Faith is classed with judgment and mercy among those mightier matters of the law which the Scribes and Pharisees are reproved for omitting. (Mark 23:23); the faith of him that believeth God is counted for righteousness, (Rom. 4:3, 5); faith is enumerated among those fruits of the spirit which are opposed to the sinful works of the flesh, (Galat. 5:22). Our Lord upbraided His disciples for their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not those which had seen Him after He was risen. (Mark 16:14). It is by faith we are told, that the saints of old obtained a good report, (Heb. 11:39); and he that believeth not, we are also told, is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God, (St. John 3:18). So too the Holy Spirit is said to reprove the world of sin, because they believe not on Christ, (St. John 16:9); and we are bidden to take heed, lest there be in any of us an evil heart of unbelief, (Heb. 3:12). It is not indeed asserted or implied that the possession of this faith is entirely due to a man's own will or exertions;—on the contrary it is expressly declared to be the gift of the Holy Spirit; but this declaration only places faith in its relation to the will of man, on the same level with good works; both alike having need of the grace of God preventing us and working with us; but neither of them being so constrained

6 See St. Augustine, Epist. cxlvii, c. 13.

or necessitated, whether by natural causes or by spiritual influences, as to destroy the freedom of man's will or absolve him from responsibility in the sight of God.[7]

Sight on the contrary, and all other acts of immediate intuition, do not in themselves involve any exercise of the will or any moral responsibility. The antecedents or the consequences of the acts themselves are dependent upon laws of our bodily or mental organization which we did not appoint and which we cannot change. There is indeed a "lust of the eye" (I St. John, 2 : 16), which is in itself sinful and which may be the occasion of future sin; but the sinfulness lies not in the mere act of sight as such, but in its voluntary accompaniments. We may of our own accord direct our eyes towards, and suffer them to dwell upon objects calculated to tempt us to sin; we may allow thoughts and desires of a sinful character to dwell in the mind; —and for so doing we are indeed fully and deeply responsible. But in the mere fact that an object when present to the eye, in whatever way its presence may be brought about, produces the sensation of sight, or that of thought or feeling, when present to the mind, makes known its presence by a corresponding state of intuitional consciousness—in this there is no volition, and, consequently, no guilt. We cannot choose to see or not to see, to hear or not to hear, when the physical conditions of sight or hearing are present; we cannot choose to be conscious or unconscious of our own states of mind, when the mental conditions of those states exist within us. Concerning Faith, on the contrary, though it may not be possible to separate from each other with minute accuracy the voluntary and involuntary elements which combine in the production of any one given act,—we may at least assert that it is not a result which follows inevitably from the presence of a certain amount of evidences as soon as we choose to turn our attention to it, and which cannot follow from any other conditions. We do not give the name of Faith to that assent which we are compelled to give to the result of a mathematical demonstration, in which the evidence being before us, it

7 St. Augustine Epist. clxxxvi, c. 11. Non enim ut essent infideles, cogebantur in vitium, sed nolendo credere, infidelitatis crimine non carebant, Cf. *De Gratia et libero Arbitui,* c. 14. Jam quidem de fide, hoc est de voluntate credentis supernis disputavi, usque adro cam demonstrans ad gratiam pertinere, ut Apostolus non diceret, misericordiam consecutus sum, quia fidelis eram: sed dicent *misericordiam consecutus sum, ut fidelis essem.* (I Cor. 8 :25).

is impossible to withhold our conviction. We acknowledge that to constitute an act of Faith, it is at least necessary that there should be a possibility of doubt; and that, when there is a choice between doubt and belief, there is room for an exercise of will in performing the one or the other.

A third characteristic of Faith, as described in Scripture, is that it is communicable from one person to another. Faith, says the Apostle, cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God. (Romans 10:17). Faith is exercised when we believe, on the authority of a competent witness, statements which we are unable to verify by our own personal experience; and thus truths which in their direct evidence are limited to a few become indirectly and by communication the property of many. "In those things," says Augustine in the work previously quoted, which we see or have seen, we ourselves are witnesses; but in those which we believe, we are moved to faith by the witness of others, when the signs of things which we neither see nor remember to have seen, are given in words, or in letters, or in documents, through the sight of which we believe in that which is not seen.[8] It would indeed be going too far to limit, as some writers have done, the entire province of Faith to truths thus received by communication from others;[9] yet we may venture to say that such a view, though erroneous is at least nearer to the truth than the opposite, which makes the essence of faith to consist in direct and independent perception of its object, and refuses to grant the same to any convictions, except such as are isolated and incommunicable.[10]

8 St. Augustine, Epist. cxlvii, c 3. "Constet ixitur nostra scientia ex visis rebus et creditis, sed ni eii quae viduims vel videmus, nos ipsi testes sumus; ni his antem quae credimus, aliis testibus movemur ad fidem, cum carum rerum quas nec vidisse nos recoluims, nec videmus, dantur signa vel in socibus, vel in litteris, vel in quibusque documantis, quibus visis non visa credantur."

9 Thus Locke (Essay iv, 18, 2), defines faith as "the assent to any proposition, not thus made out by the deductions of reason; but upon the credit of the proposer, as coming from God, in some extraordinary way of communication." It would be more accurate to extend the province of Faith, so as to include all belief we are unable to verify by experience or necessary deduction. In this sense Sir W. Hamilton observes "Reason itself must rest at least upon authority; for the original data of reason do not rest on reason, but are necessarily accepted by reason on the authority of what is beyond itself. These data are, therefore, in rigid propriety, Beliefs or Trusts." *Reid's Works,* p. 760.

10 Kant, *Logik.* (Einleitung ix, p. 243 Rosenkranz) Das Glauben giebt daher auch wegen der blos subjectiven Gründe keine Überzengung die sich mittheilen lasst und allegemeine Beistimmung gebietet wie die Überzenpung die aus dem Wissen konunt.

There may be a faith in our personal intuitions so far as they imply the existence of something beyond themselves. This is analogous to faith in testimony of others, both being of the *unseen,* but the one is communicable, the other is not.

On the other hand, this character of isolation and incommunicability necessarily attaches to that which is the opposite of Faith—to Sight. With respect to the bodily senses, this is almost too obvious to need discussion. No testimony, no verbal communication, though accompanied by all the credentials which it is possible for a witness to possess, can produce to the eye of the hearer the actual presence of that which has been seen by the speaker. Such a communication can at the utmost produce an imagination of the object as absent, not a perception of it as present; and even the imagination is only possible where the elements of which it is composed have been already given in some previous perception. If the object of discourse is something which the eye has never seen, nor the ear heard—a color, for instance, or a sound which we have never perceived by our own sight or hearing—the verbal description of another person's perception is wholly unable to supply the deficiency of our own. And the same is equally the case though less obviously so, as regards the facts of our internal consciousness. The joy or sorrow, the hope or fear, which may be raised in one man's mind by the description of corresponding states in another's, are distinct and in many respects dissimilar emotions, differing indeed fully as much as the imagination of an absent object differs from the perception of a present one. We may rejoice and weep with those who weep," (Romans 12 : 15) ; but the joy of sympathy, though called by the same name, is a different emotion from the joy of personal gratification, and the sorrow raised by compassion is different from that of personal application. Faith, on the other hand, when it comes by hearing, is a belief directly communicated from the speaker to the hearer,—one and the same in both; —an unity expressed in the language of St. Paul to his Roman converts: "For I long to see you that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established, that is, that I may be comforted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me." (Romans 1 : 11, 12).

A fourth characteristic of Faith, and the last to which I will call the reader's attention now, is that it is necessarily mani-

fested in some corresponding practice. There are many assertions, on matters unconnected with religion, which a man may accept or reject, or remain undecided about, without being called upon to adopt any course of action in consequence. He may think that the evidence preponderates on this side or on that, and he may form his judgment accordingly; or he may decline to form any judgment at all, and wait for further information. In all such matters he may have an *opinion;* he may sometimes perhaps, in a wide sense of the term, be said to *believe;* but he cannot in any true sense, be said to have *Faith.* Faith, as a moral act and not as a mere process of the intellect, implies not merely an opinion concerning the truth of that which we believe, but a practical acceptance of it as true, and a readiness to act on the conviction of its truth, to obey the obligations and incur the risks which such a course of action carries with it.[11] This distinction between an active faith and an inactive opinion is well illustrated in the language of the Homily on Faith. Of "that faith which in Scripture is called a dead faith, which bringeth forth no good works," it says, "and this is not properly called faith." But as he that readeth Caesar's Commentaries, believing the same to be true, hath thereby a knowledge of Caesar's life and notable acts, because he believeth the history of Caesar; yet it is not properly said that he believeth in Caesar, of whom he looketh for no help nor benefit; even so, he that believeth that all that is spoken of God in the Bible is true, and yet liveth so ungodly that he cannot look to enjoy the promises and benefits of God; although it may be said that such a man hath a faith and belief in the words of God; yet it is not properly said that he believeth in God, or hath such a faith and trust in God whereby he may surely look for grace, mercy, and everlasting life at God's hand, but rather for indignation and punishment, according to the merits of his wicked life.

In contradiction from this necessarily practical character of Faith, Sight and the other modes of our intuitional consciousness, though capable of being applied to practical results, do not in themselves imply the existence of such results as indispensable to their own completeness, as acts. The perception of a

11 Kant. *Logik,* p. 240, note and *Kritik der reinen Vernuuft,* p. 635, who thus distinguishes Belief from Opinion. In the latter passage he goes so far as to propose a wager as the test of the practical character of a conviction.

visible object as present to the eye, or of a mental affection as present to the internal consciousness, does not of itself involve the adoption of any consequent cause of conduct. The perception rests upon itself as an end, finished and perfect when it has accomplished its proper function in giving us information of the presence of its object, whether that information be applied to any further purpose or not. Where there is no room for doubt, and consequently no gradations of conviction, there can be no test of the sincerity of the conviction in the corresponding confession and practice,—no ground for a distinction between the deed and the living belief, between that which is manifested by works and that which is not. The facts of our own intuitive consciousness cannot be suspended so long as their object is present; they cannot be doubted and therefore they cannot be tested by their fruits. The only doubt that is possible in relation to them, refers, not to their presence in themselves, but to their trustworthiness as witnesses to something beyond themselves, and pertains not to the sight which informs us of the present, but to the belief which assures us of the absent.[12] Concerning the former, the boldest sceptic has never been able to doubt; concerning the latter, belief and unbelief, from the birthday of human thought, have waged a perpetual warfare.

To sum up briefly the result of the preceding inquiry, faith cannot be regarded as a distinct faculty of mind, acting by its own laws and conveying specific evidence or knowledge with regard to a particular class of objects.[13] It is either an act of the will influenced, though not necessitated, by evidence presented to it from without, through the cooperation of the mental faculties properly so called. As being an act for which we are responsible, it must be one which it is in some degree in our own power to do or forbear; and hence faith is only possible where doubt or unbelief is possible also. The evidence by which it is influenced must therefore be probable and not demonstrative; indirect and not immediate; it can be neither the intuitive apprehension of a present

12 See Sir W. Hamilton, *Reid's Works,* p. 744. He distinguishes between the deliverances of consciousness considered simply, *in themselves,* as *apprehended facts or actual manifestations,* and those deliverances considered *as testimonies to the truth of facts beyond their own phenomenal reality.* "Viewed under the former limitation, he observes, "they are above all scepticism," but not when viewed under the latter. *See also Lectures on Metaphysics,* I p. 271.

13 Kant. *Logik,* p. 240, n.

object whose presence it is impossible to doubt, nor the irresistible conviction of a conclusion legitimately deduced from self-evident premises. And, like all other acts in which the will is implicated, it will be guided and partly determined by influences presented to it from within as well as from without,—by the previous state of the mind and heart themselves, as well as by the motives presented to them at any given time,—by what we feel and desire, as well as by what we know or think. And thus the trial of our faith may be of a moral as well as of an intellectual kind;—we may be tempted to accept a doctrine because we like it, or to reject it because we dislike it, irrespectively of the strength or weakness of the evidence on which it rests. And as belief, like all other acts of the will is usually the hardest at its earliest stages,—as it will be more difficult or more distasteful in proportion as it is less habitual,,—as it is natural to expect in this as in other cases, that love and knowledge will follow and not precede practice—it is therefore to be expected that the duty of belief will at times involve a submission of the heart as well as of the understanding;—a struggle against moral disinclination, as well as against intellectual doubt.

Having thus endeavored, with the aid of the Holy Scripture, to point out some of the leading characteristics of Faith as distinguished from Sight, I propose in the next place to inquire how far the relation thus indicated as existing between the two derives confirmation from the course of God's Providence in other instances,—how far the duties thus enjoined upon us in our spiritual life find any support or illustration from the analogy of admitted facts in our temporal existence.

The music of spheres, it was said of old, with no less philosophy than poetry, is not heard by men, only because it is never silent.[14] And in the course of our every-day life, in every thought and word and deed that affects our intercourse with our fellowmen, we are called upon at each moment to exercise a faith in the unseen, which by most of us, is only not felt to be faith because it is never lacking. In the communion of the world, no less than in the communion of the Church, as men no less than as Chris-

14 Aristotle, *de Coelo* II, 9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλογον ἐδόκει τὸ μὴ συνακούειν ἅμᾶς τῆς φωνῆς ταυτῆς, αἴτιον τούτου φασὶν εἶναι τὸ γιγνομένοις εὐθὺς ὑπάρχειν τὸν ψόφον· ὥστε μὴ διάδηλον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίαν σιγήν·

tians, in relation to earthly, no less than heavenly things, we walk by faith, not by sight; and the doctrine, apparently so humiliating to our intellectual pride, which rests in religious life upon belief in that which we cannot see, is one which we practically recognize every moment of our lives, without feeling any humiliation at all.

There is one special instance, which it will be serviceable to examine somewhat in detail. Our relations and duties towards our neighbor no less than our relations and duties towards God, rests on a foundation of faith in the unseen. We may see indeed the bodily features of our fellowman; we may hear his voice; we may grasp his hand; we may discern in this way some of the perishable accessories of humanity but the man himself in all that renders him an object of social intercourse at all, in all that appeals to our love or respect or sympathy or gratitude, is an object, not of sense, but of faith. It is not as a body visible and tangible that he is placed in a moral and a social relation to us, but as a person; and his personality is not only unseen by the bodily senses, but is not directly perceived by any mode of consciousness whatever. That there is such a thing as thought, as feeling, as will, as any thing that constitutes an intellectual and moral being, we know only from the witness of our own consciousness, and that consciousness perceives them only in ourselves. In very truth, though it may startle us to hear it for the first time, our belief in the being and attributes of our neighbor rests upon evidence precisely of the same kind with our belief in the being and attributes of God—the invisible made known through the visible,—the nature of the agent inferred from the quality of his acts.

This belief in the personality of our fellow men has all the characteristics which have been before enumerated as distinguishing the evidence of Faith from that of Sight. That it is of the absent, not of the present, is obvious from the very nature of the case; and this circumstance did not escape the notice of St. Augustine in the work to which I have previously referred. "Those things which a man sees," he says, "are present to the senses of his mind or his body; those which he believes are absent from the senses of both. Although the will of the man whose words we hear and believe is present in the speaker, and is seen by the speaker in himself, by the hearer it is not seen but be-

lieved."[15] That it is in some degree under the influence of the will, is shown by the fact, that it may be and has been in theory or in practice doubted or denied, when it has interfered with the interests or the prejudices of men. We need not go back in proof of this fact to the instances which might be cited from the earlier and less popular speculations of philosophy.[16] We have seen in modern days a theory arise and flourish which, reversing the boast of the ancient sage, sees the man, whole and entire, in these "nerves and skin," which he abandoned to death as no part of himself.[17] We have seen in our own day and country, social and ethical theories constructed on a basis which amounts in substance, and almost in words, to a similar denial of a spiritual principle in man. We have seen it maintained that the only possible scientific treatment of human actions consists in referring them entirely to external and sensible causes; that such actions are to be examined in the mass only and not in the individual, and are to be attributed wholly to visible social influences and not at all to invisible personal volitions.[18]

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the two characteristics of faith, those of communicability and practical fruits. Whether we maintain or not that a belief in the being and attributes of God, would in the course of nature certainly grow up in the

15 St. Augustine, cxlvii, c. 4. Illa enim quae videt, adsunt a sensibus vel corporis; quae autem credit, absunt a sensibus et animi et corporis. Inamori voluntas ejus a quae audit ut credat, non sit praeterita, sed maneat in loquanto: quam in scipio idem ipse qui loquitur videt; ille verso qui audit, non eam videt sed credit.

16 Under this head may perhaps be classed the theory of Aristotle that certain men are *natural slaves* as having only the perception, not the possession of reason. Pol. I 5.. and the paradox of Descartes that animals are mere machines without sensation. Also Descartes, *de Methodo,* Sec. v, Schuyl *Praef ad Carterii tract de Homine,* and still more decidedly, Malebranche *Recherche,* iv, 11, v, 3, vi. Part II, c. 7.

17 Horace, Od I, 28, 11.

18 The extreme development of this view may be seen in the speculations of Mr. Buckle on the construction of a science of human actions by the aid of Statistics, "a branch of knowledge," he tells us, "which, though still in its infancy, has already thrown more light on the study of human nature than all the sciences put together." As the result of this light, we learn "that the bad actions of men vary in obedience to the changes in the surrounding society"; "that their good actions, which are, as it were the residue of their bad ones vary in the same manner"; and "that such variations are the result of large and general causes, which, working upon the aggregate of society, must produce certain consequences, without regard to the volition of those particular persons of whom the society is composed." *History of Civilization in England,* Vol. I, p. 21.

mind of every man without any instruction from others, it is at least certain that this is not the way in which it actually is produced in the majority of the instances which come under our notice. Long before we grow up to an age at which we are capable of reflection on what we see or of reasoning from the known to the unknown, the lesson that we are to regard others as of like passions and feelings with ourselves, has been inculcated upon us from day to day, as one of the first steps in our moral education, and it is also but too certain that there may be a dead as well as a living faith in man no less than in God;—that it is possible for a man to acknowledge with his lips the claims and rights of others, to which in his practical conduct he pays no regard when they clash with his own pleasure or advantage.

It may perhaps be said that this distinction between Faith and Sight, whatever may be its value as a matter of speculation is practically of no consequence; that for all practical purposes we know our neighbor to be a rational and responsible being as really and truly as we know ourselves to be so, and that the strength and reality of the conviction is not affected by curious inquiries concerning its origin. I shall not dispute this assertion, but, whether it be true or false, it in no way affects the conclusion which I wish to draw from the above comparison. It is not the strength of the conviction, it is not its reality that I wish to examine, but its extent, and the use which we are warranted in making of it. Why are we bidden to judge ourselves; why are we forbidden to judge our neighbors? (I Cor. 11:28, 31, I John 3:20, Matt. 7:1, Luke 6:37). It is not because the same act which is praiseworthy or criminal in ourselves is not praiseworthy or criminal in another also; but because we have so little means of knowing whether it is really the same act or not. In the one case we judge from what we see, in the other, from what we believe. In examining our own actions we know, by the witness of our own conscience, by what motives we were prompted, by what temptations we were assailed, by what judgment we were guided, by what error we were deluded. In examining the actions of another, we can but guess at these faintly and doubtfully; we cannot even guess at all except by imagining ourselves to be in his place, by assuming the identity of his feelings and motives with our own. Whether our convictions with regard to the invisible should or should not be called *knowledge,* as well as

those which relate to the visible, is a verbal question which it is of little consequence how we answer, provided only we acknowledge the important practical difference, that they neither extend to the same particulars, nor warrant the same conclusions.[19]

At the same time it is equally manifest that there is a limit within which judgments of our neighbors are not only allowable but unavoidable. That natural disposition of mankind to befriend good men and to discountenance bad men, which Butler, the great moralist, has pointed out, as one of the instruments of God's moral government;[20]—that resentment against injury and the author of it, which is so powerful an auxiliary of justice and so necessary for the welfare of society;—that rule recommended alike by moral sense and by apostolic precept, "Withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly (I Thes. 3:16);—that confidence in the honest and distrust of the dishonest man, which it is at once our duty and our interest to feel and to act upon;—none of these are hindered or prohibited because of our ignorance of the thoughts and purposes of other men, and here, as in other cases in which our faith is tried by difficulties, it will generally be found that we have knowledge sufficient for practical but not for speculative purposes; enough to guide our general conduct, but not enough to satisfy the cravings of minute curiosity. Here often indeed does it happen that our very knowledge in the one respect is the cause which compels us to feel our ignorance in the other. We find among actions of one of those whom we have known the best and valued the most, something which it is hard to reconcile with our general estimate of his character, something which seems contrary to what we should naturally have expected of Him. Under such circumstances, what is the course which seems dictated alike by sound judgment on the one hand and by right feeling on the other? Shall we say that the fact itself is so utterly incredible, that no amount of evidence can substantiate it? This would be in many cases to act contrary to common sense, and to make it

19 "Knowledge and Belief differ not only in degree but in kind. Knowledge is a certainty founded upon insight. Belief is a certainty founded upon feeling. The one is perspicuous and objective; the other is obscure and subjective. Each, however, supposes the other; and an assurance is said to be a knowledge or a belief, according as the one element or the other preponderates." Sir W. Hamilton, *Lectures on Logic,* Vol. II, p. 62.

20 See Butler, *Analogy,* Part I, Ch. 3.

impossible to establish anything by testimony. Shall we at once abandon our previous estimate of our friend's character and decide at once that he is a bad man who has deceived us under a show of goodness? This would be to err in the other extreme, to refuse to listen to the dictates of right feeling and moral probability. Are there not thousands of cases in which the only wise and just course is to conclude that we see a part only and not the whole; that there is something unknown, the knowledge of which would give a different aspect to the remainder? Difficulties of this kind and the duties which they involve, must needs arise in all cases in which we walk partly by faith and not wholly by sight; for where there is room for faith, there will also be room for doubt.

I have spoken thus of the office of Faith in relation to the actions and characters of men, because it appears to me to offer the nearest parallel, however imperfect, to the trials, which the same Faith is called upon to sustain in relation to the course of God's Providence. I do not indeed limit the province of Faith to these two cases. A more extended inquiry would, I believe, show that a similar belief in the unseen underlies the whole exercise of our intellectual powers;—that the surest convictions of reason are tenable only by virtue of a prior exercise of faith.[21] But there are only two cases in which this exercise of faith is directly concerned with judgment of a moral character; and these are in relation to the government of God and in relation to the actions of men. It will therefore be strictly in analogy to the nearest parallel case which our experience can furnish if we find that our means of judgment concerning the manifestations of God's government on earth are subject to conditions similar to those which we have clearly observed to exist with reference to the actions of men. According to this analogy, there is reason to expect that, while we have sufficient evidence to show us whether the general course of Divine Providence is one of power, of wisdom, of goodness, or of the opposite qualities, we may still be unable to weigh minutely the nature of each individual act, to estimate the reason of each special feature, to determine exactly how it partakes of the general character of the whole. If we are liable to error in judging of the conduct of our fellowmen, whose

21 See Hamilton on Reid, p. 760.

minds, though we see not their secret workings, we may at least roughly delineate from what we believe to be of like passions with ourselves, influenced by like motives, agitated by like desires, controlled by like circumstances, guided by like reasons,—how much more are we likely to judge blindly and rashly, when we venture, by the light of human thought and feelings and principles, to estimate in a minute detail the course of His Providence whose judgments are unsearcheable and His ways past finding out! (Romans 11:33).

Do not misunderstand the purpose of these cautions. They are not intended to forbid or to condemn inquiries of any kind, but point out the expectations with which they should be commenced and the spirit in which they should be conducted. No man is to be blamed for attempting to the utmost of his strength "to justify the ways of God to man"; to diminish or remove, where it can fairly and honestly be done, any stumbling-block which stands in the way of the weakest of his brethren. While the whole analogy of God's dealing with men in cognate things gives us reason to believe that *some* doubts and difficulties will be suffered to remain as the trial of men's faith in all ages, there is nothing in that analogy to determine how many of such difficulties are to be expected, or to lead us to suppose that their number is fixed and unalterable. The error against which I would warn you, is not the inquiry whether any given difficulty *can be* removed, but the assumption that it *must be removed.* We transgress no duty of faith in attempting by honest examination to remove this difficulty or that; but we do transgress, if we set out with the determination that its removal or not shall be the criterion by which our belief shall stand or fall; if we insist on solving or explaining away some one special obstacle, as the sole condition on which we will accept the entire scheme of which it forms a part. If *some* difficulties are to be expected to remain how do we know that our own special difficulty may not be one of them? If it is probable from analogy that a revelation will contain things appearing liable to objections, why is it certain that it cannot contain the thing to which we ourselves object in particular? Strive as you will to solve this or that seeming difficulty, to reduce to order this or that seeming analogy; but do so in the spirit of faith and reverence and humility, heartily resolving as far as in you lies, and earnestly praying

for God's help, to strengthen that resolve, that whether you succeed in your attempt or not, your faith shall not fail. Strive in the deep and settled conviction that all that is declared in God's Word concerning Him, all that is manifested of Him in His works is true and righteous altogether; true, though our dazzled eyes may be unable of their own power to behold its truth; righteous, though our feeble and fallen intellect may not always discern clearly how it is righteous. In your study of God's Word, as of His works, conceal nothing, pervert nothing, deny nothing that is honestly to be found there; but seek for the reasonable foundation of your faith and trust, not in the minute dissection of parts, but in the comprehensive evidence of the whole.

"That which I understand is excellent, and so, I believe, is that which I do not understand."[22] Such was the spirit in which the wisest of heathen philosophers received the dark sayings of a human teacher; such is the spirit in which it becomes every man to receive that which seems dark and mysterious in the ways of God. The things which we see not can be judged only from their supposed resemblance or analogy to the things which we see; and in whatever degree this resemblance or analogy differs from perfect identity, in that same degree we must needs be unable to explain difficulties of the one by means derived from our knowledge of the other. Moreover, the whole analogy of our knowledge in similar cases, when faith is called into exercise in the defect of sight, teaches us to expect general rather than special illumination; an accumulation of evidence in favor of the whole, rather than a precise solution of difficutlies in parts. Our two-fold nature is trained in this life to walk with God by a two-fold discipline "taught both by what He shows and what conceals";[23] our intellectual powers exercised by that which we know; our faith schooled and disciplined by that which we do not know. In the midnight of complete ignorance we should fear to walk at all; in the noonday of complete knowledge we should seek no guide and feel no need of trust and submis-

22 For this saying of Socrates, see Diog. Laert. II, 22. *φασὶ δ' Ἐυριπίδην αὐτῷ, δοντα τοῦ Ηρακλείτου σύγγραμμα, ἔρεσθαι, τί δοκεῖ; τὸν δὲ φάναι, Ἃ μὲν συνῆκα, γενναῖα· οἶμαι δὲ, καὶ ἃ μὴ συνῆκα· πλὴν Δηλίου γέ τινος δεῖται κολυμβατοῦ.*

23 Wordsworth. *Hart Leep Well.*

sion. As it is, we learn our lesson alike from that which we see and from that which we do not see; from the heavens which declare the glory of God and the firmament which showeth His handiwork (Psalm 19:1) and the earth which He hath founded upon the seas and established upon the floods (Psalm 42:2); from the spiritual and moral nature within us which reflects, however, imperfectly, the image of Him who made it; yet not the less from those dark questionings and anxious misgivings which tell us that we know in part," and "see through a glass darkly." (I Cor. 13:9, 12). We are permitted to know in part that we may trust the more confidently in that which we do not know; we misread the lesson both of our knowledge and our ignorance, when we insist on extending either to fill the place and discharge the functions of the other. In the mental as in the material creation, God hath "divided the light from the darkness," (Gen. 1:4), the one for the toil and labor of Sight, the other for the quietness and confidence of Faith. And it may well be, were our eyes permitted to look behind the struggle of our two-fold nature to the unity which binds its apparently conflicting elements into one, individual whole; could we see how much of us and of our existence lies in the knowledge that informs the intellect and how much in the submission that purifies and disciplines the will,—could we discern how much there is of energy in that which seems to be repose, how much of wisdom in that which seems to be ignorance,— we might see more of the true welfare and end of our being in that which rests and waits for the gift of God, than in that which toils and strives to cull and gather for itself—less real accession to the strength and riches of the soul in the activity of the day, when we "haste to rise up early, and late take rest, and eat bread of carefulness, (Psalm 127:3), than in the calmness of the night-reason, in which He giveth His beloved sleep."

Alliance, Ohio.

ARTICLE IX.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I. IN ENGLISH. BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

Rev. L. H. Hough of Brooklyn, N. Y., discusses "The New Orthodoxy" from the Evangelical side in the *Methodist Review* (Jan. & Feb.). The old orthodoxy emphasized the absolute inerrancy of the Bible to such a degree as to neglect the human element in it. If there are any mistakes in the Bible everything in it is vitiated, it was said. Verbal inspiration was advocated. The theology of the old orthodoxy taught the flaming righteousness of God and the dreadful guilt of sin, which was atoned for only by the sacrifice of the cross. Christ is the very God, the all and in all. Contrasted with these views are those of "Modernity" which, our author believes, has a truer view of the Bible than the old orthodoxy, but a weaker theology. The new orthodoxy is bound to accept the results of modern critical investigations in reference to the Bible, but not the theological deductions. These latter are weak and false in several particulars. First, there is a very mild view of sin, which is regarded rather as ignorance or misfortune than a culpable personal transgression. Secondly, "Modernity can understand the expression of the Father's love in noble self-giving, even unto death; it can understand the creative potency of this great revelation of the love of God, but Calvary as the deed of a Sin-Bearer, Calvary as expiation—to the modern view it is simply inexplicable." The explanation of this must be found in the fact "that the modernist has a view of life which does not absolutely require a divine Christ." Thirdly, modernity emphasizes "the immanence of God and its social passion." Sometimes it runs into pantheism.

The conclusions of modernity are false. The new orthodoxy preserves the essential features of the old theology, but modifies the views of the latter concerning the inerrancy of the Bible. In spite of the author's clear statements, it must be apparent that low views of the Bible produce wrong teachings concerning

Christ, sin and salvation. Surely we must not yield to any deductions not firmly founded on truth.

The Review and Expositor for January has an article on "The Methodology of Preaching," by Rev. A. K. Foster, who says many wise and witty things. The first sentence reads, "The solemn fact is that most preaching is uninteresting." The fault lies not so much in the man as in the method. Of this we are not sure. At all events his quotations from Cicero do not sustain his contention. The great Roman, after lamenting the dearth of great public speakers, attributes the success of the few to "The single force of genius and thought." That indefinable attribute called genius, personality, or magnetism, seems to us to be a gift which is the property of the few. Nevertheless, there is a legitimate use of Art. Preaching is really a fine art, as much as music, painting and sculpture. "A stored pantry does not make a meal, and piety, industry, learning may not make a sermon. The whole matter is one of *disposition.* The root of the word Art means to put together, and he who knows how to put together a meal, a garment, a jurisprudence, a solar system, a symphony or a sermon is an artist." The preacher ought to have a wide general knowledge of truth as the ground upon which to build his sermons. He should be able also to talk of great principles, rather than of mere details. The note of universality should ring through his sermon. The sermon itself, as a work of art, must be "like the poem; it must be substance fused into adequate form." It must also be logical, that is complete, with a beginning, a middle and an end. It must possess unity, so as to appear whole and complete in one view. It must not embrace everything bearing on the subject. A good sermon may be smothered under too much material. The true form means everything to the sermon.

In an article on "The Philosophy and Theology of the Leading Old Testament Critics" in the January number of *The Bibliotheca Sacra,* Professor Albert C. Knudson, of Malden, Mass., after discussing the antecedents and attitude of the leading Old Testament critics says: "As we look back over this survey of the philosophical and theological views of the leading Old Testament critics, it appears that most of them occupied dis-

tinctly heretical positions. Spinosa and Vatke were clearly non-Christian in their philosophy. The rationalism of Eichhorn, De Wette in his earlier years, Kuenen, and Wellhausen is also out of harmony with historic Christianity. Simon's position in the Roman Catholic Church was anomalous. He was really heretical, in spite of his protestations to the contrary. The only one who could be classed as evangelical in his belief was Ewald. He accepted the miraculous element in Scripture, and felt himself at one with the historic faith of the Church. All the others with the exception of Simon, rejected miracles, and held to some form of religious apriorism, either intellectual or aesthetic."

"In view of these facts, it is not surprising that many look with suspicion upon conclusions to which Old Testament criticism has come. They have the idea that these conclusions are the outcome of unbelief, rather than of any purely scientific method of biblical study."

In the same quarterly Arnold Huizinga, of West Newton, Mass., discusses "Social or Individual Regeneration?" He notices that many of the younger clergy consider the ministry a call to social service. The ministry of the Word must be supplanted by a ministry to human needs. Christianity is not quite suited to present social conditions. Theology must yield to sociology. The Y. M. C. A.'s, the social settlements and clubs figure as prominently as the Church. The ordinary preaching is out of place and futile. "The pet word of evolutionary teachings, 'environment,' has become the basis of the new philosophy." It is not strange that the socialists should hold such views; but less reasonable in ministers, even in those who advocate "Christian Socialism." Socialism, in the ordinary sense of the term, and Christianity are incompatible. The former contends only for better conditions, for bread and butter; the latter teaches on the high authority of the Master, that "man shall not live by bread alone." The former aims at better conditions; the latter at better men. The two are antipodal in spirit. Christianity, of course, wants better conditions, but these can be realized only through the regeneration of the individual. The regenerated man is superior to conditions. He is not the slave of them. Indeed, so-called unfavorable, hard environment often conduces to progress. Ex-Governor Hughes of New York is quoted: "I do not sympathize very much with

schemes of moral regeneration through legislation. We can accomplish a great deal by wise laws, but the impetus of moral movements must as a rule be given by the voluntary work of citizens, who, with the force of conviction, press their views upon the people and secure that public sentiment according to which alone any true moral reform can be accomplished."

The union of the General Synod of the Reformed Church with the Presbyterian Church has been contemplated for several years. A joint committee has considered the matter and made its report. This report is discussed in the January number of *The Reformed Church Review* by Professor George W. Richards of the Reformed Seminary at Lancaster, Pa. He regards the obstacles and sacrifices involved in the proposed union as inseparable. The Reformed Church would have to give up its constitution and form of discipline, dissolve its General Synod, surrender the permanency of its Synods, Classes, and Congregations, and abolish its Boards, such as Missionary and Sunday-School Boards. "In a word, the Reformed Church gives up its denominational existence; and an unprejudiced observer from the outside would regard it as a part of the Presbyterian Church." As over against this "the Presbyterian Church gives up nothing, and in an enlarged form keeps everything it now has." In the acceptance of certain supposed privileges, "the Reformed Church surrenders its denominational existence and the autonomy which it enjoyed since the organization of the first Synod in 1793. This is more than sacrifice; it approaches suicide." "There is not a church in American Protestantism that has a juster claim than has the Reformed Church in the United States for the continuance of its denominational existence. It is not a sect or a schism. * * It traces its origin to the very springs of Protestant Christianity in the sixteenth century." Dr. Richards believes that the Reformed Church has a function to perform in the larger union which may one day take place between the different branches of the Church of the Reformation. A hope similar to this is cherished by nearly all denominations. The Episcopalians have openly avowed it. The Baptists have declared it. The Presbyterians and the Methodists have not denied it; and the Lutherans have always felt it!!

The Theological Magazine of the Joint Synod of Ohio contains (in the March number) a Symposium on "Intersynodical Relations" between representatives of "the several Synods whose subscription to the Confessions implies doctrinal agreement." These Synods are alleged to be the General Council, the United Synod South, the Iowa Synod, and the United Norwegian Church. Three points are discussed: 1. What should be the mutual relations of these synods? 2. What should these synods view as the goal of their mutual relations? 3. What steps should be taken in the present to reach this goal? Editor Gohdes in commenting upon the symposium expresses his conviction that the time is ripe for "the establishment of a joint tribunal to decide charges of usurpation; and secondly, the holding of a free conference."

The sentiments expressed by the contributors are in general fraternal and cordial. Brethren of a common faith, it is said, should not only respect each other but co-operate in good works. They should become better acquainted, and "speak eye to eye and heart to heart." The goal should be "the defense and extension of the pure Lutheran faith, and the developmnt of the spiritual life." The attainment of this goal is to be sought in refraining from unjust and undue criticism on the one hand, and in friendly conferences on the other, looking forward to some "form of general organization," which, however, must not be a strongly centralized body.

We wish these brethren God-speed in their effort to come to a better understanding. We are sorry that the discordant note had to be introduced by Dr. Richter of the Iowa Synod who speaks of the "unionism of the General Synod" and of "the fanaticism of Missouri." Prof. Dr. Loy of the Ohio Synod is also not yet satisfied that the General Synod has learned "to recognize the Lutheran faith in all its distinctive features as the one pure faith of the Gospel." Moreover, the General Council, he says, is "not yet prepared to declare itself in agreement with us [Ohio] on the 'four points'"—Chiliasm, mixed communion, exchange of pulpits with sectarians, and secret societies.

Professor D. S. Schaff of Allegheny, Pa., in *The American Journal of Theology,* discusses "the Movement and Mission of American Christianity." The expression American Christian-

ity has more than a geographical significance. First, the movement presents features like the following: 1. The planting of the Christian religion was an avowed object in the discovery and colonization of America. 2. All the Protestant communions of the old world, as also the Catholic, were firmly established here when the Revolution came. 3. From the earliest period there was the development of all sorts of religious novelties and errors. 4. From the beginning stress was laid on Christian education. 5. In its middle period there was the development of an original school of theology, reproclaiming and reinterpreting Calvinism. 6. In the 18th century there was the rise and spread of the evangelistic spirit. 7. Organized Unitarianism is a distinctive feature of American Christianity. 8. The latest stage of our Christianity seems to be the development of lay activity and of inter-denominational co-operation. Secondly, the Mission of American Christianity presents the following aspects: 1. The complete separation of Church and State seems to demonstrate that this is the most favorable attitude for the development of the Christian religion. 2. The American Church is to show the important part the laity may perform in the Kingdom of God. 3. It is to show that an ample Christian experience and hearty Christian co-operation are easily compatible with denominational distribution. 4. It is to give the gospel to all the peoples that compose our population, and thus to break down race barriers, and to contribute to their fusion into one homogeneous body.

II. IN GERMAN. BY PROFESSOR ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, A.M., B.D.

Current theological literature in Germany takes on an increasingly apologetic tone. Defense is made not so much of religion in general, as was the case a century ago, but rather of Christianity in particular, and more especially of the national Church. The agitation for a reorganization of the present system of ecclesiastical government continues to find large place in the columns of the religious press. The separation of Church and State continues to occupy the public mind and to call forth calm and serious debate.

But meanwhile the strictly theological discipline of apologetics seems to have received considerable impetus from the long-con-

tinued stir in the religious waters. Its sphere is a wide one, for the air is full of eager questionings. The chief religious problem is the problem concerning the absolute character of the Christian religion. The foremost theological problem is the Christological problem, or the problem of Christ's Person in the Gospel. This is sometimes called the problem of "Jesus and Paul." The leading problem for the Church is the problem of ecclesiastical organization and its relation to the State. A host of books and magazine articles are appearing on these absorbing subjects. All possible bearing of history and speculation is carefully investigated and trained upon these supreme problems of the day. At the same time a visible effort is made to strike a balance on the books of the theological workmen. And now, more than ever before, the energies and resources of the Churchmen are being applied to the task of popularizing theology and adapting religion directly to the social and individual needs of the people.

We therefore call attention to two noteworthy attempts recently made to summarize the work of the past and to deduce its significance for the present-day problems of Church and theology. The one is a long and elaborate series of articles from the pens of various positive theologians. It seeks to elucidate the different theological problems of to-day by a study of the history of Christianity, more particularly of the polemics against orthodox Christianity. These articles extend over 35 numbers of the *Allgemeine Ev. Luth. Kirchenzeitung* of the past year. It now appears that Professor Reinhold Seeberg was specially instrumental in planning the valuable series and selecting the various writers. The other effort at summary is a series of five articles in recent numbers of *Die Christliche Welt* by Horst Stephan, a man of liberal tendency and possessed of a special instinct for reviewing and compiling. His articles are highly instructive and treat of "the recent achievements of conservative dogmaticians and their significance for us."

The articles in the *Kirchenzeitung,* under the general superscription *Moderne Kämpfe um das Christentum im Lichte seiner Geschichte,* seek to draw back the curtain from before the theological battlefields of the past and to illuminate modern errors with the light of history by showing that nearly all our theological controversies have long since been fought out, perhaps in

slightly different form, and that in every case the antecedents of the present-day opponents of Christianity have in course of time suffered total defeat. The parallels between the problems of to-day and those of the past are very striking and they have been treated in these articles at considerable length by scholarly hands.

The representatives of the modern religio-historical schools who deny the absoluteness of the Christian religion and who constantly point out how much Christianity has "borrowed" from other religions, were anticipated as early as the latter half of the second century by the philosopher Celsus. This early foe of Christianity is described and rated in three articles by Professor Jordan of Erlangen. Because the Christian system did not agree with Celsus' conception of the universe, which we should to-day call a deistic conception, he set about to ruin that system. Accordingly he aims at the very heart of Christianity, the Gospel of Jesus. He constructs a new history of Christian origins and brands all the miraculous elements in the gospels either as plagiarisms from other religions or else as pure inventions. The ethics of Christianity, he claims, is borrowed from the philosophers. The good features in Christianity are not new and the new features are not good. Very similar objections to traditional Christianity are to be heard to-day. But since they are as old as Celsus it is a gross mistake to assert that they are the result of "the modern view of the world" and of the "progress of the modern sciences." The issue is the same as always: faith versus faith. The first speculative antagonist made not the slightest impression upon the onward march of the Christian religion. This is reassuring. And can we not perhaps draw some conclusion from the fact that Celsus was defeated entirely without theological controversy, solely through the majesty of the Gospel as manifested in its adaptedness to meet the intellectual and other practical needs of men of the second century.

Our modern theosophists and some of our spiritualistic sects find their complete counterpart in the Gnostics of the second century. The most celebrated of these was Valentine (135-160) and his gnosis is portrayed in two articles by Professor Kropatscheck of Breslau. The fantastic speculations of these advocates of a spiritualized Christianity were even more dangerous than the open attacks of Celsus. It was not a religion but a philosophy of religion which they put forth. The entire em-

phasis was placed upon the spirit and the pneumatic. Even the body of Christ was a phantom. Not the historical Christ but the "Spirit-Christ" redeems. The Scriptures are paramount but not the sole authority, and they are given a forced spiritualistic interpretation. An effort is made to retain the halo of the Church's doctrines by retaining the names and filling them with new meaning. Many of their ideas sound quite modern. And their fate? They shared the fate of many of the theological schools of to-day which have separated themselves from the Church: after the first winds of inspiration comes the period of cooling ardor and then appear the inner differences and divisions which eventually bring about complete dissolution.

Our modern disciples of "the inner light," who oppose themselves to all historical revelation and to all the traditional authority of the historical Church, have an interesting parallel in the Manichaeans of the third century. Five lengthy articles by Professor Wohlenberg of Erlangen deal with this ancient religious materialism. For the Gnostics there had been nothing but "God and the Soul"; for the Manichaeans there is nothing but "God and matter." The supreme task for the individual is to cultivate a free personality and to redeem himself from the powers of darkness by completely resolving himself into light. The other-worldliness of the Christian religion is thus dispensed with. The shackles of authority are shaken off. The frank search for truth goes on unhindered. Self-redemption is the remedy for all of life's ills and disappointments, and this is to be secured chiefly through the aesthetic cultivation of free personality. These allurements are still held out by the religious materialists of our own day. And to-day it is becoming more and more manifest, even as it was realized by Augustine in the fourth century, that the religion of materialism is worthless because it furnishes absolutely no moral sanctions. Manichaeism grew rapidly and spread widely but when the winds of persecution beat upon it, it fell because it had not the solid foundation which Christianity had.

The religion of the over-soul with its speculative idealism and its ecstatic experiences of the divine revelation through direct mystical union with the Godhead and without the intermediation of historical facts has its early counterpart in neo-platonism. It was through this enemy of Christianity that Augustine was led

to see the error of Manichaeism. Neo-platonism is portrayed in two highly instructive articles by Professor Seeberg of Berlin. Much of our modern thought which has come to us from such philosophers as Hegel and Emerson was clearly anticipated by the speculations of the neo-platonists. Their ideas were not without value in meeting certain heresies but their weakness lay in the fact that they dispensed with history and made religion purely a matter of pious feelings and mystical devotion. This weakness Augustine perceived. He saw that man cannot dream himself to God but that in the final analysis an act of the will is necessary for progress. Faith and love are not merely emotions but volitions. If the "city of God" is to be a real factor in history, if it is to conquer the world it must elicit from its citizens not merely private devotion and mystical meditation, —though this indeed is right and necessary—but also the active obedience of the entire life including the will.

Not only were our modern philosophical difficulties with Christianity paralleled in past centuries but also our scientific difficulties. Present-day objections to the dogmas of the Church because of the progress of the modern sciences of literary and historical criticism are not altogether new. Professor Böhmer of Bonn shows in three articles that the period of enlightenment which followed upon the crusades (though not directly caused by them) brought forth all manner of religious criticism and nihilism. It was the age of a revived and enthroned Aristotle. The jurists found a new theory of state and so attacked the secular authority of the Church. The clergy explored the treasures of Arabian philosophy and began their attacks upon the ethics and individual tenets of traditional Christianity. But, then as now, science is met with science. In the Middle Ages scholasticism was the approved method of scientific theology and Thomas Aquinas was the chief man to expose the scientific inferiority of the opposition.

The superman of Friedrich Nietzsche and Bernard Shaw was attempted as early as the age of the Renaissance. This Dr. Preuss of Leipsic describes in four interesting articles. The now perishing philosophy of Nietzsche with its anti-Christian ethics of might has much in common with the out-lived humanitarianism of the Renaissance with its worldly ethics of pleasure and self-aggrandizement. Their ideals are very similar. The chief

difference is that the Renaissance seriously attempted the practical execution of its ideals whereas with Nietzsche all is pure theory. Nietzsche's prophecies concerning the approaching death of Christianity were voiced centuries ago, but Christianity still goes on.

The mediating theologians are typified by Erasmus. The peace politics of this great scholar are roundly criticized in two articles by Professor Walther of Breslau. Unwilling to take a decided stand for Luther because it would involve controversy and unrest Erasmus insists upon maintaining the peace at any cost and so neglects a splendid opportunity to aid the cause of the Gospel. History has spoken her verdict about such cowardly politics: the work of Erasmus has not endured. There can be no effective neutrality in the theological warfare of to-day.

Not the least source of danger to Christianity at present is the spirit of religious fanaticism. This spirit was keenly felt as early as Luther's day. Professor Walther of Rostock treats in four articles of the anabaptist movements in the age of the Reformation. He points out the real danger involved in these counterfeits of evangelical Christianity, the advocates of direct inspiration, of holiness, of perfectionism, of millenarianism, etc. They bring discredit upon the cause of real truth. They dispense almost entirely with the objective Word. They utterly misunderstand the "language of the Spirit." They despise learning and reason and hold to the most grotesque ideas. They greatly obstructed Luther's work. Many of them were betrayed by their leaders into uprisings against the government and so were put to the sword. Luther himself employed against them the sword of the Spirit. And the Word of God is the most effective weapon to employ against them to-day.

The wide-spread subjectivism of our times is in reality nothing more nor less than a twentieth century reproduction of Sebastian Franck's ideas. This Professor Glawe of Rostock shows at considerable length in five articles on Franck, whom he calls the subjectivist of the Reformation period. Franck already voiced the modern complaint that Luther merely substituted the Bible for the Pope. The Scriptures, he claimed, are full of contradictions and salvation can come only from within the individual. Redemption consists of introspection and direct reception of the Spirit. In short, Franck's theology expressed the modern over-

emphasis of religion as a private matter of the individual in opposition to the religion of a Church communion. He places extreme religious subjectivism versus the dogmas and sacraments of the Church. Just as Franck's subjective religion soon passes away because from its very nature it could effect no organization, so will all other forms of subjectivism eventually pass into nothingness. The mission of the visible Church is sure.

Monists and advocates of a humanitarian religion were not unknown even in the time of the strictest orthodoxy. The age of orthodoxy is therefore the subject of two articles from the facile pen of Professor Grützmacher of Rostock. These form the conclusion of the series. A striking instance of modern errors on the part of one nominally orthodox is had in the case of Pastor Weigel, the signer of the Formula of Concord. Weigel denied practically all the essentials of the Christian system, such as a living personal God, the seriousness of sin, and the redemptory work of Christ. And his views attracted numerous followers when they became known after his death. They finally died out however and are not historically connected with similar views of to-day.

Such are the polemic and apologetic parallels between the present and the past. The conclusion of the whole matter is that the multiform modern opponents to traditional Christianity are no serious danger to the religion itself. Placed in the light of the historical perspective they are simply old enemies with new masks. In the eyes of the laity and the less scholarly pastors much of the attractiveness of modern attacks upon the Christian religion grows out of the lure of their supposed newness. There is something almost irresistible about that word "modern." Liberal views and destructive criticism are supposed by many to be the marks of scholarly progress and intellectual up-to-dateness. It needs to be emphasized therefore that our questions of to-day have nearly all been answered at some time or other in the course of Christian history and have been answered in favor of the Christian system. The opposition to Christianity is not of time. It grows out of the irrational deeps of the world. The real struggle does not take place upon the earth, but is lifted high above earth in another sphere. And the end of controversy is not to be hoped for until the Church militant and visible has become entirely Church triumphant and invisible.

The articles by Stephan are entitled *Die neuen Ansätz der conservativen Dogmatik und ihre Bedeutung für uns.* Two of the articles are given to a brief summary of what he regards as the most notable recent advances made by conservative dogmaticians. He divides the conservatives into two classes: the confessionals and the biblicists. The confessionals are descended from Hofman and Frank. But after considering the method and content of the most recent dogmatics of this group he concludes that they have advanced far beyond the Erlangen theology. They constitute in fact a new type of theology marked by strong deviations from the old confessionalism. These deviations are chiefly two: on the one hand, in the theological method a more influential position is accorded to the Biblical revelation; and on the other hand, in the theological content more kindly consideration is given to important characteristics of modern thought.

This is then illustrated by a consideration of several typical dogmaticians. First of these is Ihmels. Between Ihmels and his teacher Frank lies a wide gap which places Ihmels on a loftier plane of scholarship and scientific consistency. Theodor Kaftan with his "Modern Theology of the Old Faith" employs a method somewhat similar to that of Ihmels. He uses the same peculiar combination of religious experience and scriptural revelation, but lays greater stress upon the adaptation to modern thought and is therefore more consistently modernizing than Ihmels. The school of "modern positive" theology receives special mention. Whereas Kaftan renounces metaphysics and isolates faith and theology from other kinds of knowledge, the modern-positives seek to emphasize the unity of all knowledge and to bring their theological thinking into touch with all points of modern life. They are perfectly at ease in the presence of the religio-historical and neo-metaphysical streams in modern thought. Evolution and revelation they find entirely compatible ideas. This is shown by lengthy reference to Reinhold Seeberg, the founder of the modern-positive school. The advance of confessional dogmatics is characterized in short as a regeneration of the Church dogmas from the two sources, the Bible and religious experience.

The biblicistic group of conservatives have also made progress. This advance consists of a higher appreciation of history. The old biblicism which made the Bible the sole measure of all

doctrines and resolved dogmatics into Biblical theology has entirely passed away. The Bible is interpreted now through the medium of experience, is treated critically, and is distinguished from revelation. So understood the Bible is still the only source of dogmatics but dogmatics must speak in the ideas and categories of the present. This is illustrated by reference to the most recent utterances of Martin Kähler with his constant emphasis upon the entire biblical Christ as a very present factor, to Erich Schrader with his insistent demand for a theocentric theology, and above all to Adolf Schlatter with his penetrative exegesis, his wide historical perspective, and his intense practical application to all the needs of life.

After this review of the recent advances made along the whole line of the conservative forces, Stephan proceeds to deduce the lessons that may be gathered from these advances. His point of view is that of the liberals, that is, of the Ritschlians. His first impulse is to express his feelings of deep gratification and self-satisfaction at the signs of approach to the liberal position. But the writer quickly warns against self-complacency in the face of so mighty an opponent. There is still a very clear issue between the two sides. The conservatives have not surrendered one whit of the essentials involved in their old position and they are still very conscious of their radical opposition to the so-called modern theology. Their most recent achievements have simply grounded their position with scientific accuracy and compelled the deep respect of the entire scholarly world. The ranks of the conservative theologians are full of pulsing life and mighty vigor and their ranks are not diminishing. It is highly significant also that the foremost representatives of this advancing conservative theology are widely recognized as Church leaders, by the laity, by the press, and by the synodical conferences. Ihmels, Theodor Kaftan, and Hunzinger were the heroes at the meeting of the General Conference last Fall. Such combinations of able theologian and leading Churchman are not found in any other theological camp. It is high time therefore that the moderns learn to appreciate the conservatives and give clear attention to their work both theological and ecclesiastical.

Indirectly also the liberals can learn in a theological way from the conservatives. It is true that the liberal theology has not accomplished what it was expected to. It has failed to make

itself understood. It has not been successful in the way of practical piety. Perhaps the remedy can be found by heeding the criticism of the conservatives. They complain that the liberal theology fails to express in strong and comprehensive terms the direct relationship between the believing soul and his God. Surely this feeling of certitude which comes only through immediate communion with God is essential to the life of any religion. And after a searching investigation of the practical situation in Church and theology Stephan comes to the conclusion that the criticism of the conservatives is justified and that they have pointed out a real lack and a dangerous gap in the liberal theology. The liberal theologians have failed to express with sufficient clearness and comprehensiveness the theological fact that in the historical Jesus the Christian has an immediate and efficacious experience of God. Stephan does not attempt to offer the remedy though he suggests that it may be gathered indirectly from the conservatives' emphasis upon the ideas of revelation, divinity, and service.

The second lesson to be learned from the conservative theologians is a warning against too much subjectivism and individualism. The modern theology has utterly failed to express the profound and detailed dependence of faith upon the facts of history, of the individual upon the community, of the present upon the past. These are essential factors in the Christian religion, essentials to practical piety, and while they have not been entirely neglected by the liberal theology yet they have not by any means received adequate expression.

Stephan's articles bring into clear light the thorough-going differences between the two theological trends. They constitute a calm and serious effort to learn from the opponents. They call for a revision not of theological content but of theological method on the part of the liberals. It is highly significant and promising that these voices of self-criticism are becoming constantly more numerous among liberal theologians.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE X.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

THE BOBBS-MERRILL CO. INDIANAPOLIS.

The Praise of Lincoln, An Anthology, Collected and Arranged by A. Dallas Williams. Cloth, Gilt top. Pp. 243. Price $2.00 net.

Mr. Williams has done well in gathering this poetical tribute to the memory of the immortal Lincoln. The contributions have come from many sources, from books and periodicals, from America and from across the sea, all blending in harmonious "praise of Lincoln." The volume opens with Walt Whitman's famous,

"O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done.
The ship has weathered every wrack, the prize we sought is won,
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring;
But O heart! heart! heart!
O the bleeding drops of red,
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead!"

Among the one hundred and twenty-seven authors quoted we find the names of Aldrich, Bryant, Gilder, Holmes, Julia Ward Howe, Lowell, Markham, Riley, Steadman, Bayard Taylor, and Whittier. Our own Dr. P. C. Croll furnishes an acrostic on Abraham Lincoln, beginning,

"Akin to all that's noble, abreast with all that's grand,
Born to become the Savior of his imperilled land."

These poems unite in one great chorus of praise to the martyr President, whose life and personality are a rich heritage of the American people.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. NEW YORK.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., editor of the "Dictionary of the Bible," &c.,

with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D., and other scholars. Volume iv, Confirmation—Drama. Cloth. Pp. xvi, 907. $7.00 per volume, sold only by subscription for the complete set.

The fourth volume of this great work is characterized by breadth and thoroughness in its treatment of the various subjects falling within its scope. Among the more important articles are those on Conscience, Cosmogony, Councils, Creeds, Crime, Death (100 pages), Deluge, Demons, Disease, Divination, and the Drama. Each article, and in many cases each subdivision, is presented by a specialist whose previous studies have fitted him for the task. The references to the literature on the respective subjects are numerous and helpful to further investigation. The treatment of purely biblical topics must be sought in the other dictionaries of the eminent editor. Of course, the present work does not avoid discussing biblical phases of religion and ethics, in its comprehensive dealing with these subjects. We are inclined to think that the advanced critical attitude has at times forced some of the contributors into untenable positions. For instance (p. 229), "The third type of cosmogony is found in Genesis 1. This majestic prologue to the Bible belongs to those Priestly Writings (P) of the post-exile period." After giving a strained rendering of the opening sentences, the author continues, "If this exegesis is correct, the writer teaches a dualism. He thinks of a dark watery chaos before the creation began." This is surely a false exegesis. But alas! the Bible is to many a modern critic a splendid ethical and religious treatise filled with myths and grotesque errors, borrowed from the heathen!

While we cannot endorse the dogmatic statements concerning the errancy of the Scriptures, we commend again this Cyclopaedia as a vast thesaurus of learning.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

EATON & MAINS. NEW YORK.

Some Famous Country Parishes. By Ezra S. Tipple, with illustrations by the author. Cloth, Gilt top. Pp. 244. Price $1.50.

This is a delightful book to look at, to read, to keep, or to give to a friend. It is illustrated with more than 75 excellent photogravures. The country parishes are not those of America, concerning which so much is being said in these days when we fear lest many of them meet the fate of the "abandoned farm." The parishes described by the ready pen of a sympathetic visitor are Hursley, Bemerton, Madeley, Kidderminster, Somersby and

Eversley, in old England,—parishes quaint and interesting and beautiful in themselves, and famous for their associations. Dr. Tipple and his wife saw not simply these old churches and rectories, but also many things by the way—towns, colleges, rivers, cathedrals. The narrative is descriptive and biographical. The life of the book is the noble men whose names cling to the old parishes.

At Hursley John Keble labored, and wrote "The Christian Year" and gave the world

"Sun of my soul, thou Saviour dear."

George Herbert, glorified his brief ministry at Bemerton, preaching in a small chapel, and writing his quaint, shrewd verses.

Madeley is famous because of Fletcher, the friend of Wesley, who said of him in a sermon preached at his funeral, "So unblamable a character in every respect I have not found either in Europe or America; and scarce expect another such on this side eternity."

Richard Baxter made Kidderminster famous for all time with his mighty preaching and immortal books: "Saints' Rest," "Call to the Unconverted," and "The Reformed Pastor." After nineteen years of apostolic labor in his beloved Kidderminster, he went out amid the lamentations of his flock, charged with heresy "to pass the remainder of his life in loathsome jails or precarious hiding places."

Somersby is celebrated as the birthplace of Tennyson, whose father was rector of the church located there.

Eversley is the scene of the labors of Charles Kingsley, preacher, poet, novelist and naturalist. Here he spent 33 years of his fruitful ministry, and thence went forth the influence of his mighty personality.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Presence. James M. Campbell, D.D. Pp. 232. Price $1.00.

Dr. Campbell is the pastor of the First Congregational Church, Sierra Madre, Cal., and is the author of "Paul the Mystic" and "The Indwelling Christ." He believes that one great need of the present day church is a sense of "The Presence" of the living Christ. We have had so much study of the revelation of God in the Old Covenant, of the historical Christ and so much stress laid on the eschatological teachings and on the millennial coming of Christ that we are distracted from the present indwelling, living, vivifying Christ. This vision Dr. Campbell wishes to bring us.

A study of the book and a following of its teachings cannot help but quicken the spiritual life.

The book follows the increasing clearness of the revelation of The Presence—veiled in Nature, limited to the children of Israel and localized in the Holy Land in the Old Testament, vizualized and personalized in the Incarnate Christ, spiritualized in the risen Christ, universalized in the Holy Spirit, now dwelling in mankind in his Church, in its sacraments and in each man, to save, heal, comfort, judge and reign and finally in the next world to be unveiled and met face to face. He also gives direction for recognizing the Presence here and for "the Practice of the Presence." The book is very intimate, quotes freely from the religious poets and pleads with the earnestness of one having a great vision which lies on him as a burden till he has made his fellowman catch it with him.

In writers whose thought is strongly influenced by the historico-critical method of study we often find this intense stress on the "inner witness." They must discard the tradition of the Church, and cannot make the same use of the Bible in theology that the older theologians did. Hence they are thrown back upon the personal evidence. This, added to the original tendencies of all critical methods, brings to the front very strongly those elements which their opponents brand as "subjective." Dr. Campbell has his theological affinities with these men, judging from this book. The positions taken are those of the "New Theology" as given in the International Theological Library for example. This book is a fine example of the high spiritual development that may be found in the followers of that school when outside the regions of controversy.

To quote from the book, on Inspiration, page 53, "When, for instance, we meet the declaration, 'The Lord spake unto me,' we are not to conclude that the Lord spoke audibly, but that the message came through natural channels; that is, through conscience, experience, and providence, just as it does to us." That by the way is very near Luther's idea.

As to the Incarnation, page 64, "The Presence enfleshed in Jesus ever abides with men. We have said that the incarnation was the temporary outflashing of what has ever been. It was more. It was also the temporary outflashing of what is ever to be. What Jesus was in the days of his flesh, God was and is, and evermore shall be." He is orthodox here as far as the New Theology is, that is, his standpoint is not the Unitarian one but it has sympathies that way.

His idea of the Trinity apparently takes the three persons in the sense of the Latin *persona,* and not in that of the modern sense of personality. To quote from pp. 89-91, "If the God who is manifested in Christ is everywhere present in the Spirit; if through the mediumship of the Spirit he dwells in the inner sanctuary of the soul; if he is not only *with* man but *in* man; if

through the Holy Spirit his presence within the soul is realized as the presence of Christ, then, etc..... Christ is thus not merely present as spirit; he is present in the Spirit. The Holy Spirit as 'the Spirit of Jesus' is the medium through which He is being spiritually revealed..... When Jesus says of Himself, 'I will come unto you,' and when He says of the Holy Spirit, 'I will send Him unto you' he means one and the same thing; for it is in the Holy Spirit whom He sends that He comes in fullness into the life of man."

In regard to the Bible Dr. Campbell says, page 130, "The supreme evidence of religion is not in the Bible but in ourselves. We do not believe in Christ because we find Him revealed in the Bible; we beleve in the Bible because we find in it a revelation of the Christ." Hence, like all the leaders in the critical movement, he throws great stress on the inner light.

As to the Atonement he evidently tends to the "moral influence" theory. He says, pages 165-166, "The Atonement is a method of personal influence..... Religion, which is at bottom the personal influence of God upon man, is the same in nature although not in degree, as the influence of man upon men. In no other way can Christ save than through the power of His personal influence. And whatsoever be the means by which that influence is conveyed, it is Christ Himself, the living, personal, and present Christ who saves."

These quotations are given to show the theological tendencies of the book. To be fair it is necessary to add that no one need pass it over on that account. They can all be forgotten and the spiritual uplift alone be carried away.

F. H. CLUTZ.

C. BERTELSMANN, GUTERSLOTH.

Verfassungsformen der Lutherischen Kirche Amerikas, von Prof. Chr. Otto Kraushaar, Direktor a D. des Wartburg-College zu Clinton, Iowa. Pp. xii, 496. Size 6 ½ x 9. Price, Paper 10 M. Cloth 12 M.

We heartily congratulate Professor Kraushaar upon his success as a pioneer in a new field of ecclesiastical literature—the Forms of Government or Constitutions of the Lutheran Church in America. With great diligence and carefulness he has given us a constitutional history of the Lutheran Church. The work is done from a purely historic and objective standpoint, unmarked by dogmatism. He has traced the constitutions from their earliest forms and antecedents down to 1911, giving the latest deliverances of the General Synod.

The work is divided into four books. The first of these treats

of the constitutions of congregations in eleven chapters, tracing the various forms of government from individual congregations to the general formulas now provided by synods for their churches. The second book treats of the pastoral office in six chapters, giving the various formulas concerning the preparation of ministers, their call, ordination, installation, duties, and resignation. The third book devotes thirteen chapters to the evolution of the synodical constitution from 1735 to the present; and seven chapters to special characteristics of synodical consitutions. The last book, in four chapters, deals with the constitutions of the General Bodies.

The above view of the contents will suffice to show the scope of the work. The future historian of the Lutheran Church and the present student of its government, including confessional bases, will gratefully avail himself of Prof. Kraushaar's labors. The author would welcome corrections and further information for future editions. We trust that the work will appear later in an English translation.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

GEORGE H. DORAN. 35 WEST 32ND STREET, NEW YORK.

The Expositors' Dictionary of Texts, containing outlines, expositions, and illustrations of Bible Texts, with full references to the best Homiletic Literature. Edited by the Rev. Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D., and Jane T. Stoddart, with the co-operation of the Rev. James Moffatt, M.A., D.D. In two volumes. Pp. 1058, 1063. Cloth, size 9 x 11. Price $10 per set, net. For sale by the Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

The name of W. Robertson Nicoll is familiar to the clergy as editor of The Expositors' Bible (a commentary) of The Expositor (a Magazine) and of The Expositors' Greek Testament. His work is characterized by great excellence, both in conception and treatment. His supervision is always a guaranty of superiority. The volumes under review sustain his high reputation for learning as well as for practical adaptation to the object in view. They are in a sense supplemental to his Greek Testament, but of wider scope covering the entire Bible.

The character and content are fairly well described in the sub-title quoted above. The work is not a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, but a homiletic development of the great, striking separate texts, which the minister ordinarily chooses to preach on. The arrangement is that of the Bible itself, beginning with Genesis. Seventy-two large pages are given to Genesis, and fourteen texts of its first chapter are out-

lined. This kind of treatment runs through the volumes. In the aggregate thousands of texts are presented.

The analysis of individual texts is generally clear and suggestive, so that the average preacher will be able to get a sermon out of it. The traditional "three points" are usually brought out, but now and then the number runs up to seven. These points set forth the salient features of each text in simple language. While allusions, similes and illustrations abound, there are no "stories" in the ordinary sense of the term. Nor is there a straining of the meaning to justify fanciful themes. There is nothing cheap or sensational in the presentation. Seriousness, dignity, propriety, sound sense, and scholarship characterize the work.

The selections and adaptations are from a great number of authors, principally of modern times and chiefly British. Among Americans are such names as those of Beecher, Brooks and W. M. Taylor. Among the English are Parker, Spurgeon, Maclaren, Robertson, Liddon, Gore and Drummond. Besides direct quotations, there must be more than ten thousand references to authors who have treated the respective texts.

The indexes cover a multitude of topics under 3000 references to the work itself. The Lutheran pastor will find himself in sympathy with these volumes. The first two paragraphs are quotations from Melanchthon and from Luther; and there are indexes to outlines on the Church Year, embracing hundreds of texts.

In literary style as well as in mechanical execution the work is all that can be desired. The price is very reasonable considering contents and make-up.

There has always been a difference of opinion as to value of sermon outlines. The learned Professor is apt to discountenance their use, maintaining that the critical study of the text will furnish all that is needed for the sermon, and that homiletic arrangements tempt preachers to plagarianism. Evidently the eminent editor thinks differently, in providing homiletical, as well as critical helps. The average preacher is not a very critical student, nor are his powers of original analysis highly developed. Even the best of us are glad to get help in order to make our preaching effective. It is not intended that these outlines should take the place of one's own. They are meant to suggest and to stimulate thought.

We heartily commend these volumes to our ministers, assured that an honest use of them will make them better and more acceptable preachers.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY. NEW YORK.

The Moral and Religious Challenge of Our Times. By Henry Churchill King, President of Oberlin College. Pp. vii, 393. Price $1.50 net.

President King is well known as a writer on religious, educational and social subjects. While bearing the marks of profound scholarship and the most careful study and investigation, all his books are written in a clear and simple style that makes it a delight to read them. To this the present volume is no exception.

The book has a sub-title which may, perhaps, give a better key to its general character and purpose than the title announced above; The Guiding Principle in Human Development: Reverence for Personality.

Two extracts will further indicate this. The first one is taken from the preface, "In our thinking, in our living, and in our working—in all alike—we need not only intelligent acquaintance with the world conditions in the midst of which we are, but thoughtful understanding of them. And this holds for the nation as well as for the individual. Our problems are not those of any other time. We need to know just what they are, what peculiar difficulties are involved, and what special helps are available." The second is from the beginning of the first chapter, "The writer has come to believe that the principle of reverence for personality is the ruling principle in ethics, and in religion; that it constitutes, therefore, the truest and highest test of either an individual or a civilization; that it has been, even unconsciously, the guiding and determining principle in all human progress; and that, in its religious interpretation, it is, indeed, the one faith that keeps meaning and value for life. If this is true, this principle of reverence for personality should be the best key for man's discernment of himself, for the interpretation of history, and for the understanding of God in all his relations to men. When the principle is correctly conceived, and its implications definitely grasped, it should then be able to give the surest guidance in the multiplex problems of the present—personal, social, economic, political, international, and religious—and in the forecast of the future of human development."

The whole book is really a working out of the suggestions contained in these sentences, and the work is admirably done.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

HODDER & STOUGHTON. NEW YORK. GEORGE H. DORAN CO.

Preparing to Preach. By David R. Breed, D.D., Professor of Homiletics in Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburg, Pa. Pp. 455 8vo. Price $2.00 net.

This is a distinct and very valuable contribution to our homiletical literature. Indeed it is doubtful whether we have had another work of like compass and excellence since the well known volumes by Dr. Broadus and Dr. Phelps which appeared in 1870 and 1881 respectively. *The Ideal Ministry* by Dr. Herrick Johnson, published in 1908, is also a very comprehensive and very admirable treatment of the subject and may be more inspirational than Dr. Breed's book, but we doubt if it would be as well adapted for class-room use, or even for collateral reading by students. A preacher who is out in the work and wishes wise guidance, rich suggestion, and a lofty inspiration, should have both.

After a brief introductory chapter on *The Essential Element* in preaching, which he believes to be "the prophetic element," or the sense of "message," Dr. Breed divides the discussion of the general subject into three Parts. Part I deals with *The Study,* Part II deals with *The Pulpit,* and Part III with *Various Kinds of Sermons.*

In Part I, in eighteen chapters, the author treats the usual subjects connected with the selection of a text, the proper use of the text, the gathering of materials, the arrangement of them, sermon analysis, introduction, development and conclusion, illustration, argumentation, &c., &c. But it is all done in a way so fresh and stimulating and so interesting, that it almost seems as if we were learning about these things for the first time.

Part II deals with the various methods of preaching, as from manuscript, memoriter, extemporaneous, &c. Very properly the author lays chief stress on the extemporaneous method as being, in his judgment, the most natural, the most popular and the most effective. This Part also has an excellent chapter on *Pulpit Manners* which is full of good advice and admirably "hits off" many of the objectionable habits and performances of some preachers in the pulpit.

Part III, under the general head of *Various Kinds of Sermons* treats of *The Narrative Sermon, The Expository Sermon, The Evangelistic Sermon, The Special Sermon, The Doctrinal Sermon,* and *The Illustrated Sermon,* meaning by this last the sermon illustrated by magic lantern pictures, &c. The closing chapter is on *Sermons in Courses.* Like nearly all the later writers on Homiletics, Dr. Breed lays special stress on expository preaching.

While in his discussion of these various topics, Dr. Breed gen-

erally follows the familiar and accepted lines of treatment, there is a distinctly fresh and modern flavor about it all that justifies him in speaking of a "New Homiletics" as well as a new Psychology or a new Pedagogy.

An admirable feature of the book, generally found in the more recent books on Homiletics, is the page of "syllabus" preceding each chapter, giving the leading points of the chapter at a glance. Whether the book is to be used as a text book, or for general reading, this syllabus will be very helpful both as a preview before reading the chapter, and also as a review after reading. Each chapter is also preceded by a well considered list of books for collateral reading on the subject under discussion. The book has no index.

The book is printed on good paper and is well and substantially bound in cloth. The type is clear and pleasing to the eye. There is only one defect in the make-up of which to complain. It is both disappointing and surprising to find the proof reading so poorly done in a book bearing the imprint of a publishing house like Hodder & Stoughton. Some of the many mistakes noted are easily corrected, being only mistakes in punctuation, or the omission or the substitution of letters. But in a number of cases the wrong word is used, or words are omitted, which really creates confusion in the meaning. In a number of cases also names are misspelled, as "Lyddon" for Canon Liddon, p. 135; "Silas Mariner" for Silas Marner, p. 137; "Foster" for Forster, the friend and biographer of Charles Dickens, p. 282, &c. These are real and serious blemishes in an unusually fine piece of work. It is to be hoped that there may soon be a call for a second edition in which these *errata* shall be corrected.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JULY, 1912.

ARTICLE I.

THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD.[1]

BY CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY, OF LEIPZIG UNIVERSITY.

It is much the fashion now a days to decry the confessions of the sixteenth centurf and to call loudly for new ones. They are, it is true, loaded down with various things that belonged especially to that time and that no longer correspond to the thought of the church to-day. It will therefore doubtless be necessary to pare and prune and change or replace them by new utterances. But there is many a sentence in them that still rings like a bell in a tower voicing the mind of the worshippers gathered beneath. It will be no light task to fit them to the needs of modern life.

The fifth article of the Augsburg Confession, to which I call your attention at this moment, offers texts for many hours. I shall ask you to turn your minds to one point in it and to one thing touching that point. I do so because it is the main point in the article, because it is the point that lies nearest to my own life work, and because it is a point which seems to me to need much more thought than is usually given to it. The great point of this fifth article is the ministry of the word. The word is God's tool for faith. That is the thread to join it to the fourth article. Let us therefore consider what that word and its ministry were of old, and what they are, most of all what they should

*Lecture on Article V. of the Augsburg Confession, on the Holman Foundation, delivered in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., March 4, 1912.

be to-day, and how a man must be prepared for the work of this ministry.

The means by which God sought to bring the children of Israel to himself, was, to say it in few words, the work of the prophets. If I am not mistaken, in looking at their work we are apt often to lay stress upon the wrong side of it and therefore miss its chief sense. It was not their aim to foretell things to come. That was the least part of their duty, a matter at one side. Their name, the word prophet, does not mean "foreteller" but "forthteller." It was their calling to tell, to tell forth, to utter the thoughts of God about men, the word of God to men. They told the Israelites around them what they should do and what they should not do. In the name of God they told them not to do certain things and not to do other things. And they then said how in the future they would be blessed if they obeyed, or cursed if they disobeyed the word of the Lord. It is not our object now to go into the case of the prophets very deeply. It will be enough to say that they did not take up their work lightly. Quite aside from the schools of the prophets, we find ever again that they were in some special way fitted beforehand for the duty laid upon them.

As time went on, the work of the prophets passed into other hands. We are scarcely right when we think of the last years before the birth of Jesus as altogether bereft of the word of God because the prophets great and small had passed away. The synagogues with their ceaseless revival of the writings of Moses and of the prophets, and with their sermons founded upon those writings were in every village a herald of him who was to come. They heralded him in their every meeting and they made straight the road for him in their very habit of gathering the people together in groups. The synagogues opened the way for Jesus and for the New Testament.

Jesus came and he himself made use of the synagogues. To the words of the Old Testament he added his own words, not, however, in writing. John the Baptist and Jesus preached repentance, preached the kingdom of heaven as nigh at hand. The kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of God began to take shape. Jesus the living word spake living words. This was the synagogue and more than the synagogue. As Jesus himself taught in the synagogues, so we may be sure that his disciples when he

sent them out to preach, also preached not only by the wayside but also at every chance in the synagogues, the local centres of religious worship.

The word preached by the disciples doubtless took on another form after Whitsuntide, after the day of Pentecost, after they had come to see that they had a weighty message for men and that this message touched the minds of men deeply. During the life of Jesus the disciples were less self-moved and spoke less their own thoughts and words. They were enjoined to go out and preach the nearness of the kingdom of heaven. They were not at that time creative minds. No one who considers the persons of the twelve, the education that we must suppose them to have had, and the hearers to whom they spoke, will imagine that at that early date they did anything else than repeat the message Jesus gave them. There may have been slight shades of difference caused by the nature and habits, by what we may call the personal equation of each one of them. But each will nevertheless have carried with him as his one message the main message, the simple message that Jesus had so often uttered in their hearing. From north to south, from east to west, hither and thither they went, not as great orators, but as plain messengers, saying ever what Jesus had said to them.

The day of Pentecost opened to them a new vista of work, gave them new insight into the real inwardness of all that they had learned from Jesus. A fire from heaven made their souls burn. Their lips were touched with a live coal from the altar of God. They preached the gospel that they had learned from Jesus, the gospel of the kingdom of heaven and of the kingdom of God and they added to it their gospel about Jesus himself, their leader and their teacher. They based their preaching at first, as Jesus did, on the Old Testament, their only Bible, and they added to it in their preaching the word that they had learned from Jesus, and what they had seen and heard and experienced while with him. The more they told about him, the more they had to tell. The scenes that they had lived through with him became vivid again. They recalled circumstances as they reviewed in rapid speech the days and months gone by. Much that had been dark and unintelligible now became light and clear in the new surroundings and with the new understanding of the whole situation.

The words of the disciples and the words of their companions in the gospel emerged with time in the New Testament, in the writings that at first were subordinate to the holy writ of the Old Testament, then rose to equality with it, and at last with many Christians came to replace almost entirely the books of the Old Testament. The Christian church bases its preaching on the whole Bible, turns, however, its gaze less towards the Old and more towards the New Testament. Then later the ministry of the word becomes the preaching not of apostles, not of wandering messengers of the truth, but of men who are fixed each in the town in which he speaks. Preaching is now less the voice of the man who saw and heard Jesus, and more the voice of one who has learned a lesson at second hand. It is the voice of one who goes back not so much to Jesus as to the writings about Jesus. The preaching of the middle ages was as a rule a somewhat perfunctory thing, if indeed it was at all, if the pastor pretended to preach. Here and there a friar arose and with frenzied zeal denounced the immorality and the Godlessness of the day. Sometimes a whole order of monks appealed to men to repent. But often the orders themselves sank into religious apathy or into open and shameless sin.

With the Reformation the ministry of the word entered upon a new period. The reformers renewed the passionate accents of the monks who had preached repentance. There entered now into the sermons a twofold note of contrast. One was the old and ever new confronting of sin and holiness, of good deeds and misdeeds. The other was the definite antagonism towards the forms of the church in that time. Each of these gave fresh vigor to the speaker. And a third element of power was found in the rising humanism with its persistent emphasis upon education. The students who thronged to Wittenberg, the followers of the teacher of Germany, the praeceptor Germaniae, Melanchthon, learned Latin and Greek and Hebrew as well as the means at hand allowed, and sought to make themselves strong in the word, in the utterance of the precepts of the divine Word. Luther was a daring critic and said without hesitation what he thought about the books contained in the Bible. Nevertheless he put the Bible, the Word, in the centre of Christian vision. Melanchthon, the teacher, taught the word and based his system of theological thought upon the epistle to the Romans.

Later, preaching became, in many churches of the West what we may call an effort to popularize systematic theology. Each sermon had its series of definite premises and still more definite conclusions. In many a church a definite circle of doctrines was laid down, which the pastor would be sure to discuss. A given church might become so enamored of a special doctrine that it declared any sermon that did not urge that doctrine, to be no sermon at all. Such sermons the hearers desired to hear at length. A sermon an hour long was a short one and if the preacher please it might go on for four hours. Nevertheless the sermon must be written out in full and read off to the judicially inclined hearers. A sermon that was not written and read word for word was a neglect of duty, a trifling with God's service, an affront to the congregation.

To-day the excitement and the whirl of modern life has laid hold on the pulpit. The sermon is growing shorter and shorter. A half an hour is as much as most people wish to devote to a sermon and the whole service is arranged upon the basis of a sermon of that length. Shorter sermons are not uncommon. Last autumn I heard in a large and magnificent Presbyterian church a sermon that was just thirteen minutes long. I scarcely think that I need to express any opinion as to such a shortening of the time devoted to preaching. If the process continues, the pastor may finally instead of a sermon, with a timid voice give to the assembled saints a brief text, or a motto even, that they may reflect upon, if they can possibly find time in the intervals of the all-absorbing bridge and gossip.

Let us now, however, turn our thoughts to the preparation for the ministry, to the preparation that a man needs to-day in order to be able to dispense the word properly. We shall thereby find it necessary to put aside all thought of the speed and haste of the world around us. Haste can for us only be the name for zeal, for eagerness to be thorough in our preparation. Look at Jesus, not entering upon his work until about thirty years of age. The ministry is a business, a duty, a privilege.

If it is from one point of view a business, then it is to be well done. A railroad man has to tell about trains. He must know when the trains are to start, what kind of cars they will be made up of, and at what stations they will stop. He must be able to give an account of them upon the instant to any traveller who ap-

proaches him. A lumberman must know about lumber, about trees and logs and planks and posts and boards. Before he can enter the business in the city he must go and spend a year in the woods in order to understand the kinds of wood and the way in which they are to be handled. A teacher of algebra must needs be at home among the numbers and letters. He must be able to see as on a blackboard the equations that arise in his brain, and to see them in calculating his formulas for work. In all these cases the thing which forms the centre of thought is in general well understood and can be treated with ease and safety by the man who understands it.

If we pass on to the electrician we find all the need of knowledge that attached to other kinds of work and business. And we see that, over and above that knowledge, very subtle forms of understanding things or of divining things are necessary. The general view of currents, the intimate acquaintance with the different amounts of force in ampere and watt must be supplemented by two very different faculties or habits and powers of mind. The one is more external. The electrician never dare forget where he is and what is around him. He must always know to a hair's breadth where every part of his body is. Else a powerful stream may kill him like a flash. The other is more internal. He must be able to follow with his mind's eye the invisible streams that are coursing through the wires and to conjure up the possibilities of action and counteraction in order to unravel still more of the many mysterious threads that surround, or convey, or confuse these mighty agents.

But the work of the preacher, the ministry of the word, is far beyond the work of the electrician. Far more peculiar must be the external self-consciousness of the preacher. At every instant he must know where he is, who sees him, and how he is influencing those around him. He must be sure that he is giving no offense to weaker brethren. Like the electrician, the preacher must be so far as possible at home in the current of thought in his day and time. Like the electrician he needs experience, knowledge, and insight, to perceive the tangled currents in the minds of men and to master and tame them. More than the electrician he must be able within bounds to make himself all things to all men, to vary his mood and his words as he passes from one to another, ever mindful of the message he carries,

ever busy in heart, mind, and soul to urge and to explain and to bring it to bear on the men before him. He must ever anew take up the study of the currents of thought in the minds of man, seeking ever to discern more sharply the reasons for their conduct, the hidden forces that are affecting them, that are driving them to be and to do evil and to shun what is good. The business of the preacher is no light one. It is not one that should be taken up thoughtlessly or with but little preparation. The mind of man is far more intricate than the electric current.

A business of this high order, a calling of this importance, is the proudest service possible for a Christian and yet a service that is to be plied in all humility. The greatest in this service makes himself the least. The first becomes the last, the least, and washes the feet of his brother men. This proudest service is to be entered upon with the confession of ignorance and weakness. This proudest service is to be prepared for by the most exacting novitiate that ever was demanded by the strictest order of monks. The Christian minister must be the general of his own order and subject himself to the severest proofs before he is satisfied to assume in regular course the office of a preacher.

In sharp contrast with all this the tendency to-day is to rush into the sacred office as if it were a trifling thing. Any man who has come to think that the ministry offers him the quickest path to a position of influence and the easiest method to acquire a maintenance, applies to the preparation for it the processes that he used in order to pass through college by the expenditure of the least possible energy. He seeks the easiest courses, he declaims against all courses that call for careful study and exact thinking. The inward side of things has but little charm for him. He wishes for something that he can pick up quickly and talk about glibly, for something that will enable him to stand before an audience and utter some words or other for the necessary number of minutes on a Sunday morning and afternoon or evening. The thoughts of gaining a due knowledge of the Bible, the thought of making himself, as in a peculiar sense a servant of God and of man, a peculiarly capable man does not occur to him. Let us press this last thought for a moment.

Let us suppose that we are standing before a row of men arranged according to their mental training. We must think of men who are by nature of good parts, all we might say being

equally bright and intelligent, but who differ as to the education they have received. The one with only a common school education has a narrow horizon. He can read, write, and reckon, but he knows little of what men have done in the world. The man with a high school education sees much farther and sees much deeper into the nature of things. The man who has passed through a good college brings to bear the knowledge of the ancient world of Greece and Rome and has been further drilled in thinking and in writing. In all three men the ore is the same. In the first one it has been turned into iron and a rough tool made of it that cannot be brought to a keen edge. The second man shows us ore that has been made into iron and turned into a low grade of steel. It will hold better and take a finer edge than the first. But the third is steel of a high grade and will bear and do and last in a totally different way.

It has been the habit of late to make pictures of men in different sizes to show the relative strength of population or of armies or of workmen in various countries. If we apply this method to our case and draw the men according to their power of mind, we shall have for the common school man a little man. for the high school man a larger one, and for the college man a giant. It is easy then to see with how much greater ease and success the college man can grapple with the problems put before the preacher.

These problems are manifold. Three kinds of them may be named. The first are the sociological problems. Every one speaks to-day about social questions and every one thinks that he has a remedy for social evils and difficulties. In many quarters it is forgotten that the church was at the first in an eminent degree engaged in social work. It has on the other hand even been claimed by some that Christianity was in fact rather a social than a religious movement. However that may be, one thing is certain, namely that the church in this age must be active in attention to social matters. And precisely because the greatest confusion reigns here, precisely because every man however ignorant is ready to give a decided opinion on social questions, it is doubly necessary that the preacher study these questions thoroughly, that he may know what the fundamental principles of social existence are, and that he may know how to speak to men whose every thought is being given to the study of

social relief. He must understand the position of the learned and the unlearned workman, he must understand the effect of the workmen's unions and of the owners' unions on the question and the situation. Such knowledge can only be gotten by long, patient, and exact study.

The second kind of problems are the problems connected with modern thought as it is called. Of course modern thought tackles the social questions that we have already touched upon, and of course it deals with the third kind of problems that are still to be named. It reaches, however, likewise into other domains. It should moreover not be supposed that our age alone has come to think "modern thought," since in fact every past age has had, as every coming age will have, precisely similar variations of thought, variations which in each age present themselves with unfailing punctuality and unerring certainty as being altogether peculiar to the age in view. It cannot be our aim now to develop the possibilities of these problems of modern thought. We can only point at them in passing. Nowadays they search into the depths of physical science, now descending with the microscope, and, when the microscope fails, with a theoreticoscope into the heart of matter, into the realm of atoms and of electrons,—now ascending with the telescope, and again, when the telescope fails, with a theoreticoscope into the domain of world systems emerging from nebulae. Again they probe the soul of nature and endeavor to erase the boundary lines between mind and matter. Enough. One great outcome of modern thought in this as in other ages for many of the men who give themselves up to its contemplation is the absurd but for them the astounding conclusion that there is no God, that God is an unnecessary postulate of enthusiastic religionists. I scarcely need then to say that the preacher of the word must be familiar with these problems, and as superfluous is it to press the fact that a true knowledge of them cannot be gained by reading one or two popular treatises about them.

The problems of the third kind declare at once their kinship to the work of the preacher, for they deal with comparative religion. They lead us through the notions of our day and through the notions of the past and study everywhere the views of God and of heaven that have been cherished among men. For some the result is unbounded admiration for and joyful adhesion

to some exotic faith, perhaps that of Zoroastrism or of Buddhism or of Confucianism. For some the result is the call for a diagonal religious thought, for a system of theology which shall combine Christianity with some other religion or with all other religions. Here again the preacher of the word needs most urgently to be thoroughly informed as to the whole circle of thought, and he can inform himself thoroughly and fundamentally only by long and careful work.

Just here I must interrupt the course of my thought to answer an objection that I hear uttered. A student of theology cries out to me that all this does not affect him, that he is not going to preach on Walnut Street or on Fifth Avenue or in Boston, that he is bent on preaching the gospel to the poor, that he is going into the slums of the great cities or that he is going to preach in the newly-founded towns of the west, where modern thought and comparative religion are unknown things. Not a bit of it. Both the one and the other are likely to meet him both in the slums and on the prairies, and in each of these places the adherents of strange views will not hesitate to put him down as an ignoramus and then hold him up to derision if he is not ready to meet them on their chosen ground and able to refute their false statements. Precisely in those places he will find unpitable judges if he fails in the contest with the ready-tongued antagonist. Before such hearers only a clear, square knowledge of the whole field can save the preacher from defeat and from detriment to his work.

Another student declares that all that I have said about sociology and modern thought and comparative religion suits him perfectly. He is eager to go into those lines of study. He thinks that they are necessary—they are necessary—and that he can gain time for them by neglecting the study of the word itself. To him we say, that necessary as sociology, modern thought, and comparative religion are, they are as nothing when laid in the balance with the word. The word, the old, old word remains before and above and below all that. All that is but the paraphernalia. The word remains at heart the same. The word remains the real thing, the centre of all preaching. The preacher has to do with God, with Man, and with Duty over against Sin. He has to restore man to oneness in will and life with God. He has to enliven again the words of Jesus for our souls, to get

back to Jesus and be filled with fire from his soul so as to win men for God. To do this he needs to be a finished man, and here I return again to the question of haste in entering upon the ministry.

If a young man is in a hurry to enter upon the work of the ministry, I should say to him: "Away with you. Go break stone on the turnpike. That you can do in a hurry, although an old stone-breaker could teach you many a thing. You cannot learn to make good shoes, or hats, or clothes, or clocks, or watches in a hurry. Much, much less can you make yourself a good preacher in a hurry. You may learn to talk in a loud voice and to say a few things glibly, and to get a church in a hurry, and to get ten churches in a hurry—each of them glad to get rid of you in a hurry—, but you can in no way under the sun come to be a due and proper minister in a hurry." The higher the creature, the slower is its development, the more time it needs to mature. A simple polyp grows quickly and dies quickly. An oak or an elephant does not mature in a day. The highest office open to man is the office of the ministry of the word and it is the office which demands the most complete preparation.

Did Paul rush into the ministry of the word? He was a pupil of Gamaliel. He probably knew the Old Testament—mark you: the Old Testament, the Bible then not only of the Jews but also the Christians—better than any other Christian then living. When he was converted he was taught by Ananias at Damascus. Then he spent two years in Arabia and Damascus. Then he was with the other Christians at Antioch. And then this ripe man spent five years at Tarsus. Perhaps we might say he took a five years postgraduate course at the great 'university' there, for we cannot suppose that he did not take advantage of the presence of the learned men there. If Paul did not rush into the ministry in spite of his age and in spite of the need for preachers then, surely no man should dare to hurry into it to-day. If you wish to make shoes, you must not set up for yourself in business until you can make good ones. Will you start your work as a preacher before you have fitted yourself for it? Is not a sermon as well worth being well made as a shoe?

There are three languages besides English that a preacher

should know well and there is one subject which he should study with diligence. These three languages are Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and the subject referred to is philosophy. Without Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and philosophy a Christian preacher remains below par.

It is scarcely necessary to say much about Latin. A man in this age who has not learned Latin may be a very useful man and may do good work in various lines, but he cannot lay claim to having a liberal education. He does not know the language which lies at the base of European and of American civilization. He must miss a hundred shades of meaning and many currents of thought, and many points of view, that are clear to one who knows Latin. Many an allusion fails altogether to touch him because he has no idea of the literature from which it is drawn. It is ludicrous when such a man claims to have gotten as much from the study of German or French or Italian as he would have gotten from the study of Latin, for in every one of these languages there is still more import and allusion than there is in English. Without Latin he cannot but miss much in English literature and in the conversation of educated Americans and Englishmen, but he will miss much more in German, French, and Italian literature and conversation.

A preacher must be a liberally educated man. Wherever he moves in the ministry of the word he must stand as a complete man. It is bad for him and it disgraces his office when educated people shrug their shoulders at the mention of his name, when they say of him: "Yes, he is a man who means well, but he is unfortunately barbarously ignorant." A preacher must learn Latin and know something of the masterpieces in Latin literature.

Latin pertains to the general education that the preacher must have. Greek also belongs to the same general education and in addition to that it has a special charm for the preacher in that it is the language of the New Testament, the language in which the New Testament was written, the language in which Paul preached. It will not do for a preacher to say to his flock: "I regret to say that I do not myself know what the original text says, but I find this in the commentaries." The preacher must for himself read the words that were written in the New Testament. He must expound the word of which he is a minister

by going to the sources and seeing for himself. A preacher must ever mistrust the peculiar force of the special message that he has to deliver if he only gets it through an interpreter. And the hearers will and do mistrust the power and the mission of a preacher so soon as they find that he cannot read the text, the original text, for himself. They are right. A preacher who is in such a hurry to preach that he cannot prepare himself properly, should let preaching alone. He does not understand his office.

The same thing holds good for the Hebrew language, the original language of the Old Testament. It is also a necessity for the preacher. The letters look strange at first, but if a man cannot learn a couple of dozen letters he is a queer man to wish to be a minister of the word. The clerks and officials in the diplomatic service—I mean nations that have a regular diplomatic service, not a nation that chooses its consuls according to their power to command votes—put a preacher to shame. They learn Turkish and Arabic and Chinese and Japanese for business purposes. Cannot a preacher learn Hebrew so as to do that part of his Master's business properly? If a clerk learns Chinese to buy and sell perishable wares, cannot a preacher learn Hebrew so as to fit himself better to gain the souls of men?

Do without Hebrew? Impossible. Every preacher must wish to read the Old Testament as Jesus read it. He must revel in the thought that he is reading it as Jesus did. The student of theology to-day has time to read the Saturday Evening Post and perhaps the Ladies' Home Journal, has time to read the latest and trashiest novels, but he has no time to study the Hebrew grammar and to read the Hebrew Bible? Never. The last son of a rail-splitter, the poorest boy who goes out from a slum and wishes to preach Jesus, will spend his last cent for a Hebrew grammar, a Hebrew dictionary, and a Hebrew Bible. He will pore over these books. He will find a pleasure in conning over the words that Jesus read, in the language in which Jesus read them, in which his Master and Chief read and expounded them. He will rise from the view of Jesus reading the Old Testament and reach a clearer view of Jesus in the New Testament. He will think of the thoughts and words of Jesus as moulded by these words in this form. The

preacher must not be in such a hurry to preach that he cannot take time to learn Hebrew.

Latin, Greek, and Hebrew are necessary for the preacher as languages. They are also necessary for him from another point of view and that will lead us to philosophy. The preacher needs to know man and to know him from different sides. He must know man inside and out and in all the facets of his nature. He must tell men about life, about life in this world, and about the endless life of the world to come. He must explain to men their relation to God. In order to do this he must be versed in the thoughts and feelings of men. Now one of the best ways of learning man is by learning different languages. The Arabs have a saying that a man is as many times a man as as he knows languages. In learning a new language we come to see both men and things from a new standpoint. The three languages named are in this respect of great value. Latin as the fundamental language of European civilization is indispensible to a clear understanding of that civilization. Greek was the language of the Mediterranean. It is the language from which the greater part of our technical terms are drawn.

Hebrew gives us insight into a different kind of civilization. The very fact that the language is written from right to left gives it for us a strange look. The fact that the letters do not join on to one another adds to the strangeness of the language when written. The structure of the verbs and the whole arrangement of the sentences agrees with the odd character of the letters. This language carries us back to the people of Israel, to the wanderers in the desert, to the tribes settling in the promised land. It opens the Old Testament to us. Whoever learns these three languages, comes thereby to a better knowledge of man.

This knowledge of man is then enlarged as we read the three literatures which these languages unfold. In Homer and Hesiod, in Virgil and Caesar we see the workings of men in different climes. And in the books of the Old Testament we pass from the creation to the flood, to the wanderings of the Israelites, and to the preaching of the prophets, we see the drama of the righteous man in Job, we learn the wisdom of Israel in the Proverbs of Solomon, and we hear the songs of that people in the book of Psalms. All this is necessary to him who wishes to take up the ministry of the word.

The same knowledge of man in a higher degree is to be sought in the study of philosophy. The student in this line searches out the thoughts of the greatest men of all times. He learns how men of various minds have tried to solve the riddles of life and of the world and of the universe. He hears in Socrates the stern dictates of common sense. In Plato he rises to efforts to explain thought and thinking. In Aristotle the world of nature and of thought is put before him in a great catalogue. In Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, and Hume he catches glimpses of new domains of thought. Kant, Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel, lead him into all the intricacies of modern life.

The preacher must study philosophy in order to know how men can think, what men have thought, and upon what basis men are now thinking. Now it must be kept in mind that all this demand for deep study in all the different branches and especially in philosophy has not the least tendency to make the preacher preach things that his hearers cannot understand. The purpose of it all is to place the preacher in a position to understand the ins and outs of life and thought and thus to enable him, wherever he is put, to minister the word according to the needs of those before him.

Thus can the minister of the word secure balance of mind. He knows what has been, what is, and in a general way what can be. Nothing will put him out of countenance. He is ready to hear and to speak to men whether learned or unlearned, to the senator and to the ploughman, to the woman of culture and to the maid in the scullery. Thus can he secure strength of mind, a mind ready and eager to grapple with every new problem that comes to light. Thus can he secure force of mind, a power of will that fits him to influence others, that helps him to lift others up out of the sloughs of ignorance and of despondence. The physician for the body must often use will-power to bring his patients out of weakness, sluggishness, and vacillation. Much more must the physician for the soul be able and ready to stimulate the will of those who see the right way before them but are too weak to enter upon it. Many a man can keep to the right road if he has once been brought to tread it, if he has found that he really can walk in it, if he has learned that with God's help he can do what is good.

This is the preparation for the ministry of the word that your

Theological Seminary offers to you. May no one try to shirk any part of it. There can be no hurry in your work. If you need to, add another year or two years to your course, but do not take a single minute away from it. May God give you grace so to learn and so to exercise your minds and your bodies that you may become able and successful ministers of the word.

ARTICLE II.

PIONEER LUTHERANISM BEYOND THE FRONTIER OF EARLY CIVILIZATION IN PENNSYLVANIA.*

BY REV. H. A. WELLER.

Had our sturdy forefathers who came from the Palatinate, taken time when they arrived in this country and made their first settlements, to raise up some son with the gift of a Longfellow, instead of the gift of the axe and the plow, he would have found Evangelines sufficient in that little stretch of farm country just beyond the first range of the Kittatinny, in Pennsylvania, known in the Colonial Records as Boone's Uppers.

Or had some Washington Irving risen from among these sturdy pioneers, the legends of Boone's Uppers had not remained so long hidden. This tract of country lies properly just in the Blue Mountain Range westward, extending from the Swatara Gap on the west, to the crossings of the Mountain at a point dividing the present Counties of Berks and Lehigh, and extending to that belt of anthracite coal region which was named in the maps of 1748 as Saint Anthony's Wilderness.

It is the same section of country of which Conrad Weiser, after a tour of inspection of frontier forts, reported to the Colonial Assembly as land mostly covered by pine forest swamps and having no promise of ever being valuable. It is the same section which, because it was known as the territory from which the marauding Indians descended the mountain sides to the eastward with fire and tomahawk to massacre the settlers at the foothills on the East, was the land of demons.

So impressed had this belief become among the settlers East of these mountains, that the writer distinctly remembers his grandmother's tale of how the Blue Mountains divided the habitable world from the world of demons, ruled by Beelzebub. As a boy in his Lehigh County home, looking to the flame of the setting sun across these mountains, he often suffered pangs of

* A paper read before the Historical Academy of the Lutheran Church at Harrisburg, Pa., December 1911.

terror under a conscience guilty of some boyish prank during the day.

And this is the country in which we try to trace in this paper the planting of the Lutheran Church. Long before the purchase of the lands beyond the Blue Mountains by the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, even as early as the year 1737 and before the Walking Purchase of 1749, a few venturesome spirits had crossed the frontier lines between civilization and the wild Indian country. These were the pioneers that pressed that frontier line westward and westward until sons planted the faith of their fathers on the very coasts of the Pacific.

Among these venturesome pioneers who crossed through the gap of the mountains that opened a gateway for the waters of the Schuylkill, were many whose names history has forgotten, though it has retained a trace of a few. Prominent among such names are those of Paul Heym, Peter Schmelgert, Christophel Schaber, Michael Teuberth, Jacob Schaeffer, Gottfried Berger and Michael Weymann. An obscure and now impenetrable veil closes over the exact dates when these pioneers first penetrated the wilderness beyond the frontier lines, from Maxatawney, Allemangel and Tulpohocken, to build their cabins and clear their homesteads in the wilds of Boone's Uppers, which later became known, and are historically spoken of as Braunschweig, along the Schuykill, in the Blue Mountains in Berks.

Certain it is however, that one year after the purchase of these lands by the proprietaries of Pennsylvania from the Indians, there were one hundred and forty-six taxable persons in this district, now known as the Brunswicks and Manheims of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. In writing this sketch I am not unaware how the outward movement of the frontier wave-line of civilization is always attended by traditions of phenomenal nature, from which it is nearly impossible to deduce anything like historical facts. The proneness of posterity to make heroes of ancestors who shouldered the knap sack, the axe and the rifle, and went alone into the deeps of unknown forests to hew out and defend a home for themselves, is common to every rank of life. The story of individual prowess is transmitted from parents to children by the firesides when the winter's storms howl round, and then it is that the story of tomahawk and scalping knife comes down from the hills of time.

Every green hill or bubbling spring near which the ruin of a first settler's cabin is shown, makes, in these legendary tales, a dark and bloody ground. Warned by this, I must refrain from recording the thrilling incidents, many of them true, no doubt, which are related of these forefathers. We are not unaware, however, how they carried with them, across the mountains, their superstitions as well as their courage. And it would be more entertaining than profitable to relate the stories of witch-craft, necromancy, and sorcery which have cast a halo of memories over the whole field of the territory of Boone's Uppers in Schuylkill County.

The writer of legends would have to tell you of the ancient myths and of the spirits haunting the Blue Mountains; the story of Spooky Hollow and the Devil's Corner; the account of the mysterious Indian Maid; the places of the Council fires; the hiding place of the 6th and 7th Books of Moses; the legend of the bewitched horseman and Hilda; and though he would recount even more than these that pass current upon the lips of the people, you would soon recognize in them a simple Americanization of the stories of ancient literature, which charmed our childhood and gave us many hours of the night when we dreamed with open eyes of the legends of the fatherland. Therefore we will write history.

In the sixth year after the Walking Purchase, the people of this section, having previously built them a school-house and employed a school-master, who, on the Lord's Day, would gather the people in the school-house and read to them from some printed sermon book that he had brought from the fatherland, became desirous of having a Church. The foundations were laid in 1754, at a place in almost the exact middle point of the territory of Boone's Uppers, along the Indian Path leading from Reading, through the Schuylkill Gap of the Mountains at Port Clinton, and thence onward to Sunbury, then called Shamokin; which path was later followed by the Centre Turnpike, known as the Shamokin Turnpike, from Philadelphia to Sunbury.

Here they erected a log building having no floors except the clay moistened and beaten down. Records tell us there were two windows with real glass, and a great double door. The interstices between the logs of the building were filled in with red

clay, native in this section, so that when the walls were entirely finished and the clay hardened, the appearance of the building was as if plastered with a red plaster on the outside and inside. This caused it to be known as the Red Church, a name which clings to it and its successors in the same place, to this date.

The pulpit was placed in the north west corner of the building, high up. The altar was in the very centre of the Church. Around and facing it were the pews of rough log puncheons, made from heavy logs split in half, smoothed on the split half with a broad axe, and having four holes bored into the round side at proper places, for bench legs. The House of worship was completed, and the first service held by the school-master on Trinity Sunday, A. D. 1755. Until 1754 the children of the community had been baptized by the school-master, but in that year the Reverend Daniel Schumacher, an itinerant preacher who served the Congregation at Allemangel, visited these people across the mountains and baptized some of their children.

The first children baptized by him, as recorded in papers saved by the Congregation, were John Peter Leyde and Anna Maria Teuberth. These were days when a large number of self-constituted preachers, most of them of no character, went about among the people, officiating for the sake of the loaves and fishes. Or, as another author speaks of them, vagabonds prowling around, seeking to fish in the muddy waters. If, as history tells us, Schumacher was not an ordained minister of the Gospel, nor of savory moral character, the historians of the Lutheran Church in the districts of the Blue Mountains in America, will always owe to him a certain gratitude for having very carefully kept congregational records and a personal diary, the like of which, for completeness of early record, will scarcely be found in any of the old churches in our land.

In the fall of the year 1755, however, great misfortune befell this congregation and its church. It was in October, while the settlers were yet unprotected, that the news reached the Indians of these mountain sections of the defeat of the English and Provincial Troops under General Braddock in Western Pennsylvania, by the French and Indians. Whereupon, greatly strengthened in their belief that they could annihilate the white English and German settlers, and, rankling under a sense that

they had been cheated out of their lands, they started a general incursion upon the locality of our history.

They forgot all their treaties, and remembered only their wrongs. All along the frontier of the Blue Mountains a concerted attack was planned and made. The first out-break came to the German residents on Penn Creek, but quickly it spread until the Blue Mountains marked the line of flame and murder, such as history has seldom been called upon to record. The annals of Pennsylvania as resurrected from the ash-piles of the old State Capitol at Harrisburg, tell a story of murder and rapine that even at this distant date, makes the blood run cold.

Though the Indians of the Lene Lenape Tribe had long feared, or rather respected Paul Heym and his little white mare, the call of the wild was upon them, and without respect to person, they started at Indian Run, murdering all whom they could overtake, down through where now stands Schuylkill Haven, or what was then known as John Fincher's Mill, and onward down the valley through the Brunswicks and Manheims to the very top of the Blue Mountains. Even down in the North Kill the cry of their victims rose in the air.

This paper must be of necessity of too general and short a character to relate the history of the sufferings and trials of these pioneer families, who had but lately dedicated their Zion unto God. Those who escaped the tomahawk returned to the districts east of the Blue Mountains in Allemangel and Maxatawney. Some less gentle historians speak of this escape as the Skedaddle of 1755. For ten years there was scarcely any one to return to the place of the old Red Church.

But the fury of the Indians having been quelled, and the line of frontier forts having been established by the Provincial Government for the defense and protection of settlers, those who escaped the massacre began gradually to return, only to find their homes, their school and Church in ashes; their fields overgrown with weeds, briars and young shoots of trees; and to begin all over again the work which had cost them so much sacrifice a decade or two ago.

Among those returned were the Paul Heym, Peter Schmelgert, Michael Teuberth, Christophel Schaber, and Michael Weymann, who had been the promoting spirits of the first Church. Scarcely had they put up temporary shacks for their

own housing, when they moved toward a rebuilding of the House of the Lord, as a thank offering for His grace which permitted them to return in peace unmolested. Thus was the second Church building undertaken in 1767, and since it was to be a thank offering to the Lord, it was undertaken on a much more pretentious scale, so that with their labor in again cleaning their fields, it took these earnest people three years to complete the structure, or until 1770. Then came the Reverend Mr. Schumacher to dedicate this second Church unto the service of the Triune God.

From this point it may be well that the writer of this paper ceases his own comments, and quotes simply what the ancient records of this church contain.

Title Page of the Record Book of Zion Church in West Brunswick, begun by Pastor Daniel Schumacher, in the year 1770.

KIRCHENBUCH vor die EVANGELISCH LUTHERISCHE KIRCHE ZION in BRAUNSCHWEIGH, PENNSYLVANIEN.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND ADORABLE TRINITY. AMEN!

Whereas we have found it expedient, after the awful experiences which we suffered at the hands of these wild and heathen peoples, the Indians, so-called, in 1756, etc., to build us a new church in this place; having, by the grace of God, again attained to dwell peaceably and unmolested in our former possessions; therefore, have we here resolved, in peace, love and unanimity one with another to erect a new church building, which was done and completed in the year

1770.

Record and Ordinance of the New Zion Church of 1770.

ANNO 1770,

On the first Sunday in Advent, I, DANIEL SCHUMACHER, Evangelical Lutheran Minister in Pennsylvania, was cordially invited by the Honorable Peter Schmelgerth, in the name of

the Christian Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, Jacob Schaeffer; Michael Teuberth; M. Weymann; Gottfried Berger; Paul Heym and Christopher Schaber, to consecrate for them their newly erected Evangelical Lutheran Church, and to dedicate the same to the protection of God by the hand of Jesus: which I, therefore, did amid a large assemblage of the people in Pennsylvania, beyond the Blue Mountains in Brunswick Township of the County of Berks; and named the church

ZION,

whereupon were ordained the following Church Articles:—

1. This shall be and remain an Evangelical Lutheran Church unto us and our posterity, for whom also this church is dedicated. In it shall be preached and taught the Holy Gospel according to the tenets of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and the Sacraments of the Lord Jesus rightly administered according to their institution; and, for the instruction of the young, the Catechismo Lutheri shall be employed.

2 This Church shall be and continue free from all claims of the conference under the name of Muhlenberg, and in full and free enjoyment and practice of religious liberty which our gracious King James the Second, of Great Britain, has vouchsafed unto us and in which this church shall continue; for the maintenance of which we call upon God and upon all earthly potentates to protect, help and support us.

3. The Evangelical Lutheran Members of this church shall have the privilege to elect their own Minister and Schoolmaster, and two men to serve for two or more years as deacons (Vorsteher), who shall attend to the collections of all moneys, for alms and for pastor's salary.

4. The Minister must abide by the Bible (Old and New Testament), and the teachings of the Lutheri Catechismum, not introducing novelties in religious matters; nor shall he interfere with the offerings of the congregation. He shall remain so long as the congregation desire to have him. Otherwise the congregation has the annual privilege to dismiss him and elect another. He shall be satisfied with the compensation which the congregation in its pleasure offers him.

5. It is our express will and further intent that no man shall venture by any act of barter or device to alienate from this

congregation the church or any property belonging thereto or that may be acquired therefor; nor by any pretext of conveyance to assume to acquire any rights to play into the hands of others and bring us into confusion. On the other hand, this church of ours shall abide free from any and all claims or pretensions that might militate against our Christian Liberty.

6. Finally, we set forth our general and sincere petition and prayer to all alike, be they of worldly or spiritual station, potentates or subjects, of any nationality, generation or station whatsoever, not to violate this property or building, whether by might or assumption of right, by reason of passing generations, or any persecution of the Augsburg Confession in the land, or any perversions of church government, which might easily come about, as it is already evident here and there where it is sought to enslave us, or at least our children, by violence, as has been done; disturbing many churches and congregations, hither and thither working much confusion, seeking to appropriate unto themselves the fruit of our sweat (labor) and blood; and unless we guard with watchful eye, they will even resort to most subtle deceptions to acquire and use our church for purposes totally contrary to the purpose of its consecration.

To this end may the Great, Almighty God keep His watchful eye upon us, our congregation and our Zion, to defend against every purpose of Satan, the world and her votaries; and guard, protect and maintain us and the church even as we have begun and consecrated all here in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; that they who come after may so continue and end all, unto which we implore the help of the One, True and Triune God, adored unto all eternity. Amen.

Done in the year of our Lord 1770, the 10th of the reign of King George III of England, on the 3rd day of December, in the State of Pennsylvania, beyond the Blue Mountains, in the Township of Brunswick, County of Berks, at Zion Church.

(Signed) Peter Schmelger.
Caspar Brach.
Georg Michael Daeuber.
Georg Huntzinger.
Phillipus Paussman.
Christopher Schaber.

Witnesses:—Conrad Rein, Henrich Kalbach.

NOTE:—The School House was built in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1786, the deacons being Ludwig Zimmerman and Georg Orwig.

The Dedicatory Sermon was preached on the First Sunday in Advent, Anno 1770, in Zion Church, from the words of David, in the 27th Psalm, v. 4.

"One thing have I desired of the Lord, that I will seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple."

Preached by me, as their first Evangelical Lutheran Minister.

(Signed), DANIEL SCHUMACHER, m. pp.

Patria Hamburgum, prope albim.

ZION CHURCH RECORDS.

BRIEF OF LICENSE.

JOHN PENN TO CONRAD REIN AND GEORGE REINHARD.

On December 2nd, 1890, the late Reverend P. Anstadt, D. D., of York, Penna., transcribed a colonial document which he had discovered in the Archives of the State of Pennsylvania, at Harrisburg, which he sent to the Lutheran Observer for publication; and which duly appeared in the number of that publication of January 9th, 1891. In it an error made the date read 1720 instead of 1770. This was corrected in the issue of the "Observer" under date of January 16th, 1891.

This valuable document reads as follows:

BY THE HONORABLE JOHN PENN, ESQUIRE, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND COUNTIES OF NEW CASTLE, KENT and SUSSEX ON THE DELAWARE:—

TO ALL PEOPLE TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS COME, GREETING:—

Whereas, It hath been represented to me by the Humble Petition of divers inhabitants of the Township of Brunswick over the Blue Mountains, on the Schuylkill, in the County of Berks, in the Province of Pennsylvania, members of the Protestant Evangelical Lutheran Church, that they were so unhappy now as to have no more a "Church in their Neighborhood to resort to with their families for the Public Worship of God, and that through their losses by the Incursions of the Savages during the late Indian War, were also unable to erect a church without the friendly assistance of the benevolent and well disposed"; and, therefore, humbly prayed me to grant my BRIEF or LICENSE to CONRAD REIN and GEORGE REINHARDT, two of the inhabitants of the said Church, to make a collection for the purpose aforesaid:

And I, favoring their request, THESE ARE, THEREFORE, to permit and license the said CONRAD REIN and GEORGE REINHARDT, within the space of three years from the date hereof next ensuing, to make Collections of the good People within My Government who are willing to contribute towards the building of a Church or House of Worship for the religious worship of the Protestant Evangelical Lutheran Congregation at Brunswick Township aforesaid, any Sum or Sums of Money not exceeding the whole Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds, lawful money of Pennsylvania aforesaid.

Given under my Hand and Seal-at-Arms at the City of Philadelphia, the Twenty-fourth Day of April, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty (seventy), and in the tenth year of the Reign of our Soverign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

(Seal-at-Arms.) Signed, JOHN PENN.

John Shippen, Jr., Secretary.

This document contains an impression of what he calls His "Seal-at-Arms," but which we cannot reproduce in print.

After reading the ordinances of 1770, with their declamation against the "Conference under the name of Muhlenberg," having reference to the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium founded in the year 1748 by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the pioneer of the organization of the Lutheran Church in America, the future historian of Zion Church will interestingly follow the

changes of sentiment brought about in later years as evidenced in the records of the Congregation.

That the Reverend (?) Schumacher was a thorough organizer cannot be questioned; but, questions having arisen as to his being an ordained Minister of the Gospel, the Synod, or Ministerium of Pennsylvania, refused to acknowledge him or receive him into its membership. Personal ill-will toward Muhlenberg also embittered him against everything that the said Ministerium advocated. This opposition caused these people to be influenced to bind themselves body and soul, land and possessions, unto their children's children, that they with their preachers would be free and outside of the union; considering themselves in much better repute because they could hire their pastors by the year and freely accept and dismiss them at their own good pleasure without consulting the pleasure and ordinances of the MINISTERIO MUHLENBERGIENSEM. In the official records of the Twenty-second annual convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, (Documentary History of the Ministerium, p. 115), it became evident that these sources of confusion arising from the jealousies of men whose standing the Organized Church felt constrained to question led Mr. Schumacher to undertake actually, out of all good order, to ordain young men to the Office of the Ministry.

After serving these people in Zion Church for 27 years, to wit: 1754 to 1782, he was succeeded by Pastor Frederich DeMiller, who served one year and was succeeded by Pastor Gottlieb Deschler in 1783, who served five years, until 1788, being succeeded by Pastor Daniel Lehmann, ("a man of strong voice, which he exercised very freely"), the first of the pastors of Zion Church to stand in formal connection with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania; who served the congregation for two years, 1789-1791, being succeeded by the Reverend John Frederich Obenhausen, in 1792, who being a licentiate of the Ministerium, continued to serve here until one year before his full ordination by the said Ministerium at Easton, Pa., 1804, when he was followed in the pastorate by John Knoske.

The influence of the successors of Pastor Schumacher, and especially of Licentitate Obenhausen, became felt unto an entire revulsion of the attitude of the congregation toward the Ministerium, of Pennsylvania; and, in 1796, the congregation revised

its Constitution (Ordinances) to the effect that no pastor could be called who was not then or did not promise at once to become a member of the said Ministerium.

This document of 1796 would be a valuable addition to the documentary history of Zion Church; but alas, only a small fragment of it remains. However, we have in good preservation the original copy of a most interesting document which the congregation had placed in the corner-stone of the re-built Zion Church 1799-1803, rescued and preserved almost entire when the building erected 1799-1803, was replaced by the present Church Building 1883-1884; and which will serve to show forth these changes of attitude as well as the deep earnestness of our forebears here in the following observance of churchly order.

(The following is a translation of said paper:—)

MEMORIA

or

A MEMORIAL DOCUMENT placed in the cornerstone of the new-built EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, ZION, in Brunswick Township, Berks County, Province of Pennsylvania, on the 4th day of October Anno 1799.

At the laying of this corner-stone the Rev'd John Frederich Obenhausen preached from the text Isaiah 28:16, "Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste."

IN THE NAME OF THE TRIUNE GOD; THE FATHER; AND THE SON; AND THE HOLY GHOST. AMEN.

Whereas, it pleased God, largely through the instrumental labors of the German people, to make this land unto a fruitful garden and as a pleasant meadow; and, some of the people of said nationality in this land and in this particular locality, who in the German Fatherland had learned and confessed the Christian Religion and the doctrines of salvation, desiring greatly not only themselves to continue steadfast in such doctrine and maintain said worship unto death, serving God ac-

ceptably, but, wishing also that after their own demise such worship and doctrine should be maintained, practiced and esteemed by their children;

And, Whereas, these Christian people so here residing were for many years, to wit: especially in 1756, troubled and greatly oppressed by the un-Christian natives, namely the Indians; but, by divine grace, at last did attain to a state of peace from their enemies, and having received from King James the Second of Great Britain, together with the other inhabitants of the land, a charter of liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences:

Therefore, afterward also, certain persons of the Evangelical Lutheran faith united to organize a congregation. The organizers were Peter Schmelgert, Caspar Brach, Georg Michael Deuber, Georg Huntzinger, M. Weymann, Gottfried Berger, Paul Heym, Christophel Schaber, Philip Pausman and others more, who built in this place and upon this ground a Lutheran Church unto the Lord our Father, wherein were taught the pure Word of God and the sacraments rightly administered unto them according to the institution and command of the Lord Jesus Christ. Having attained their purpose under the grace of God, their new church was consecrated on December 3rd, 1770, being the First Sunday in Advent, by Pastor Daniel Schumacher, and that same day publicly declared and accepted by the inhabitants of this community as an absolutely Lutheran Church, so there to be and continue unto the end of time.

And whereas, after said church had been built and the Triune God there served and worshipped for some years, the congregation determined to purchase (take up) this piece of ground for Evangelical Lutheran Church and School purposes. This was done through the agency of Georg Kuemmel, Andreas Gilbert and Adam Wagener, in the name and for the property of the aforenamed Lutheran Congregation here in Brunswick Township. (1794).

Now, therefore, this Evangelical Lutheran Church Building, having stood for upward of Twenty-nine years, has grown old and in need of improvements entailing great expenses; and, also, the congregation of Jesus has in the meantime greatly increased and grown until this church has become much too small to accommodate the congregation properly, the beloved congregation

resolved, by the grace of God, to build a new and larger house of prayer unto the Lord our God that the congregation may have a fitting place to worship God to the glory of Christ, and be fitted with prayer and praise unto eternal blessedness.

That this might be accomplished in good order, unto the glory of God, the following building overseers (Baumeister) have been elected:—Georch Orwig, Georch Dreer and Paul Heym, in whom there is absolute confidence that by the favor of God, unto the glory of Jesus, and in love unto their brethren, they will complete this great work here undertaken. The beloved congregation also pledges the performance of its full duty to them, not deserting but faithfully supporting them, that all this work may be performed in love, peace and unity.

Upon the completion of this church, whose corner-stone we today lay, as the New Zion Church, the following Articles of Constitution shall obtain, prevail and be established for the government of said New Zion Church, to wit:—

I. The Church Council (Kirchen-Rath) shall not permit a few persons in the congregation to select a preacher to minister, preach and teach after their good pleasure, but, at all times the election of a minister, as well as of the Schoolmaster, shall be referred to the entire congregation to be chosen by a majority of their votes cast.

II. The Church Council of this congregation shall use all diligence to prevent the nomination for the pastorate and the service in the pulpit here, except under most extreme necessity, of any minister who is not, or who refuses forthwith to become a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerii. The Council shall further observe and insist that only such ministers and schoolmasters be called to serve under their administration, of whom they shall have good and sufficient credentials as to purity of doctrine and Christian behavior, and who so continue, while serving here, true to the doctrine of Jesus and our Unaltered Augsburg Confession. Should any of them fail in this, the Council shall publish the fact to the congregation, who shall, by their votes, dismiss such from their office and elect others instead.

III. The Church Council shall exercise diligence to maintain this new church and schoolhouse in good repair, that this Evangelical Lutheran Church and School land be not despoiled

or alienated, but remain the heritage of the congregation unto the last of the days.

IV. Should any one or more of the members of the Church Council resign or remove, the power to name their successors shall not devolve unto the Council alone without the recognition of the right of the congregation to elect; but, the congregation shall proceed in an orderly manner, according to the Ordinance of September 4th, 1796, in all respects, so that their privileges continue inviolate as well as the liberties assured by said articles.

V. Though the burial-ground, (Gottes-Acker), here belongs to the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation alone; nevertheless, it shall be open to others, namely the Reformed people, for the burial of their dead therein; and this, so long until these people acquire their own cemetery property.

VI. Concerning the burials in the cemetery, the following order shall be observed by both parties: (Lutheran and Reformed), when one or more persons die at the same time, the one who died first shall be permitted to be interred first, so that all causes of strife among us or upon the cemetery be avoided and we continue to dwell together in love one toward another as becometh Christians.

VII. Since we desire not alone to provide for our own soul's salvation, but that of our children as well; and, indeed, that the foundation of their Christian life be laid in the German Christian School, we have provided that such might be continued by our successors as well, in order that our beloved youth be taught and trained to maintain the German Church and School, to prize and maintain the same in flourishing condition To this end we have erected upon this property an Evangelical Lutheran School House in the year of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ 1786, when Ludewig Zimmermann and Georch Orwig served the congregation as deacons.

VIII. Though said school house is built upon Evangelical Lutheran ground, and provision is made that the schoolmaster must always be an Evangelical Lutheran Christian, nevertheless, the schoolmaster residing and teaching therein shall be obliged to teach children of other faiths to read, write and cipher; and, should the parents of such children desire it, he shall permit such children to use their own catechism, and, being specially paid extra for their instruction, he shall devote to them like

time and care as he owes toward the children of this congregation, holding all the children in like esteem, being no respecter of persons within the school.

IX. It shall be required of the schoolmaster not only to teach the children well to read, write and cipher, in the German language, but he shall diligently instruct them in the Catechisms Lutherii, and the Holy Scriptures, that is to say the Bible. He shall regularly sing with the children such familiar hymns as are used in the public service in the church; and, as a matter of primary import to their Christianity, he shall teach the children to pray unto the Triune God in the Name of Jesus Christ, that the religion of Jesus be inculcated, prospered and fixed in our young people unto the end of the days.

X. The Schoolmaster who desires to serve at this place shall not only be a friend of the religion of Jesus, but of good morals as well, that he may at all times by example and precept appear before the congregation as a faithful servant, the friend of God, alway guarding against every offense to tender youth.

XI. And now, at the building of this new church, the beloved parents in this congregation pledge themselves to send their children regularly to the services in God's house and the school; and remembering ever that they must in the last day render an account of their children, they will ever pray unto God for faithful and upright teachers to teach them and their children in right paths unto eternal life.

XII. The beloved youth of the congregation at the building of this new church likewise pledge themselves never, by godless life or act, to desecrate this house nor their schoolhouse, but will frequent the same alway to the Glory of God; and, if they be sent to church or school here, they will diligently apply themselves to acquire a knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, to live holy lives, and at last to die the death of the righteous; never to be disobedient toward their teachers, making theirs a labor of sorrow, which is never well.

XIII. This, then, is the established constitution to be observed for the government of the new Zion Church and School; and this document, a copy of which we this day deposit in the corner-stone, shall be read by the minister or the schoolmaster to the congregation annually, or at least biennially, to remind them of their privileges and ordinances, and that our successors

may observe what the Apostle Paul has written, (I Cor. 14:40). "Let all things be done decently and in order," and all other Christian communities may at all times rejoice to observe our good order and the steadfastness of our faith in Jesus Christ our Lord. (Col. 2:5).

"May all who have accepted Jesus as their Lord continue in Him, being steadfast in the faith even as they have been taught, ever gratefully holding fast the order of salvation which we have through our Lord Jesus Christ, and vigilant against them that would despoil us of our faith through vain conceits of philosophy and idle deceptions of men after the manner of the world.

And thou, O ever faithful God and Father, wilt have mercy upon all Thy Christendom, especially also toward this Thy congregation. Maintain in her Thy beloved peace and brotherly love among us. Blessed Father, bless and preserve from harm and danger those who labor at Thy house. At all times, also, bless, O Lord, those who open their hand of charity at this time to contribute toward the payment of the great expenses here entailed. Yea, Lord, be Thou evermore the God and Saviour of all who favor Thy house. Help the parents, O God, and by Thy Holy Spirit guide them to so train their children in the knowledge of Jesus that, after the demise of the elders, these may be of the elect of the Lord, maintaining the faith in our Lord Jesus. Bless the congregation with faithful teachers for old and young. Yea, Lord Jesus, Thou alone art the Lord of Thy dearly bought church and all things. Unto Thee we commend this new house of prayer. May this church ever abide under Thy gracious guardianship."

At this point it is evident that a page of this document has been lost. Most likely containing the names of the officers of the congregation at that time.

The records of this ancient congregation show many more interesting events in its development, but sufficient has been quoted for the purpose of this paper; to show the pioneer organization of Lutheranism beyond the Blue Mountains. What a fruitful mother old Zion became and how well her daughters carried out her purposes with most commendable fidelity, would be shown if time permitted to add the records of St. Peter's Church, Pinegrove (founded 1779), Jerusalem Church at Schuylkill Haven (founded 1786), Frieden's Church at New

Ringgold (founded 1798), and St. Paul's Church of West Penn Township (founded 1800), all of which had for their founders some of the original founders, or descendants of the original founders of Zion's Church in Brunswick.

Thus did Lutheranism flourish in Boone's Uppers and the adjacent territory. Until 1795 there is no record of any other denomination being organized or any other Church established than the Lutheran Church; though there are records at the Church in New Ringgold, known as "the Church at the Little Schuylkill," of the activities of some of the Moravian Missionaries sent out by Count Zinzendorf, from Bethlehem, Pa., who gathered people in groves and on barnfloors to conduct services for them. This, however, was regarded with a good deal of suspicion, because of their assumed authority in Zinzendorf's claim to have the official appointment from the Old Country as a Lutheran Superintendent of Pennsylvania.

The first church of another denomination was the Church of the German Reformed people, built within a few rods of the old Zion Lutheran Church, and maintained there until 1832, when a union was effected after the removal of a large number of both Reformed and Lutheran people to form a new congregation in Orwigsburg, Pa., leaving both the congregations in Brunswick with greatly reduced membership. It would be interesting to trace from this beginning the history of union churchism in this section, but that does not properly belong here.

I have submitted this paper solely with the view that there might be some little record of the beginnings of Lutheranism in this transmontane district, which was the first frontier line recognized in America. And what one hundred and sixty-five years since have wrought, will be more wonderful to behold after a few more centuries roll by, and the historian of that day turns back to the records like those of old Zion, in the Blue Mountains, in Brunswick, County of Berks, and State of Pennsylvania.

Orwigsburg, Pa.

ARTICLE III.

CARL FERDINAND WILHELM WALTHER, D. D., THE LUTHER OF AMERICA.[1]

BY REV. H. H. WALKER.

The life and work of Doctor C. F. W. Walther, the centennial of whose birth has recently been celebrated by hundreds of thousands of Lutherans in this and other countries, deserves more than passing notice.

Let me first give a brief survey of the life of this man of God. Walther was born on the 25th of October, 1811, in the Kingdom of Saxony, Germany, not very far from where Luther first saw the light of day. Unlike Luther, however, he was not a poor miner's son, but the son of a Lutheran pastor, his forefathers having been in the ministry of the Lutheran church for several generations. But this preacher's son never was ashamed to sit at the feet of the miner's son, to learn from him the precious truths of God's saving Word.

At the age of ten years, in 1821, Walther entered the "Gymnasium," or college, where he remained eight years. On leaving college he received from his teachers the written testimonial that he was "especially worthy to be admitted to the academic studies" and that he had "never deserved nor received even the slightest censure." Being very fond of music, he wished to devote his life to a musical career; his father, however, objected; and as an obedient son young Walther entered the Lutheran University of Leipzig to study theology, remaining four years. Here, however, his studies were interrupted for half a year by a severe illness, which for a time even threatened to become fatal. The good Lord, however, turned the sickness into a blessing; while convalescing, Walther found in his father's library the works of Luther. He read them eagerly, thus laying the foundation for his almost unequalled acquaintance with Luther's writings.

[1] A paper read before the Historical Academy of the Lutheran Church at Harrisburg, Pa., December 1911.

On the fifteenth of January, 1837, he was ordained to the office of the holy ministry in Braeunsdorf, a small village in Saxony. Here he began with great fervor to preach Christ and Him crucified. This soon excited antagonism on the part of many members of the congregation, since for more than forty years rationalistic preachers had occupied that pulpit. Complaints were lodged against him before his ecclesiastical superiors, who also were all rationalists, and by whom he was repeatedly reprimanded and fined.

These experiences induced the youg preacher to resign his office in 1838 (16th Sunday after Trinity), to join the company of earnest Lutheran Christians, numbering about 800 souls, who were preparing to emigrate to the United States in order to escape the vexations and the oppressions of the rationalistic church officials in Saxony. Several other ministers and candidates for the ministry, among them an elder brother and a brother-in-law of Walther, had already joined these emigrants who were destined to become our Lutheran "Pilgrim Fathers." On five ships they sailed from Bremen, on the third of November, 1838. Walther was to take passage on the "Amalia," but God had decreed otherwise. When Walther arrived at Bremen there was no room left for him on that vessel. Accomodations were secured for him on another ship. Of the "Amalia" nothing was ever heard again. It no doubt went down with all on board. God in His kind and wise providence had preserved His young servant who was to be unto Him a chosen vessel for a great and blessed work in the Lutheran Church, especially here in America. On the fifth of January 1839 the Saxon emigrants landed at New Orleans, and on the 19th of February they arrived at St. Louis. Some of the company remained in the city; but the great majority settled in Perry county, Missouri, about 100 miles south of St. Louis, where Walther for a short time served two small congregations. Early in the year 1841 he was called to St. Louis to become the successor of his brother Otto Herman Walther, who, after ministering for but two years to those emigrants who had remained in that city, had so soon been called by God to his eternal reward.

In St. Louis Walther remained and labored as pastor and professor until his death. In September of the year 1844 he began to publish, with the financial assistance of his congregation, a church paper under the title of "Der Lutheraner," bearing the

motto: "God's Word and Luther's doctrine pure shall now and evermore endure." This "Lutheraner" became the blessed means of calling together a small number of like-minded Lutheran preachers.

As a result, the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States was organized at Chicago, in April, 1847, twelve pastors with their congregations and ten pastors without their congregations joining this new Synod. Walther was the leader in this movement and naturally was elected president.

While yet in Perry county, Mo., in 1839, Walther in company with a few other pastors and candidates had erected a small log hut which was to serve as a college and seminary for the training of young men for the Christian ministry as well as for giving a general higher education to those not having the ministry in view. This log-cabin-college became the fruitful mother of the numerous flourishing educational institutions of the Missouri Synod. In the year 1849 this institution was by resolution of the newly organized Synod transferred to St. Louis, and Walther was elected professor of theology. In this capacity he continued to serve the church until the Lord called His faithful servant home to his eternal reward on the 7th of May, 1887.

By the grace of God, Walther became one of the truly great theologians of our church, probably the greatest Lutheran theologian of the 19th century, the blessed effects and results of whose labors are extending far beyond the borders of our own country, to South America, to Germany, to Scandinavia, to India, to Australia and New Zealand. Walther, in fact, became the Luther of America. Whilst Luther is the great Reformer of the church, leading her out of the Babylonian captivity of popery, Walther became the Restorer of our church, particularly here in America.

When Walther began his labors, the Lutheran church was deep down in the dust. The name, indeed, was still there; but the distinctive doctrines of our church had been discarded by the leaders of the church. The principles and practices of the many surrounding denominations prevailed among those that called themselves Lutherans. Ah, our dear church, the great church of the Reformation, was lying in the dust, almost ashamed of herself, of her name. Even the Augsburg Confession some were ready to abrogate and to substitute for it a so-called "Definite Platform." Mainly through Walther's untiring labors our church

received her back-bone again and was enabled to rise from the dust and to stand upon her own feet, rejoicing in the possession of the glorious blessings of the great Reformation of the sixteenth century.

The motto inscribed on Walther's theological banner was, "Back to Luther!" He lived and moved in the doctrines of Luther and the Lutheran church, because he had found them in every instance to agree fully with the teachings of the Holy Writ. He was animated and actuated by the same spirit that animated and actuated Luther. His heart was aglow with a burning zeal for the saving truth of God's Word, as it had been brought to light again by Luther, and as it is shining brightly in the noble Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

In the true spirit of the Reformation Walther's whole theology was controlled by these two cardinal principles: (1) The only source and rule of all doctrines are the Holy Scriptures; and (2) The grace of God alone saves us through faith in Jesus Christ:—*Sola Scriptura, sola gratia, sola fide,* according to the words of Christ: "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." John 8:31-32 and the words of St. Paul: "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast." (Eph. 2:8-9).

As to the first point, Walther's position was this: Whatever the Bible declares to be the truth, that is truth, though the whole world may declare it to be false; on the other hand, whatever the Bible declares to be false and erroneous, that is false and erroneous, though the whole world, yea an angel from heaven, declare it to be correct and true. He did not allow human reason and intellect to sit in judgment over or correct a truth revealed in the Scriptures. He did not follow church traditions nor listen to alleged new revelations. The Bible alone, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible in theology—that was Walther's position in regard to the Bible. Therefore also as to interpreting the Scriptures his principle was: Scripture is to be explained by Scripture, or, in other words, the Holy Spirit speaking to us in the Scriptures must explain Himself, must be His own interpreter, just as every man must be and is the best interpreter of his own words. Whether a so-called fundamental doctrine of the

Holy Scriptures or a so-called non-fundamental doctrine was under discussion, Walther never would depart from the Word as he found it written in the Holy Scriptures. Let me quote a few sentences from one of his sermons. Speaking of Christ's temptation by the devil and Christ's repeated answer, "It is written," "It is written again," Walther exclaims: "O great, important, golden, heavenly, eternal words of the Son of God! Oh that these words could be written in the firmament in fiery letters, so that all men, all heretics, all doubters, all unbelievers, all sorrowing hearts, all sinners would have to read them daily! Oh that these words could be inscribed upon the hearts of all men with iron pencils and with indelible letters! Oh hear it, ye who still are doubting whether the Word of God in the Old and New Testaments be the Word of the living God; hear and consider: when the Son of God was tempted by the power of Satan, then He merely said, "It is written," and with these few words from the Scriptures of the Old Testament He demolished all the entrenchments and bulwarks of the hellish spirit. How could Christ have proved more clearly and more incontrovertibly to all the world that the Bible is the everlasting Word of Him who made heaven and earth; that this Word shall stand firm and immovable when all, all shall pass away!" Yes, Walther trembled at the Word of God; therefore God did to him what He had promised, saying, "To this man will I look, even to him that..... trembleth at my Word." (Isa. 66:2). From the Word of God in the Bible Walther absolutely refused to depart in the least; on it he stood firm and immovable as a true son of Luther. This is what made him invincible.

As to the second cardinal principle which controlled Walther's theology throughout, justification and salvation by grace alone through faith in Jesus Christ, the crucified and risen Lord, Walther said with Luther: "In my heart reigns supreme and shall reign supreme, this one article, viz., the faith in my dear Lord Jesus Christ, who is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all my spiritual and divine thoughts which I ever may have day and night." Walther often quoted these words of Luther. Like Luther, he had to pass through severe trials and torturing doubts before he found peace for his troubled soul through faith in the blood of the Lamb of God; but having once by the grace of God found this peace he unwaveringly held fast to it and with trum-

pet tones proclaimed it to his students and to all whom he could reach with voice or pen.

These two cardinal principles which controlled his theology Walther endeavored to engraft indelibly upon the minds and hearts of his students; and thus equipped he sent them forth to preach.

Much could and should be said of Walther as professor, as the chief founder and zealous advocate of institutions for higher education, especially for the training of young men for the ministry; as a powerful preacher; as the chief organizer and leader of the Missouri Synod, and later on of the Synodical Conference; as an ardent advocate of the parochial school system, his motto being "Christian schools for Christian children"; much, I say, might be said of him also as a man of prayer, as a humble Christian, as a man of broad learning, considerable eloquence, and genuine refinement. But time will not permit this, and I forbear. I will merely add: Walther was a great man among the truly great in Israel, more particularly in our beloved Lutheran Zion. This, I am confident, will be recognized and acknowledged more and more as the years go by. The blessed work of this devout servant of the Master and his influence in the upbuilding of a true confessional Lutheran Church will be felt for centuries to come.

Let me call attention to one more point in Walther's life and work. To many he is known mostly as a great controversialist, a fighter. It is true, as he was great in every other respect, as mentioned before, he was also great in this respect, however, not by choice, not because he delighted in controversy, but of necessity. Walther was a man of peace; and he prayed and worked for peace in our Lutheran Zion. But the peace he sought and labored incessantly to establish is the peace based on unity of spirit, on unity in doctrine and faith in full accordance with God's Word; not a mere outward sham peace with inward discord, saying, Let us agree to disagree. The love of Christ and the truth as it is in Jesus constrained him to obey also this injunction of the Holy Scriptures, that we should earnestly contend for the faith once delivered unto the saints (Jude 3). Walther never contended for mere human opinions, but he did fight against human opinions being introduced into theology. Here only God's Word, God's opinion must prevail. Walther was

ever zealous in building the walls of Zion with the trowel of the Word of truth, but at the same time he kept his sword girded at his side (Nehem. 4:17-18); and as he was diligent and skillful in building, so was he ever ready and valiant in wielding the sword of the Spirit to defend the truth against all perversions, to contend for the faith once delivered unto the saints against all false doctrines. And God has signally blessed Walther's contending for the truth as it is revealed to us by God in the Bible, and as it is confessed by our Lutheran Church in her confessional writings, especially in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. By God's grace Walther achieved one victory after another, so that in the course of years many former opponents became friends and joined him in the defense of the truth as believed and confessed by our church.

And now, in conclusion, let us take a brief glance at the results of the untiring labors of this faithful servant of our Lord Jesus Christ.

When the Synod of Missouri was organized under the leadership of Walther in April, 1847, twelve congregations with their pastors and ten pastors without their congregations joined this new organization. One condition of membership in this Synod was and is to-day the acknowledging not only of the Bible as the inspired Word of God, but also of all the Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as a correct and true exhibition and explanation of this Word. It was freely predicted that on such a confessional basis the Synod could not thrive and become a power in this land of freedom. In ten years it would come to an ignominious end.

But what has, under God's blessing, become of this Synod? When Walther was called home, in May 1887, Synod numbered 1,424 congregations and 544 preaching stations, 931 ministers and 37 professors in the various institutions of the Synod, 75,504 children attending the parochial schools, taught by 620 teachers and by hundreds of pastors. In the seven institutions of Synod 777 young men were preparing for the ministry or for the office of school teacher. "The Lutheraner," the official church paper of Synod, had a circulation of 19,500, and "Lehre und Wehre," a monthly magazine of theology, was published in 1,800 copies.

And what of the Missouri Synod to-day? Walther's spirit is still very much alive among us, and God's blessings accordingly

have not ceased since Walther's demise, but have been graciously continued and increased. The Missouri Synod to-day is by far the largest individual synod in America. At present it numbers 2,123 pastors, and 90 professors (most of them theologically trained) in the various institutions for higher education, the number of students being 1,817. Of this number 309 are studying for the ministry at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 103 new students having entered last September. The Synod has another theological seminary at Springfield, Ill.; furthermore 18 colleges and academies, and 13 institutions of charity, such as hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged and epileptics, an institution for the deaf and dumb, and a sanitarium for consumptives. The Missouri Synod to-day numbers 2,737 congregations, and 1,031 preaching stations, 529,287 communicant members, and 2,130 parochial schools. The Synod is divided into 22 Districts, one of these being an English district, and has churches in 43 States of the Union, also in all the provinces of Canada. One district is in Brazil, South America. A number of pastors are in Australia, New Zealand, England, and in Germany. The Synod is at present carrying on mission work in this country among the negroes, Jews, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Poles, Finns, Persians, and Indians, and foreign mission work in India.

During the past summer a so-called General Conference met at Upsala in Sweden, which was attended by over 700 participants, a number of them being from America. One reporter writes in a German church paper: "How instructive it would have been, if the American delegates had told us in what respects or points the flourishing Lutheran Church of North America can serve us as a guide." To this another German church paper replies: "The question has been answered long ago by Dr. Walther, one of the founders of the flourishing Synod of Missouri." Let me give you Walther's answer. He writes: "What was the way in which the Lord granted us these blessings? It was none other way than this: that we established nothing new, nothing of our own, but that we asked for the old paths and walked in the good, old ways (Jer. 6:16); that we sat down as pupils at the feet of Luther and other orthodox, godly teachers, now triumphing in heaven and walked in their footsteps; that we took the Church of the Reformation for our pattern and her pure Confessions for our banner and guiding star, and made

them a wall round about us.....We have tried whether the tree of our Lutheran Church, which formerly for centuries bore such precious fruits for the salvation of millions, would not to-day yet prove its former sprouting and fruitbearing power. And, behold, our hope has not been put to shame.....The old doctrine has now again shown its old and eternally new power. By it thousands of souls have again been led to faith and through faith unto salvation; and a church has arisen one in faith and confession and shining in love and good works." Brosamen, p. 540.

Indeed, Luther is the Reformer of the church, sent by God to lead her back to the old doctrines of the prophets and apostles; he is an angel having the everlasting Gospel to be preached unto them that dwell on the earth; and Walther is the man of God who has led our church back to Luther and restored to her the blessings of that great Reformation, the pure old doctrines of the Word of God.

May the good Lord soon raise up men who will take the vast treasures which Walther in his numerous German writings has left behind as a precious heritage for the church and make them available to the English speaking portion of our dear church, and thus hasten the day when we all shall be able to see more clearly eye to eye, as a united church, one in spirit, one in doctrine, one in faith and confession, stand firmly together on that platform which was laid down at the time of the Reformation and to which our church has so persistently been called back by the clarion trumpet of the sainted Doctor Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther.

York, Pa.

ARTICLE IV.

THE SCRIPTURES AND THE CONFESSION IN THE GENERAL SYNOD CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

BY REV. JUNIUS B. REMENSNYDER, D. D., LL.D.

President of the General Synod.

Discussion in the church papers has apparently closed respecting the proposed amendments to the constitution of the General Synod. Nevertheless, such discussion, if carried on with mutual consideration, and with sufficient breadth for each party to see the force in the other's standpoint, cannot but be educational and enlightening.

Rev. Dr. Singmaster, in the last number of the QUARTERLY contributed a really valuable article, setting forth the gist of the proposed action in his own dispassionate, lucid anl masterful way. This is a study and review of the whole question.

The intent of the present brief article is to touch upon but a single objection that has been raised, and which, in the minds of many, seems to have no inconsiderable weight. This adverse point is that the proposed Constitutional Amendment, in its form of confessional subscription, puts the Holy Scriptures and the Augsburg Confession in a single paragraph and sentence, when it should separate them. This objection is thus stated in one of our church papers by a leading opponent; "It *lightly* and *trippingly* combines its testimony with reference to the only infallible rule of faith and practice— that is, the Bible— and the correct exhibition of the faith and doctrine of our Church—that is the Augsburg Confession—in a single paragraph and in a single sentence. It fails to indicate the place of emphasis, and thus, unwittingly perhaps, but nevertheless effectively, allies itself with that party in our Church which almost from the beginning looked upon the confessions not merely as symbols, as testimonies, but as sources of truth almost if not quite equal to Scripture itself."

Now let us look at the Amendment, that it may speak for itself; "With the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Fathers,

the General Synod receives and holds the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God and the only infallible rule of faith and practice; and it receives and holds the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the faith and doctrine of our Church as founded upon that Word." Could anything be better said than that, defining the "Canonical Scriptures" as the sole rule of faith, and the Confession as the faith of our church "founded upon the Word," as its sole source and authority?

The above criticism contends that the Scriptures and the Confession should not be in the same sentence. But that is the only natural method, when you wish to define the relation of two things to each other,—the consequent depending upon the antecedent.

Thus, suppose we were to adopt this criticism and put the Scriptures and the Confession in separate sentences. Such a co-adjustment would involve equality far more than the dependent form. But how then would any relation be expressed between them—the very thing you are after? The only way to do this would be to follow the two sentences with a third, in which you mentioned them both, or you would not have your desired relation. Does not this prove the *reductio ad absurdum?* The reason why the proposed Amendment states in one sentence the sole authority of Scripture as the norm of faith, and the Augsburg Confession as deriving all its authority from that scripture, is because that is the only natural and rational way to define the confession's dependency upon the Divine Word.

"Lightly and trippingly," says this critic, the amendment combines the Bible and the Augsburg Confession. This is a most serious reflection upon the present constitution of the General Synod, which has thus combined the two for nearly half a century; and also upon the present Common Service Committee. Drs. Singmaster and Clutz have already voiced their protest against this censure, and as the objector took part in the critical work of that Committee, he knows how seriously, laboriously and conscientiously all sought to frame the very fittest and most reverent form possible. On sober, second thought, we think he would scarcely assert that action was taken in a careless and flippant manner.

But, since our critic cannot have his impracticable scheme of a

single sentence, he deduces this sweeping and ominous conclusion. "It effectively allies itself with that party which looked upon the confessions not merely as symbols, as testimonies, but as sources of truth almost if not quite equal to the Scripture itself." Was ever a more evident *non-sequitur* than this expressed in language? Because you will not put down two statements side by side—an attitude of equality—but connect them in such a manner as to show the absolute dependence of one upon the other, therefore you are asserting their co-ordinate authority! And then, upon this thoroughly baseless assumption, the critic proceeds to read all of us a lecture upon our sacrilegious symbolatry, and the dreadful abyss into which we are hurrying with fatal velocity.

To further show the fallibility of the good Doctor's reasoning, as bearing decisively on this question, let us look at the manner in which the forms of subscription of our church the world over conjoin the Confession and the Bible. This is the more pertinent because our critic issues this very challenge, He says: "With this attitude the Fathers of the General Synod were not in sympathy. With this attitude catholic Lutherans the world over are not in sympathy." We cheerfully accept this challenge. We have seen the logical fitness of the proposed form, now let us mark how practical common sense has made the application.

The great Lutheran theologian, Hutter (1563-1616), gives this obligation for candidates for the ministry, as current in his day: "I solemnly promise that I will not depart from the Prophetical and *Apostolical doctrine, as contained in sum in the articles of the Augsburg Confession.* I will not teach contrary to these." Here we have the "light and tripping" style and the symbolatry of a single sentence.

The subscription in that ideal Lutheran kingdom, SAXONY, which form was prepared under the sway of that great triumverate, Luthardt, Kahnis and Delitzsch, reads: "I promise before God that I will teach and preach purely, the Gospel of Christ, as contained in the *Holy Scriptures, and as witnessed in the unaltered Augsburg Confession.*" Here we have the same conjunction.

WURTEMBERG,—form of ordination: "Especially do you hereby promise to hold yourself to the *Holy Scripture,* and to allow

yourself no deviation from the evangelical system of doctrine contained in the *Augsburg Confession.*"

Dr. Theodore Kaftan, Bishop of Schleswig, wrote lately that, in his judgment one of the best forms of confessional obligation was that of the Lutheran church of SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN. It is: "I affirm and promise before God that in the office of teaching intrusted to me, I will faithfully abide by the true doctrine of the Divine Word, as the same is derived from the *Holy Scriptures,* and is summarized in the *unaltered Augsburg Confession.*"

SWEDEN: "I promise to proclaim in its purity, the Word of God, as it is given in the *Holy Scriptures, and* as it is testified to by the *confessional books* of our church."

This gives us practically a European consensus: let us now come to America. In 1848, the year of the organization of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the Patriarch Muhlenberg declared at the consecration of St. Michael's church, Philadelphia, that the foundation stones of this church have been laid with the intention that in it the Evangelical Lutheran doctrine, according to the *Prophets and Apostles, and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession,* and all the other symbolical books, shall be taught."

GENERAL COUNCIL, 1866: "We accept and acknowledge the doctrines of the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession, as* throughout in conformity with the pure truth, of which *God's Word* is the rule."

GENERAL SYNOD, 1868: "We accept the Word of God, as contained in the *Canonical Scriptures* of the Old and New Testa ments, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, *and* the *Augsburg Confession* as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word, and the faith of our church, founded upon that Word."

SYNODICAL CONFERENCE: "We recognize the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* [and the other symbolical books of the Lutheran church], as the pure, unadulterated explanation and statement of the *Divine Word.*"

UNITED SYNOD SOUTH: "We accept as our doctrinal basis the *Holy Scriptures, the Unaltered Augsburg Confession,* and the other symbolical books of the Lutheran church, as the true and scriptural development of the doctrines taught in the Augsburg Confession, and in the perfect harmony of one and the same pure scriptural faith."

M. Valentine, D.D. Lutheran Encyclopedia, General Synod; "The body is thus grounded in a general way; primarily on the *Word of God* as the only infallible rule, *and,* secondarily, on the *Augsburg Confession.*"

That is, our inquiry shows a consensus of Lutheran theologians and churches throughout the world, expressing the dependent relation of the Augsburg Confession upon the Scriptures, as does the proposed amendment, *in a single sentence.* What then becomes of the indictment of symbolatry in "lightly and trippingly" "looking upon the confessions not merely as symbols, but as sources of truth, almost if not quite equal to Scripture itself?"

Is it conceivable that the universal Lutheran church is guilty of this form of idolatry, which would justly make it a church for outsiders to shun, and for insiders to get out of? Or, is not the only conclusion that this form of subscription is simply the natural, logical and inevitable one? And that the founding of a serious objection on this juxtaposition of the Scriptures and the Augsburg Confession in the proposed Constitutional Amendment is the merest fiction of imagination—the spectral phantasmagory of an inventive brain?

The writer has no desire to excite or perpetuate unpleasant discussion but by bringing forward the facts herein stated, to add to the literature of the question, so that it may be decided intelligently and without prejudice.

That harm is done by intemperate writers on inter-church debate like the present one is beyond doubt. But, on the other hand, such discussion induces thought, inquiry and reflection, and no doubt we all know much more of our Confession and of its relation to the Scriptures, than we did before. And when it is over, like true Christians and good Lutherans, we will work together as loyally and harmoniously for the good of our great church as ever.

New York.

ARTICLE V.

INAUGURAL ADDRESSES—THE CHARGE.*

BY B. C. BOWMAN, ESQ.

President of the Board of Directors at Hamma Divinity School.

Dr. Bauslin:—

On the recommendation of the Faculty, you have been elected by the Board of Directors of Wittenberg College as Dean of Hamma Divinity School.

As the Dean of this School, it will be your duty to see that good government and discipline are maintained at all times; to preside at meetings of the Faculty in the absence of the President; and to perform such other duties as are customary in such an office.

It is not necessary for me to remind you that the Dean should be always ready to give advice, as need may arise, both of a temporal and of a spiritual nature, and to be always a living example to those under him, as the old adage has it, "Like parent, like son," "Like teacher, like pupil." This puts a responsibility on you which the Faculty, in its recommendation to the Board, and the Board, acting favorably on the recommendation, considered you would be fully equal to; for they have full confidence that you will fill the position with credit to yourself and honor to the institution with which you are connected.

Dr. Keyser:—

You have been duly elected by the Board of Directors of Wittenberg College to fill the chair of Systematic Theology.

You have signified your acceptance of this position, and are now actively engaged in the work for which you have been chosen. We are here assembled in order that you may, publicly and in a fitting manner, be inaugurated.

* These addresses were delivered in the Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio, January, 1912, at the inauguration of Dr. David H. Bauslin, as Dean, and of Dr. Leander S. Keyser, as the Frederick Gebhart Professor of Systematic Theology. The charge was delivered by B. C. Bowman, Esq., President of the Board of Directors.

This is one of the occasions of which we in political life would say that the office sought the man, and not the man the office. And the Board of Directors of Wittenberg College feel much gratified that you have accepted the office to which you have been elected; for while it is a sacrifice to you from a pecuniary standpoint, it gives you a larger sphere of usefulness to employ talents which God in His goodness has given you.

You, no doubt, considered this matter prayerfully, and are entering into your work with a full appreciation of its importance and responsibilities; and you realize its greatness all the more, because you know you are to take up the work of Dr. Ort, a grand man, whose teaching has left impress on all the students who have gone forth from this institution during his time, the lives of many having been made more useful by having come in contact with him as a teacher.

We could wish no greater blessing to you than that you might mould characters of the same strength, and exert as much influence for good within those with whom you will come into such intimate reationship.

Your great love of nature, and the power you have of interesting others in this study, will no doubt enable you to reach the hearts of many. Your writings on this subject, as well as your books and the many articles on religious themes contributed by you to the church papers, have led us to believe that you are well qualified and fitted to do the work for which you have been chosen.

Your long experience as a preacher and pastor also gives you a fund to draw from in the practical line, by which those under you, with proper application, can gain much profit.

As a teacher of ethics, you will of course insist upon justice, mercy and truth as the supreme standard for men who preach the Gospel, yet I hope some consideration will be given also to what some might be disposed to think are comparatively unimportant details of daily deportment; for the possession of good breeding and culture may make the minister of the Gospel a welcome visitor in many homes where otherwise he might be merely tolerated.

Dr. Keyser, I, as a layman, cannot address you or give you counsel as could a student of theology to another student of theology. I can only suggest that you allow me to repeat the

words of counsel that you yourself gave, in a charge to a new professor recently, when you were President of the Board. Remembering that at all times you have a higher Power to Whom you can go for divine guidance, and that you can be true to the spiritual teachings of the Church which we all love so well,

——————"to thine ownself be true;
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not be false to any man."

THE PRIMACY OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES.

BY PROFESSOR DAVID H. BAUSLIN, D. D.

In arranging for the services of this hour it was not contemplated that I should make an extended address. The time for the chief address is very properly given to my friend, my colleague and my co-presbyter in the same synodical body, Dr. Keyser, who is here present to be inducted into the important responsibilities and duties of the chair of systematic theology in our cherished and beloved school of theology. But it was deemed proper that I should make some remarks in connection with my assumption of the office of Dean of the Hamma Divinity School, an office created by the Board of Directors at its last meeting, and deemed proper and desirable in connection with the expansion of the work of theological education among us.

I desire first of all to express my deep appreciation of the confidence and esteem evinced by the Board and expressed by certain of its members at the time of my appointment to this honorable position. I love this place and this school of the prophets and for the remaining time of service in the church of our Lord and Redeemer on the earth that may be given to me I can think of no place in which that service might be rendered under more congenial conditions than here exist. yMy colleagues, the president and associated teachers, are men whom I have learned to love, honor and trust and for whose mental and spiritual equipment for the places they have been called by the church to fill, I am fully persuaded. You will permit me, Mr. President and members of the Board of Directors, to express the Judgment that the constitution of the faculty of our Seminary at

this time is propitious and so far as we may be able to discern, full of hope for the years immediately ahead of us. All of our teachers at this time have passed beyond the period of a youthful ministry, and all of us are yet under three score years. With health, devotion to our noble work and diligent application to our tasks, we may reasonably submit ourselves to the Divine protection in the hope of years of fruitful and delightful service.

You will accord me the privilege, I am sure in the presence of this company of brethren, many of whom were my own students, and the elect company of young men who now constitute our student body, once more to express my gratitude to Almighty God that in His merciful goodness and wisdom he hath counted me worthy placing me in the ministry of reconciliation. I am no longer a youth in the work of the ministry, and after the passing of years of service I rejoice to say that in our noble vocation I have found the masterful note to be a surpassing joy that attaches to no other calling among the sons of men. and "having obtained grace of God I continue to this day" and thank my God that in His merciful Providence He hath brought me thus far on a good and delightful way. And if it so be the will of God that years of service are yet before me, I shall confidently expect to find those years to be as a broadening path leading on into a still greater realization of the spiritual greatness of the work unto which I have been set apart by "the laying on of hands." I have found no truths more self witnessing than the truths of the word of God, no faith more beneficent and fruitful than that of our own beloved and stiffly evangelical communion and no fellowship half as sweet as the communion of saints.

And I am gratified also that in years long gone, I was led to this place; that the good Lord and Father of us all, found me in far off places and constrained me to turn my feet toward this place where I came under the direction and influence of honored and loved teachers of positive Christian convictions and character. It may be proper also that once more in this presence I bear witness to my increasing appreciation of the richness, depth, fulness and scripturalness of that apprehension of the gospel expressed in the faith of the Evangelical Lutheran church of our fathers. These years of study, observation and experience have more and more brought me into a sympathetic and appreciative

estimate of the greatness of our heritage in the theology, the history, the piety and the achievements of our great church. I am sure you will accord me, fathers and brethren, the right to express on this occasion so much of what is personal in my feelings and convictions.

In our day we are encountering much discussion regarding the curriculum best adapted to efficiency in the conduct of theological schools. Many suggestions for improvement have been made and no small amount of critical judgment expressed. But in all these that have been sympathetic and appreciative of the contribution such schools are making to the real life and work of the church, I have found always a reference to what has long been established and recognized as not only desirable but necessary factors in the training of the ministers of the church; that in that training there must be something of exegetical theology, the object of which is to secure an understanding of the contents of the Bible; something of historical theology presenting the history of Revelation and embracing what has been manifest in the church in its expansion and development as well as the History of doctrine; something of Systematic Theology which has for its office the orderly presentation and justification of the whole body of beliefs or teachings which belong to the Christian religion; and something of Practical Theology which considers the appropriate means and methods of bringing the teachings of our holy religion to actual supremacy in the life of men, including as its teaching branches Liturgics, Catechetics, Homiletics and Pastoral Theology.

We have in all this the greatest of all sciences, the science that reflects the surpassing greatness of the One Supreme Teacher whose influence has turned the whole course of human life into a new path of sustained progress. In all the departments, and in all the teaching in a school such as we represent here to-night we have for our object the reproduction and understanding of the teaching of the Head and Founder of the church in its historic reality and to grasp His hand stretched out to save. In the greatness of the task contemplated by men who are called to teach in such schools, do we find the aim and worth of theological science. It is an effort to learn that which is most worth learning. It is a needful equipment of all who endeavor to save the lost, to train the young and build up the church. The-

ology is an absolute spiritual and intellectual necessity. Ordered thinking on the highest of all themes is not a foe to the spiritual life, as some well-meaning people sometimes seem to think. It is a necessary outcome of the organizing instinct of the human mind. Systematic truth contains an intimate relation to the development of character. Definite, just and entirely unambiguous views of Christian doctrine are of primary importance to the preacher. There is an intimate relation between sound and correctly articulated doctrine and the safety and sustained aggressive power of the church. It is directly and indirectly enjoined in the Scriptures.

In one of the rich and harmonious frescoes in the Vatican, Raphael, the chieftain in that great group of Italian artists of the sixteenth century, has put on record in a highly artistic manner, an altogether splendid conception of the exalted place occupied by Christian theology, the noble science we represent here to-night. There is represented in that famous painting a beautiful woman, who, holding in her hand the gospels, is pointing to a picture below while two cherubs by her side hold up tablets containing these words, *"Divinarum Rerum Notitia"* —"the knowledge of divine things." The great painting deals with earth and heaven as one whole, a cloud dividing the picture into two halves. In the upper half the heavenly world is portrayed. According to the symbolism that was maintained at that time, the Holy Trinity is presented—the Father above in the midst of seraphim and cherubim and an innumerable company of the heaveny host, the Savior, who is presented as Himself the center of the pious saints, is placed a little beneath, His mother being placed at his left and John the Baptist at his right, while on either side of these there have been placed the leading patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs. There are Peter and John and David, and Paul, Abraham, Moses, James, St. Lawrence and St George, and a little lower still the third Person of the Trinity represented by the descending dove. Beneath the dividing cloud which separates the upper and lower parts, the earthly assembly of believers is portrayed. The holy eucharist is displayed upon an altar and upon which the Holy Ghost is falling and to the right and left of which, there is to be seen a great company who in various spheres of mental activ-

ity have wrought for God in efforts to interpret the truths of His revelation.

In this company do we find Jerome, the diligent student of the Scriptures, the leading exegete of his time; Ambrose the indefatigable pastor, the famous bishop of Milan and the spiritual father of Augustine the greatest of the post-apostolic fathers, who also finds a place in the picture; Bernard the mystic of the middle ages and the most commanding personality of his day and generation, and Gregory called the great, the ardent champion in the seventh century of the prerogatives of the papal see. There too we discover St. Thomas the great systematizer, the most exalted name in general Catholic theology; Bonaventura, distinguished for the comprehensiveness of his mind and who arranged all his knowledge in subordination to theology; Peter Lombard, the master of sentences, whose work served for centuries as the basis for theological lectures in great universities; and Scotus Erigena, the master of arguments who displayed everywhere keen analytical powers and mastery of literary expression. Side by side with these great leaders and interpreters in theology, Raphael has regraded it as fit and appropriate to put as fellow-workers those who wrought splendidly in other spheres, the sad poet who depicted the nether world, the brave heretic who brought a vice-bound mediaeval city to repentance and the saintly painter who wrought upon his knees, the men who ennobled Florence,—Dante, Savonarola and Fra Angelica.

Such is Raphael's representation of the dignity, the importance and the charm of Christian theology, called so frequently, in his day, the queen of the sciences and which we feel assured, has justified its right through long periods of human thinking to be regarded as the imperishable science, because it deals with the most fundamental of all subjects—the doctrine of God and the life in God.

Considering its importance and the greatness of the themes with which it deals, God in the mystery of His being and the greatness of His doing, man in the greatness of his nature and the misery of his fall, the transcendent importance of the redemption provided and the means of its application, it is accordingly not surprising that in earlier ages other studies were looked upon as the vestibule to theology and valuable chiefly as introductions to it. That estimate is indicated by Jacob of Vitry

who died in 1244, and great chief of all as a preacher, in his comparison of the seven liberal arts with theology. "Logic," said Jacob, "is good for it teaches us to distinguish truth from falsehood; grammar is good for it teaches us how to speak and write correctly; rhetoric is good for it teaches us how to speak elegantly and to persuade. Good too are geometry which teaches us how to measure the earth, arithmetic or the act of computing which enables us to estimate the brevity of our days, music which reminds us of the sweet chant of the blessed, astronomy which leads us to consider the heavenly bodies shining resplendently before God. But far better is theology which alone can be called a liberal art, since it alone delivers the human soul from its woes."

To the cultivation of this incomparable science, for the quickening in the minds of young men who contemplate making its treasures known to the popular mind in the form of Christian preaching the Hamma Divinity School here in our midst exists. In the noble school that stands on yonder hill in years that are gone, men of God with fine endowments, ample learning and sincere devotion to the church of our fathers, have wrought in this science which has God for its beginning and end. I am sure that those who have come after them in a noble succession, and who share in the responsibilities of their time and place, have no other desire than with a wholehearted devotion, to do what they may be able to equip men with an adequate equipment,to make known that salvation which begins and ends in the person and work of our adorable Lord, the Head and Founder of the church.

LUTHERAN THEOLOGY AND CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE.

BY PROFESSOR LEANDER S. KEYSER, D.D.

The pleasant occasion that brings us together this evening has its value for the present, and, we trust, its significance for the future; but it has its roots in the past. In all things there is a historic succession that should not be overlooked. Our Lord uttered a deep philosophic truth when He said, "One soweth

and another reapeth," for this is true in all history; we are all reapers of the seed sown by our forefathers, and, in turn, we are all sowers of the seed that shall bring forth harvests for our successors to reap. For this reason we cannot let this occasion go by without paying our tribute of love and respect to our honored predecessors in the chair of Systematic Theology in Hamma Divinity School.

Dr. Ezra Keller, the founder of Wittenberg College, was the first teacher of theology; indeed, he taught all the branches of theology then included in the curriculum, and not merely dogmatics. Therefore, we cannot claim him as our predecessor in the technical sense of the term, because he really was the predecessor of all the instructors in the seminary.

The first regular and specific incumbent of the Frederick Gebhart Chair of Systematic Theology was Dr. Samuel Sprecher, whose very name is the synonym of spirituality and scholarship. How we revered him! How we revere him still! To show in what veneration he was held we cite an incident. One of our fellow-students once remarked, "I never see Dr. Sprecher going by but I feel like taking off my hat!" One day a number of us students were standing on one side of the street while Dr. Sprecher, all unconscious of us, passed along the other side, when all of us with one accord took off our hats and held them in our hands until he had gone by. In those days he appeared so venerable and saintly that all of us shared in the wish to do him reverence.

We count it one of the rarest privileges of our life to have been a student at Dr. Sprecher's feet and to have pursued our course in Dogmatic Theology under his wise guidance. What a dower of mind God had bestowed upon him! What depths of thought! What flights of fancy and speculation! There were intervals when he would close his eyes and soar away into the realms of chastened metaphysics, until we, his students, although we may have followed him more or less vaguely, were borne off into a kind of third heaven, with an atmosphere so rare and ethereal and holy that we wished we could build tabernacles and dwell there forever. He loved speculation, did Dr. Sprecher; he loved metaphysics and philosophy; he reveled in the infinite reaches of thought; his was a mind that could not be kept

within the confines of time and space, but ventured forth boldly, though reverently, into the spheres of eternity and infinity.

But what profit was there in sitting under such tutelage? Much every way. He taught us to think; to think deep and high; never to be satisfied with surface thinking. Dr. Sprecher, more than any other man with whom we ever came in contact, taught us that it was a sin merely to skim the surface; taught us to be as thorough and thorough-going as possible, and always to seek after the inner constitutional reason of things. One day he said, with that rare smile that was so attractive: "When in your preaching you find yourselves becoming exhausted, just plow a little deeper into the gospel soil; there is plenty of sub-soil underneath, and it is very fertile." That saying has been one of the maxims of our life. Would that we had shown more ability and versatility in carrying it into practice!

But Dr. Sprecher was more than a metaphysician and a philosopher; no mere doctrinaire was this wise teacher. He was a deep-souled Christian, with an inner assurance of salvation and of the presence of the Spirit, and his great intellectual powers were bowed in humble submission to the inspired Word of God. Never did he fail to tell us where the clear revelation of God ended and speculation began. That was one of the potent charms of his teaching; he trained his students to think, and yet steered their course firmly along the pathway of Biblical truth; while the simplicity of his faith and the saintliness of his life were a benediction that has never lost its influence. "He, being dead, yet speaketh."

Here we may frankly state that in those early days Dr. Sprecher did not give a very positive Lutheran and confessional stamp to his teaching; therefore his students did not have the advantage of the later light and knowledge that has since come by larger induction from the Word of God and our churchly Confessions. Afterward the doctor, in the light of more thought and research, changed his viewpoint relative to the Lutheran system of doctrine, as is known by a number of his letters that have been published. We may say, therefore, that to-day we stand on the position of his latest and best thought rather than on that of his earlier teaching.

The next occupant of this chair was Prof. Samuel A. Ort, D.D., LL.D. May we lay our humble immortelle upon his beloved

memory? He, too, was our instructor in the seminary, though in other branches of theology—Hebrew and Greek Exegesis, Church History, Apologetics, Homiletics and Pastoral Theology. It was after Dr Sprecher's retirement that Dr. Ort became the professor of Systematic Theology. A great and inspiring teacher was Dr. Ort. He loved his work, and made you love it. Not many years ago he said to us one day, "I am never quite so happy as when I am in my classroom with my students."

Let us analyze his type of mind. His was a comprehensive intellect. He did not care much for details. They were, we think, a burden to him. The merely technical method of mastering a subject, piecemeal and bit by bit, was not Dr. Ort's way. He would grasp a subject as whole and discuss it in a large way, taking in one general sweep the whole landscape from horizon to horizon.

In this respect the present occupant of the professorship cannot hope to emulate his powerful preceptor and predecessor. Ours is a mind of a different type, which must work in its own way. We must go after a subject in a painstaking effort, step by step, now gathering this fact, now that, weighing and comparing each with each and one with all, looking after the minutiae in their varied relations, until at length, after much toil, we may be able to compass the problem in its entirety.

Personally we owe much to Dr. Ort. It was largely through his influence, in private conversation and public address, that we were directed to make deeper and more thorough research into the teaching of God's Word relative to our Lutheran Confessions and theological system, and thus we came into hearty acceptance of the Lutheran view—a fact that has given us great peace and satisfaction and imparted to us a warm and genuine love for Lutheran doctrine and the whole Lutheran Church. For this wise help and direction we wish to weave this loving garland of gratitude and lay it on the brow of our honored teacher and predecessor, Dr. Samuel A. Ort.

These tributes to our teacher are all the more germain to our special theme for this evening, in view of the fact that, in all their instruction in theology, however intellectual they may have been, there always ran the dominant major note of inner personal experience of the fundamental truths of the Christian religion. They were not Christian men because they were potent

thinkers and keen reasoners, but because they had the inner witness of the Spirit. They were regenerated and converted men, and that was what made them great as theologians and gave warmth and force to their teaching. Thus we are brought to our theme: "Lutheran Theology and Christian Experience."

With all the intensity of conviction, we believe that the theologian, like every other Christian, should have in his heart a clear and positive assurance of salvation and evangelical truth. Not only head knowledge should he have, but also heart knowledge. Indeed, we go so far as to assert that no man has the right to occupy the position of teacher in a theological school who does not know what it means to have soul-to-soul contact with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. A dogmatic iceberg in a seminary chair would be both a travesty and an anomaly.

But here we must needs pause to make a few distinctions. In speaking of experimental piety we do mean that vague, so-called God-consciousness advocated by men like Schleiermacher and Ritschl; nor any kind of false mysticism that is more or less independent of God's Holy Word; nor the wild fanaticism that results from supposed or pretended extra-Biblical revelations; no, we mean a clear, sober, definite experience of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in the soul through the inspired Word and the holy sacraments. Thus we never would say that the Bible is to be tested by our experience, but the very reverse; our experience is to be tested by the teaching of God's Word, the test-stone of every experience as well as every doctrine. The Holy Spirit uses the Word of God as the vehicle to produce the true evangelical experience, just as the sun employs his rays and the universal ether to bring to man the experience of light and warmth. Our sensation does not cause or determine the sun's reality and power, but, on the contrary, is determined and produced by them; yet it must also be admitted that, without the experience of light and warmth, the sun's existence and character would be of small benefit to us. Neither will the Word of God be of real avail to us until it becomes a subjective matter of experience.

It is to be borne in mind, too, that an inner experience of spiritual truth is not to take the place of sound, painstaking and open-minded thinking. Clear thinkers, precise reasoners, fear-

less investigators—these we must be in our several chairs of theology. But, my brethren, why should not a converted man be as good a thinker as an unconverted one? Indeed, the regenerate man is more likely to be an accurate and rational thinker than the man who is still in the carnal state, because the former's intellectual powers have been enlightened by the Spirit of God and the harmony of his rational faculties has been restored. Many a man has borne testimony to the fact that he never was able to think so lucidly and profoundly before his conversion as afterward.

So the theologian must be a thinker and a scholar, if he would fill his place with efficiency and credit; he must be able to defend the faith against all gainsayers; he must be equipped to meet the enemies of revelation on their own ground; he must, if need arises, have the ability and the courage to invade the enemy's territory and force him to capitulate or flee. To stand in the class-room or the pulpit and pronounce tirades and fulminations and philippics against rationalism, negative criticism, false science and philosophy, without showing why they are wrong, is worse than useless in this age of general intelligence; it is but the blare of trumpets without meaning or music. Such blustering might show zeal, but it would not be "zeal according to knowledge." To deliver a torrent of invectives is an easy business; anybody can become more or less adept in such performances simply by studying the lexicons for epithets; but it takes mental culture and grasp to be able to obey the apostle's injunction to be "ready always to give an answer to everyone that asketh a reason for the hope that is in you." Be assured, that is the most deeply rooted experience which can remain poised in view of a knowledge of all the facts in the case. A conviction that is based on lack of information may be little more than obstinacy or pride of opinion; whereas the conviction that, founded in experience, yet knows all the objections and has examined and weighed them judicially, is the kind that will remain steadfast and immovable through all the storm and stress of thought.

Now, with these distinctions in mind, we insist that the teacher of theology ought to have more than a mere academic interest in the subjects he and his students handle in the class-room. He should feel in his heart that they are the most precious treasures and truths, vital to the well-being of man and the

kingdom of God. An intellectual iceberg will not make a good Christian theologian. A mere walking lexicon or encyclopedia is not likely to be a forceful man in society and the world. Our theology must be an animated, breathing thing in order to be of real service to God and His cause.

Some theological schools in this and other countries are sending out rationalistic preachers simply because they are trying to solve all the problems of time and eternity by unaided human reason, forgetful that the experience of faith is just as necessary to make a full-orbed and roundly cultured man as is the development of the intellect. Some very erudite men have so faulty a system of psychology, to say nothing of theology, that they do not take cognizance of the faculty of faith as a real, vital, constitutional part of the human soul. Hence they become mere intellectualists in psychology, mere doctrinaires in theology. A few practical questons may be germain at this point. What profit will it be to be able to speak with great learning about the doctrine of the Trinity, and to make the finest metaphysical distinctions, and yet not know the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost by actual contact and communion? Or what boots it to be able to discuss all the heresies respecting the person of Christ, and point out with the utmost logical nicety the correct doctrine, and yet not know Christ Himself in His redeeming and cleansing power? Nothing is more essential than that the theological teacher should have the spiritual mind, for the fleshly mind is *enmity* against God. How could a man still in the carnal state properly teach divine and spiritual truth?

In Lutheran theology and other church life we believe in Christian experience just as much as do any other body of Christians. A woman of another church once asked us this question: "Do you Lutherans believe in a Holy Ghost religion?" We promptly told her we surely do; because we believe the Bible, which says, "Except one be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot inherit the kingdom of God," and, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." Perhaps, however, we should have added, by way of qualification: "If you mean by 'Holy Ghost religion' great emotional excitement and vociferation, we Lutherans do not believe in that, for we also accept the Biblical teaching on this subject, namely: 'The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets,' and, 'Let

everything be done decently and in order.' " Still, the truth stands beyond the power of gainsaying that we Lutherans do believe in personal assurance of pardon and salvation and in the inner witness of the Holy Spirit through the Word and the sacraments.

Lutheran theology was born of experience. It was born in the heart of Luther, who first experienced the *fact* of justification through faith in Christ alone before he made it a dogma of his theology. In like manner the real presence of Christ in His whole person was first impinged upon his heart, through study of the gospel, and then, and then only, did he incorporate it as a doctrine in his theological system. In its central doctrines Lutheran theology is not a mere scholastic system, with dialectical and unnecessaary distinctions and refinements. No! It is a living, breathing, fruitful system of truth drawn out of living experience of God's Word.

We are insisting on these things with so much pertinacity because some people think that a theologian is nothing but a "dry-as-dust" member of the human genus, if not something anomalous outside of that genus altogether. They seem to look upon him as sort of mummy or stone image. And as for a theological seminary, they regard it as about the deadest and dullest place on the earth; a good place to freeze in or become petrified. Such criticism, however, is usually made by people who have never been inside the walls of a divinity school. Probably an inside view would open their eyes. There are people who decline to come out to the inauguration of a theological professor, because they are afraid he will discuss theology, and use a lot of scholastic and technical terms that they cannnot understand, and especially that he will not know when to stop. And sometimes when a member of a theological faculty is announced to preach in a church, some people take occasion to stay away, fearing he will be dry, prosy, academic and obstruse, rather than plain, practical and inspiring.

Brethren, this is all a mistake and a caricature. In rebuttal let me say that no subject is more interesting, attractive and fascinating—I multiply adjectives purposely—than theology; providing it is vitalized by genuine Christian experience. Talk about language and literature, physics, chemistry, biology and botany, psychology and philosophy, and even ornithology—talk about *them* being so captivating! Well, they are, every one of

them; just as captivating as they can be. Would that we could study them all and become experts in every branch of knowledge! Here is a theological teacher admitting the perennial interest of all these studies; and yet *you* say that doctrine, the subject he teaches, is dry and stupid. Now who is the person of narrow vision? With all our might we maintain that not a whit less engaging and full of human interest than the branches referred to is the study of theology, which deals with the noblest and most vital themes—God, creation, man; life in all its phases and relations, individual and social, intellectual, emotional and volitional, civil, ethical and spiritual; the earth, the universe, and nature in all her diversified forms and operations; the past, the present and the future; history, language and literature, and their practical bearings on life; repentance, faith, hope, love, redemption, salvation, and immortal destiny. Tell me, are these dull and insipid themes? I scarcely know how to characterize the stupidity and narrowness that would say they are.

Let me insert here, somewhat by way of parenthesis, that nothing is more interesting than doctrine when it is made vital by experience; and the most engaging and potent kind of preaching for the day is doctrinal preaching—living, breathing apostolic doctrinal preaching, made simple and clear, and vitally related to life. The world has grown weary of the empty hollowness of mere hortatory preaching, which is like sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. And, oh! this everlasting legalistic preaching, the preaching of works, which reiterates and dins again and again, "You ought to do this, and you ought not to do that, or you will lose your reward;" which is constantly urging men and women to never-ending activity; whose stock-in-trade is strain, strain, strain, and "stretch every nerve;" whose choice refrain is, "Our souls how heavily they go, to reach eternal joys!" Brethren, let us change the program and the spirit by proclaiming the great and inspiring doctrines of our religion—the love and righteousness of God, the plan of redemption through Christ, the incarnation, justification by faith, the assurances of eternal life, and all the rest—and thereby furnish incentive and exhilaration for repentance and faith and good works; then people will work with a will and a zest, because they can put heart into their activities.

Coming back again to the interesting character of theological

studies, there is not a branch of learning in all the schools which does not have a vital connection with the science of theology. All roads of learning lead to theology. Some people might not want to admit that it is central, and we will not debate with them on that point; but all who are informed must admit that it is organically related to the whole curriculum of learning from a-b-c to the most erudite problems of philosophy. You and I must never think that a subject which is of no interest to us is of no interest at all; that is simply to advertise our lack of breadth of culture and sympathy. Do you say that a divinity school is only a dust-grinding factory? Nay, nay, you do not understand. A divinity school is a garden of delights, an orchard of luscious fruit, a domain of thought and experience as wide as the universe, diversified with plains and hills and valleys, with mountains here and there whose snow-crowned summits leap up to the throne of God.

By the same token, it ought to go without saying or cavil that the theologian should not live in a cloister. No mustiness, cobwebs or dust should gather on the shelves of his mind. Scholar though he should be, he should also be a practical man, a man among men, taking part in the active affairs of life, interested in the live questions of the day both in Church and State, with a large and sympathetic view of the whole church of the Redeemer; and he should go out among the churches and the synods of his denomination as much as time and strength will allow. Nothing that is vital to the welfare of the church and her ministers should be ignored by him. Besides being an expert in his specialty, he should read the newspapers, at least a few of them, and should never fail to go to the polls to vote on election days. We insist upon it, he should be practical enough to hoist an umbrella when it rains, or else to go indoors! Of all men, he can least afford to be merely a theorist, and for him in this age to be narrow-sphered and hidebound is nothing less than professional suicide.

Now, a real and unmistakable experience of Bible truth will lead the theologian out of the merely academic into the practical realm. From the nature of the case this must be true, because, if the "love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit whom He hath given unto us," that experience will cause us to love the world which God loves; and let us remember that love is an active principle of life that will impel its possessors

to active service. It pleases me to remark here that our seminary Faculty is composed of men who have practical as well as scholastic interests. Our president, Dr. Heckert, is known to be a man of affairs as well as a scholar and a gifted lecturer; Dr. Tressler, besides his great scholarship, is at the head of one of the best civic leagues of our city; Dr. Larimer can discuss politics almost as incisively as theology, and is always moving among the churches preaching a simple and practical gospel; Dr. Neve knows a great many things besides the Augsburg Confession and the Book of Concord, and is intensely interested in every question of the day which is worthy of the attention of a scholar. Thus you will see that we are not a set of religious monks or anchorites. If those who teach in Hamma Divinity School are more intent on any one thing than all others, it is to keep in vital touch with Christ ourselves, to get the living connection between the doctrines we teach and the age in which we live and human life in all its diversified relations, and to impart to the young men under our tutelage the same living and life-giving spirit and temper.

In the next place, let me prove to you, as briefly as I can, that the great doctrines of evangelical Lutheran theology are not merely matters of speculation, but are truths of actual experience. Take the doctrine of the Trinity, which is positively revealed in God's Word; that God is threefold and tri-personal in His life and yet only one in essence. "Oh!" exclaims some one, "that is only a matter of speculative refinement; it has no practical bearing on life and experience." No, you err. It never would have been of any interest at all, had it not first become a matter of human experience. Possessing only a speculative interest, it would have long ago been forgotten, or, at least, would have been relegated to the shelves of dusty tomes. Let us try the doctrine, and see how it co-ordinates with the deepest needs of the human soul. The truly converted man, whether technically a theologian or not, feels his need of one God, who is absolute and independent. "Our souls were made for God, and they are restless till they find rest in Him." "My heart panteth after thee, O God, as the hart panteth after the water-brooks." So the regenerated man finds His rest and satisfaction in the one indivisible God. More than one God would not satisfy him, because then no God would be the absolute sovereign.

But Christian experience goes further; it realizes that God is not only Creator and Sovereign, but also Father. With what joy and confidence the converted man looks up and says, "Abba, Father!" With what delight his heart throbs with the assurance that "the Spirit Himself beareth witness with our spirits that we are the children of God!"

However, Christian experience still goes further. We know that we are sinners; that we cannot save ourselves and forgive our own sins; that we cannot make expiation for our transgressions and satisfy the righteousness of God and at the same time be saved. Seeing the whole world is in the bondage of iniquity, unable to atone for their own sin, we realize that only God can make such expiation, because He alone is infinite in power and holiness. Therefore we need God as a Saviour, and Christian experience finds Him in the incarnate Son, who was "God manifest in the flesh."

There is still something lacking in Christian experience. An objective atonement is not enough. Our natures are sinful and weak. We need a new principle of spiritual life—a holy principle that will enable us to overcome the evil in our nature and do the will of the holy God. Who but God can furnish such power? No one. Therefore God comes to us as our regenerator and sanctifier in the third person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit.

Thus it will be seen that Christian experience needs one God, yet one who is tri-personal; in whom each person is God, and all the persons one and the same Supreme Being.

Suppose we consider in the light of experience that central and regulating doctrine of our Lutheran system, justification by faith in Christ. Once we tried hard, as Paul and Luther did, to save ourselves by works. The more we tried, the deeper became our gloom, the more harassing our uncertainity. After trying many ways to find the truth, at length we found these statements in the Bible: "The just shall live by faith;" "The Son of Man cometh to seek and to save that which was lost;" "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be condemned;" "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." We heeded those injunctions on the principle of Christ's own test: "He doeth the will of my Father shall know of the doctrine." We came to Jesus, and we cried, "Lord

save us; we perish;" "Thou hast the words of eternal life." What was the result? The experience of salvation and composure; just as the Scripture declares, "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." The Bible doctrine was again proved by the experimental test.

Let us try the doctrine of the *real presence* in the same way. By the real presence we mean the actual presence of the whole Christ, human and divine, with the believer at all times and especially in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Does that doctrine belong only to the sphere of scholastic distinctions and refinements, or does it come within the range of religious assurance? If it were merely a matter of speculative interest, we would never insist on it again; we would never contend for it as we have in the past with tongue and pen. The mere speculations of men are not of paramount concern, and are hardly worth contending for; therefore why waste time and energy upon them?

But the fact of the real presence of Christ is a matter of the heart as well as the head. Let us look for the Scriptural basis for it, and when we find that, how can it help but become by the very power of the truth, energized by the Holy Spirit, an actual experience in the heart of the believer. Jesus says: "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world;" "I will not leave you desolate; I will come to you;" "A little while, and ye behold me no more; and again a little while, and ye shall see me;" "If a man love me, he will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and *we* will come unto him, and *make our abode* with him;" "In that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you;" "Abide in me, and I in you; as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; so neither can ye, except ye abide in me." Do not all these texts indicate the personal presence of Jesus with the believer, and not merely the presence of the Holy Spirit, or Christ's presence through the meditation of the Spirit? Collate them with Paul's teaching: "Christ in you, the hope of glory;" "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me;" passages that point unmistakably to the real personal presence of Jesus and a mystical union with Him. Now note, further, what Paul teaches: "He ascended far above all the heavens that He might fill all things;" also the whole Pauline teaching that Jesus ascended to the right hand of God, was glorified, and that "in Him dwelleth all the fullness of the

Godhead bodily, and in Him are ye made full, who is the head of all principality and power." Compare these great truths with Christ's own prayer: "Father glorify thou me with *thine own self,* with the glory which I had with thee before the world was."

Now, when you read all these sublime statements of Holy Writ, radiant as the sun, do you not feel in your heart that Jesus, in His glorified humanity as well as His divinity, is really present with you? Is it not borne in upon your very consciousness, too, that He who is with you is the same Jesus who was born in Bethlehem, walked up and down the land doing good, was crucified on the cross, arose again on the first Easter morning, and then ascended to the right hand of God, was filled with all the fullness of God, becoming in His glorification transcendent that He might be immanent and ubiquitous? It is not another than Jesus; not merely the Logos; not only the Holy Spirit; but Jesus Himself, the incarnate Son of God, who is both God and man, who took on Him our nature and can be "touched with the feelings of our infirmities, having been tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin;" yes, it is this very same Jesus, now glorified and ubiquitous, who is present with us as our Friend, Companion, Saviour; consciously present with us all the time, redeeming His promise, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." He is even more preciously present with us than He was with His disciples in the days of His humiliation; for then His omnipotence and grace were held in restraint that He might suffer for our redemption; but now He is with us in His glorified form. Let this great fact become a matter of experience in the souls of men, and they will not think of Jesus as only in the distant heavens somewhere, but with them right here on the earth, walking by their side and dwelling in their hearts. Oh! let us get this experience in our souls, and it will make Jesus unspeakably precious to us; it is not enough to hold it only as a speculative doctrine; it must become a matter of real experience.

Now, with this conception and experience of Christ's real presence in His whole glorified person, the communion of the Holy Supper has intensified reality and value. Tell me what is your experience in this sacrament? Is it to you a mere memorial? Do you strain to think of a past event and to remember an absent Christ? Where is Christ for you as you take the bread

and wine? Is He away off yonder in the blue distance somewhere? Oh! you must have a stronger faith and richer experience than that. True, He *is* yonder, because He is everywhere; but for you He is *present in the Eucharist,* your host, and you are His guest; and as you receive the earthly elements, you also receive Him into your entire being; not only a part of Him, but His whole divine-human person. If you let your faith stumble at His word, you cannot keep Him away, but you will miss the precious experience of His human and divine presence. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" Did not Jesus Himself say, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him?" Jesus is present with us today in the Lord's Supper just as He was in the upper room in Jerusalem when He instituted the sacrament, so that His disciples could touch Him and have direct and precious fellowship with Him; only now He is present in His glorified and invisible form, and is more potent and precious than He was in His state of humiliation. I plead for this fact to become a matter of true, heartfelt experience.

As Lutheran teachers and preachers, we should proclaim to the world this great and inspiring doctrine of the real presence of the whole Christ. It ought to make every one of us a flaming evangelist, so noble an evangel it is. Many people in the churches are weak in faith and have a meager experience, because they are trying to content themselves with the presence of the Holy Spirit only, instead of receiving in simple, childlike faith the whole Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, into their hearts and lives. Without ostentation, or boasting of superiority, let us give them the whole transporting truth.

My friends, in concluding, I believe I can say without hesitancy that what I have been proclaiming about the reality and need of Christian experience is the teaching given in all the departments of Hamma Divinity School; in the department of Historical and Practical Theology by Dr. Bauslin; in Old Testament Language and Literature by Dr. Larimer; in New Testament Exegesis and Research by Dr. Tressler; in Symbolics and German by Dr. Neve; and also in our own department of Dogmatics, Apologetics and Ethics. The zest with which my col-

leagues teach their several branches; the quiet fervor with which they conduct the chapel services morning by morning; the devoutness and spirituality with which they lead our prayers at the throne of grace—all convince me that they have more than a theoretical concern for their work; that they are not a company of dry pedants and dogmaticians; but that their hearts are on fire with the love of Christ and the souls He purchased with His blood. It is a rare delight to be associated with such men in so great and blessed a cause. And I believe I discern the same spirit of piety and the same assurance of faith in the young men who are fellow-students with us of the oracles of God.

My dear colleagues, we are called to carry forward the work that our godly and scholarly predecessors have bequeathed to us as a precious trust. Keller, Sprecher, Gotwald, Breckenridge, Ort—what a worthy constellation of names! In bearing the mantles of these men, we realize, I am sure, that we must be true men, true, first of all, to the Word of God in all its integrity; true to our school, to our beloved Church, to our doctrines, to our solemn oath of obligation; in short, "workmen who need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of truth." In conjunction with Dr. Heckert, our honored President, we are entrusted with the spiritual care of an institution that has been endowed by the benefactions of such donors as Frederick Gebhart, the Culler family, Mrs. Geo. D. Harter, and Charles Stroud, and are finely housed and liberally equipped through the generosity of one of the best friends and patrons a Lutheran seminary ever had, the Rev. Michael W. Hamma, D.D., who is happily present with us at this inauguration service. With such a trust committed to our care, my fellow-teachers, I feel confident that we shall do our utmost to train young men for lives of efficiency in the high and holy vocation of the Christian ministry; men who shall be more than mere linguists and exegetes and historians and dogmatists; men who shall go forth to proclaim the gospel of redemption with pentecostal fervor and apostolic power, because they "have been with Jesus and have learned of Him."

"The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus."

Springfield, Ohio.

ARTICLE VI.

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF SAINT JAMES.

BY THE REV. M. HADWIN FISCHER, B. D., PH.D.

It is not to be thought strange that the gospel of Christ should have been differently reported by his followers. The call to apostleship tended to direct personality rather than to obliterate it. Constant fellowship with our Lord irresistibly modifies the natural impulses, but in the great work of His Kingdom the Saviour of men has need of the individuality of every follower. His gospel as universal must appeal to every nationality and peculiarity of men, and since the work that he "began, both to do and teach," has been given to men to carry to all nations, it is necessary that it be adapted to the peculiar needs of every people, and this is just what happened. The impetuous Peter preaches a "gospel of hope," Paul exults in the "gospel of faith," the beloved John declares the "gospel of love," while James seems to unite the three by emphasizing a gospel of practical godliness.

But at once the question of authorship thrusts itself upon us. Authorities are by no means agreed as to the identity of the author or the date of the composition of the epistle. Four theories are advanced, namely, that the author is: James the son of Zebedee; James the son of Alphaeus; James the brother of our Lord; that the epistle was not written by James at all, but that the author assumed the name in order to speak with authority. Unless a very early date can be fixed for the epistle, the first theory is excluded by the early martyrdom of the son of Zebedee. The last view which places the epistle at a very late date, finds little support, save among the destructive critics of the Tübingen school. The question is thus narrowed to James the son of Alphaeus, and James the brother of our Lord. A few authors of recent times maintain the identity of these two, but from a study of the ἀδελφοί of Jesus, Jas. 2:12; Matt. 12:46; Mark 3:21,31; Luke 8:19; Jno. 7:3; Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3; it seems evident that they were distinct from the apostles. Nowhere is it indicated that the ἀδελφοί were not real brothers of Jesus, while it is equally certain that James the son of Al-

phaeus is never mentioned as a brother of our Lord. It would seem evident therefore that the two are distinct; the son of Alphaeus being one of the twelve, and the other James, the brother of our Lord. Inasmuch as the latter was an unbeliever until our Lord's death, our first impulse would be to declare the son of Alphaeus the author of the epistle. It is also argued, that if the author had been the brother of our Lord, he would so have announced himself in order to gain greater authority. On the other hand it is worthy of note, that the son of Alphaeus could have described himself as an apostle, as does St. Peter and St. Paul. This he has not done. Again we have no distinct reference to him any more than to the greater part of the apostles after the ascension.

We are forced therefore to the position that the author is James the brother of our Lord. True, he does not announce himself brother, but this can be accounted for from the spirit of Jesus' teaching, which counts him who serves brother, and the thought gathers emphasis as we enter fully into his message. Yet there runs through the epistle a tone of authority, which points irresistibly to the first bishop of the church in Jerusalem. The solution in the epistle of Jude gives weight to the position taken.

The question of the exact relation of St. James to our Lord has been much discussed. Some say he was a cousin of our Lord, others claim that James, Joses, etc., were children of Joseph by a former wife, and therefore half-brothers. (As a matter of fact if this were true they are not related). On reflection this would seem an effort to promote the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary. But St. Matthew and St. Luke knew not the doctrine. St. Luke says ἔτεκεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον while St. Matthew seems to imply the actual birth of other children. Further, it would seem that the New Testament must inform us that Joseph was a widower, if such were the case. Josephus knew James as the brother of our Lord. This is also the position of the best modern scholarship.

The date of the epistle is variously given. Schaff thinks it was among the first epistles written, and that it embodies the lowest stages of Christian knowledge. In proof of this, the absence of any reference to the Gentiles is quoted, and the claim made, that it must have been written before the council at

Jerusalem. But this is not conclusive. The epistle seems to show some acquaintance with the writings of St. Paul. In fact James 2:14-26 seems to be a direct attack on the doctrine of justification by faith. This however is only apparent, for James combats the abuse of faith, as a close study will reveal. Canon MacLear and Dr. Liddon use this passage to prove the late origin of the epistle, and place the date somewhere about A. D. 60, or shortly before the death of James. This view seems to us the most acceptable.

The character of the epistle may be styled Practical and Ethical. It was occasioned more by the observance of perverted doctrine, than from any desire to bring new teachings to the notice of the church. The author lays down no new basic principles, but aims to lead Christians to the proper understanding of those already known, and urges the practice of the same. No clearly defined plan is followed, but with intense earnestness the author plunges in medias res, administering stern rebuke with severe authoritativeness. The style throughout savors of Jewish imagery, and at times rises to the poetic, ever showing "the pressure of the expectation under which the appeal is made to save an erring brother while there is time." The abrupt closing, "Fare ye well" is in keeping with the man and his message.

The epistle has been differently rated in different ages and systems of Theology. Spoken of by Eusebius as among the Antilegomena, it had no certain standing until embodied in the Peshito-syriac version. Later Cyril of Jerusalem reckoned all the seven Catholic epistles among the canonical writings, from which time it has been received as of apostolic authority. In the middle ages the Catholic theologians attributed to it high authority, but in the sixteenth century Luther attacked it as being "a right strawy epistle, for it has no true evangelical character." He charges James with being in direct opposition to St. Paul and with neglecting "the sufferings, resurrection and Spirit of Christ." Even Erasmus and Cajetan within the Catholic church express doubt as to its doctrinal authority. Certain modern critics maintain that St. James is more Jew than Christian, and that he holds Ebionitic and humanitarian views of the Person of Christ.

This however cannot be proved from the evidences at hand.

The only reliable sources are the epistle itself and the testimony of New Testament writers. A hasty glance at the epistle does seem to show ground for the charges named, but deeper study shows that what seemed contradictory is really explanatory and corrective. St. James is not representative of an early and faulty faith, but rather a practical defence of a living faith. The polemic is not against dogmatic errors, but against theoretical perversions. The aim is to purge the true faith, and upon it teach the true religion, which, like the master, goes about doing good. St. James makes a characteristic contribution to New Testament teaching, which goes far toward correcting a one-sided faith, and leading men to reveal their faith by deeds of Christian righteousness.

I.

THE RELATION OF SAINT JAMES TO THE APOSTLES.

Before the resurrection of Jesus, St. James occupies a peculiar position. From Matthew and Mark it would seem that St. James was not much younger than Jesus. His whole public life bears evidence of his early companionship with the Master. It is not hard to conjecture that the two might have been inseparable in youth and early manhood, and, if so, we can readily see how a certain bitterness would fill the heart of St. James, and at times break forth in solicitude for his beloved elder brother. The change that had come over Jesus, from his point of view, and robbed the home at Nazareth of its first-born, could not be understood by St. James. That his brother, after his visit to St. John the Baptist, preached a doctrine which seemingly made the Jewish law obsolete, would seem like treason. The miracles would stir up mingled pride and irritating perplexity. That Jesus was more than himself he could not as yet conceive, for we cannot think that she who pondered the words of sages and her heaven conceived child in her heart would find it possible to reveal to her children the secrets of her pre-nuptial life. It was not that St. James loved Jesus less, but that he did not understand him or his mission, that caused the gulf to yawn between them. The solicitation of Jesus seemed like condescension, and helped to widen the breach, which was in

fact one wholly of St. James' own inability to comprehend the significance of the miracles and signs, and to see in Jesus the long-looked for Messiah of Israel.

Thus during a period of three and a half years, James and his brethren followed the fortunes of Jesus from afar. He had chosen twelve disciples who followed him, and wonderful reports constantly found their way to the town of Nazareth. Repeatedly James with his mother anxiously follow his steps, only to feel the deepening sadness of misunderstanding. Nor could James feel toward the apostles as he could wish. His cousins were taking his place at Jesus' side—a place he might have had if he had been willing to let his deeper self acknowledge that Jesus was more than a man. But this he could not do. So, truth resisted blinded his nobler self, and, as in a dream, he followed and longed for what is denied to unbelief. Each new claim of the Nazarene deepened his sadness —yes and it seems to me that of Jesus also—for even the miracle of the loaves did not teach him to believe on Him. And as Jesus goes up to Jerusalem for the last time, James follows, struggling with doubt, until the shame of the crucifixion crushes him, and Jesus from the cross entrusts his mother to the apostle of love and belief. But the darkest hour of earth was just before the resurrection light, for the world, and St. James.

Whatever may have been the anguish of that Jewish Sabbath, the light of Easter brought new hope. Reports from the women, and Peter, aroused expectation or dread in more than one heart. Each day added some proof to the fact of the empty tomb and the living presence of Jesus. Yet James and the brethren were not permitted to be within the sacred circle, though they sought place there. Strange as it may seem, it is not until near the close of the forty days, that Jesus manifests himself beyond the circle of the twelve or the women. Then at the appointed mountain, he appeared to about 500 at once. James may have been present, but it was reserved for a private appearing to teach him to believe. Somewhere, in his own way, Our Lord met his brother. What happened between them? What words were spoken? Too holy for even the sacred page, a wise God has veiled that wonderful hour. But the results are evident. The doubting James comes forth a man of faith, with a noble purpose, and a life to offer as a pledge of his higher vision and

Christ given conviction. James is now no longer the brother of Jesus, but the slave of our Lord. As such, a new world was opened to him. The poor were to be fed, the sinful were to be rebuked, and to all who would hear, the gospel was to be preached. At last that nameless longing had found expression, and true to the leading of his Lord, James allowed the pent-up service of years to vent itself in doing good, each day more securely rooting himself in apostolic favor, and showing that he "had been with Jesus and had learned of him."

Meantime mighty forces had been at work in the infant church. The first hypocrites had been exposed, and the members taught the power of faith and prayer. Without the church envious priest-craft had been busy, and politic rulership, craving popular applause, was seeking a sacrifice. The victim was found in James the son of Zebedee, one of the inner circle of apostles. By order of Herod he was slain with the sword, shortly before Easter A. D. 44. Politically it was a master stroke, and to further ingratiate himself with the Jews the King seized Peter, expecting to put him to death after Easter. In such a crisis a strong leader was needed, and James nobly came forward to give his life for the church. He was eminently fitted for the position, for he had experienced the periods of doubt that make assurance doubly sure. Tradition says, "He was holy from the womb," a Nazarite, the very embodiment of sincerity and truth. Edersheim says he was a Shammite, earnest, sincere, in every respect a typical Jewish saint. Companionship with Our Lord had left its impress upon his thoughtful nature. This was deepened by his periods of trial during Jesus' ministry, and crystalized into the noblest aspirations and self-sacrifice by contact with the Risen Christ. Ten or more years of Christian activity have added the experience necessary for modifying enthusiasm, and producing the most effective service. By temperament and training the man for the position, he does not hesitate to assume apostolic authority, and the direction of the church at Jerusalem. In fact he must have been an acknowledged authority before the crisis, otherwise it is hard to explain how strong his position had become in so short a time. Not many days had elapsed from the beheading of James the apostle, until the angel had delivered Peter from prison, yet as soon as Peter is safe among friends he directs them to, "Tell these things unto James and

the brethren." This is an acknowledgement of his leadership even by Peter.

But we have other evidence of his position at Jerusalem. After the conversion of Paul and his three years in Arabia, he went to confer with the apostles on matters relating to his new work. He reports that he saw Peter, and James, the Lord's brother, to whom he ascribes apostolic rank. Thus it seems that James was not only in harmony with the teachings of the original apostles concerning the Person of Our Lord, but Paul also recognized him as an authority on the subject. And when we consider his past, we cannot doubt his complete knowledge of and sympathy with the great doctrines of Our Lord, through faith in which is our only hope of peace in the kingdom of heaven.

II.

THE RELATION OF THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES TO THE WRITINGS OF ST. PAUL.

It is not fair to contrast the teachings of the New Testament writers without carefully noting the conditions under which each author has written. Neither can we expect to find verbatim agreement. Personal equation and point of view must be considered. When this is done the gospels and epistles will be seen to be in harmony with themselves and each other. In fact the differences of style and thought found among New Testament authors bring conviction to honest critics. This being granted we are in a position to consider the relation between two of the three distinct types of Christology found in the New Testament. St. John's Christology is the product of a perpetual intuition. With stately simplicity he announces his doctrine of the Incarnate Word, and brings before us the Saviour of the world, who is one with the Father. He represents the mystical tendency, and presents the most perfect ideal of Christ. But since there is no conflict between St. James and St. John, we will confine our study to St. James and St. Paul.

Let us first note a few points of St. Paul's Christology. First he insists strongly on our Lord's humanity, arguing that he "took upon himself the form of a servant," and was made "in

the likeness of sinful flesh," "born of a woman, born under the law that he might redeem them that are under the law, and that we might receive the adoption of sons." He is careful to declare however that while Christ is truly human he is without sin. His humanity was the representation of the human race and the instrument of his mediatorship between heaven and earth. As a pupil of Gamaliel, Paul is a strict monotheist. Christ is the image of the Father and one with Him. "God's supreme unity is the truth which determines the universality of the gospel; since the gospel unveils and proclaims the One supreme, world-controlling God." Christ is further represented as having pre-existence, and by supreme condescension leaving his celestial habitation to suffer humiliation on earth, and a vicarious death. In his missionary sermons and epistles he preaches a divine Christ. Luke gives us a fair sample of his teaching in his report of Paul's sermon at Antioch in Pisidia. Here, beginning with Messianic prophecy he traces the current of events until the preaching of John the Baptist. Then with apt skill he touches upon the life, death and resurrection of our Lord, showing conclusively that to him Christ is God. Man is justified by faith. Christ is the object of faith, and must be received by the intelligence, heart and will. By Regeneration the natural man becomes a new creature. Through the imparted grace at baptism the old man is killed, and new life is brought into existence. In a word Jesus Christ is the divine God-man, and his great doctrine is "Justification by faith."

Truly this is an exalted conception of the plan of salvation, but resting as it does with such emphasis on faith, it is not hard to see how men of small consecration could excuse loose morality by strenuously claiming to be saved by faith. We are firmly convinced that this was contrary to Paul's conception of his doctrine. Paul wrote to teach salvation through Christ. But the Jew for generations had been the slave of tradition and dead formality. Circumcision had grown to be a mere badge for a self-assumed superiority. He felt that having complied with the ritual at Jerusalem he could do anything, especially against the Gentile, and send his sins with the scape-goat into the wilderness. Against this false idea of religion Paul poured forth his matchless discussion to show that the soul is redeemed, not by vain compliance with empty formalism, but by a live

energizing faith in Him who came to fulfill the old law, and establish the kingdom of God, which is ruled by the law of love. In his early ministry he strains every nerve to turn men from lives of service to lives of faith. With scathing rebuke and faultless logic his addresses carried criticism far beyond his own country and countless numbers enlisted under the banner of Justification by faith. But all too soon there arose a class of men who used the doctrine as a cloak for their own wickedness. Claiming that through Christ they were freed from all law, they yielded to every license, and pleaded "Justification by faith." In his last years Paul seems to be aware of this faulty interpretation of his teachings. His letters to Timothy warn against the heresies then creeping into the church, and urge him to be steadfast, showing that the scriptures rightly used fit the believer for good works.

And here is where the epistle of St. James proves its worth to believers. It takes for granted the writings of St. Paul, and their wide-spread acceptance. Further it is in harmony with Paul's teachings, and jealous for their correct interpretation. Some authorities hold that James may have had the epistles to the Romans before him, because of certain expressions which seem to have been taken from Paul, namely, Jas. 1:22 & Rom. 2:13; Jas. 1:3 & Rom. 5:3; Jas. 4:1 & Rom. 7:23. Of this, however, we have no certain proof, but we are safe in saying that his knowledge of the perversion of true saving doctrine occasioned his own epistle, as a correction of the rapidly growing ing heresies which threatened the very existence of humanity. While lacking the trained logic of Paul, he hurls stinging rebuke against the fruitless faith of an encroaching Antinomianism. Instead of an attack upon Paul's leading doctrine, as held by Bauer, Schwegler, and Holtzman, we are convinced that his bold energetic denunciations were uttered against those who would destroy faith by works so ruinous to faith. Paul aimed to teach that men are saved by faith instead of obedience to ceremonials. But he did not go to the extreme of denying the value of works as a proof of faith and source of blessing as so many suppose. At the very beginning of his ministry he saw that it was necessary to completely recast the religious thought of the age, and thus his seeming emphasis of faith to the denial of works. But that he did not lose sight of the place of works in

the plan of salvation is shown in his second chapter to the Romans (v. 13) where he declares that "the doers of the laws shall be justified" before God. This coupled with the advice to Timothy already quoted would argue for a well balanced Pauline Theology. But both Jew and Gentile lacking Paul's breadth of thought, and mistaking Christian freedom, which always conforms to law, acting the law without consciousness of law's restraints, saw only an imperfect liberty which indulged soon grew into license. This wilful perversion has been interpreted by critics as a natural consequence of Paul's teaching. They see not a perversion of Paul, but the only sequence of his doctrine which they declare faulty and incomplete. How this charge can be maintained is beyond us. Paul specifically declares that all believers are: "created in Christ Jesus for good works" Eph. 2:10; "a people for his own possession, zealous of good works," Titus 2:14; "Rich in good works," 1 Tim. 6:18; "Careful to maintain good works," Titus 3-8 (3:14); "To walk worthily of the Lord unto all pleasing, bearing fruit in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God," Col. 1:10; "To put on therefore as God's elect, holy and beloved, a heart of compassion, kindness, lowliness, meekness, longsuffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving each other, if any man have a complaint against any; even as the Lord forgave you, so also do ye; and above all these things put on love, which is the bond of perfectness," Col. 3:12-14. Other passages of like import could be quoted but the above should be sufficient to satisfy anyone of the breadth and completeness of Paul's Theology. But just as modern critics overlook these facts, and use one side of Paul's argument for personal ends, so the contemporaries of Paul saw in his doctrine the way to pleasure and an excuse for sin. James understood this clearly and would disabuse their minds of these errors and urge upon them Paul's real thought of a saving faith and all that goes with it. Referring to faith in God, the boast of every Israelite, he declares that mere faith will not justify. Examples of Pharisaic orthodoxy, and reliance upon the privilege of being sons of Abraham, so bitterly denounced by John the Baptist, were much in evidence at Jerusalem. Even in the days of Justin Martyr not a few claimed that, "even if men are sinners, but know God, the Lord will not impute sin to them." St. Paul rebuked this trust in self-righteousness, while James directs his

attack against trust in a dead faith.,It was not necessary for him to repeat doctrines already well known, but to lend all the force of his intense earnestness to the correct interpretation and practice of them.

On the other hand, James seeks to describe a living faith. Nowhere does he deny faith, neither have we a single instance where he advocates the observance of ceremonial ordinances. Paul's idea of faith was that, "when once it lives in the soul, is all of Christian practice in the germ." This James accepts, but realizes that many fail to see the real scope of faith. He therefore emphasizes the fact, that we cannot separate living faith in the crucified Christ, from the evidences of that faith in Christian practice. While it may be that faith precedes works, it is impossible that faith can be established in the human heart without the mouth speaking out of the heart's abundance. If the tree must be known by its fruits, so must the Christian be known by his practices. No amount of crying "Lord! Lord!" will convince another of a man's righteousness who fails to follow the example of Christ. This is the contention of James. Show your faith by the evidences of faith in your life, and others will believe your faith. Thus he seeks to restore worship to its proper purity and man to a true faith in Jesus Christ. Liddon says that "James is to St. Paul as a codicil is to a will," adding no new fact to the original doctrine, but seeking to protect it from abuse and misinterpretation.

III.

DIRECT STATEMENT OF ST. JAMES' CHRISTOLOGY.

It has been objected that St. James presents no definite statements of his Christology. Even Canon Liddon does not go beyond the implications of his high Christology as deduced from incidental expressions. On the other hand, Dorner holds that St. James is not wanting in strong Christological features. Considering the individuality of St. James, and his object in supplementing the doctrinal Christianity of St. Paul with the Ethic of Christian practice, it seems no more than just to accept his references to Christ as direct evidence of his Christological position. True these references are few, and he fails to mention

the Incarnation, death and Resurrection of Christ. Yet it is not hard to account for his silence on these subjects. Remembering that they have received full treatment in the teachings of the apostles, and Pauline epistles, and that St. James is concerned not so much with the past as with the future, would it not be needless duplication for him to add to the doctrines by him considered sufficient? But there is another and deeper reason which may be given. It will be remembered that Jesus maintains silence as to his own person in his ethical teachings. "Mary pondered these things in her heart," and certainly we must not expect St. James to discuss what his mother held to be sacred. Even if James were familiar with the mysteries of Our Lord's birth, the possibility of being misunderstood, with no advantages to be gained from publicity, together with the delicacy of the subject, would counsel silence. The nature of the man would revolt at the needless disclosure of a matter so holy, and yet so impossible of explanation.

The discussion of Jesus' death would be equally hard for St. James. It was a death bringing disgrace upon his family, and certain pangs of remorse would seal his lips, and stay his pen, whenever tempted to treat the subject. St. James would never be able to banish from memory his own distrust of the One who had so passionately, yet resistingly loved. He could never forget the agony of soul experienced when the future of his own mother was entrusted to his cousin. Yet he could see the justice of it all, and this tended to deepen his silence, and make all reference to those sacred hours too holy for common knowledge. To speak of the Resurrection were needless. It had been well attested at Jerusalem, and in his day was not open to question. We therefore turn to a consideration of some of the statements of St. James which may be said to bear directly upon his conception of Jesus' Person.

First we have his exaltation of Christ to equal position with God. He does not call Christ God, but calls himself δοῦλος θεοῦ καὶ κυριοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ The voluntary acknowledgement of the relation stated is a recognition of the great difference between Christ and himself. This is indeed remarkable when we consider that James is the Lord's brother. He puts Christ and God in juxtaposition, which certainly means that he considered them of equal rank and authority. In the second chapter he speaks of

Jesus as κύριος ἡμῶν Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Here he seems to take for granted that those to whom he is writing hold Jesus in the same reverence and exaltation. It acknowledges that Christ is Lord and Messiah. As such he is κυριός τῆς δὸξης This would imply majesty akin to the divine. It means that Christ is Lord of Glory, armed with full power, with honor and dignity equal to that of Jehovah. Yet James knew Jesus as a man. The years at Nazareth, and the true humanity, have more than once forced the evangelists to record that his brethren did not believe on him. Surely then we are forced to acknowledge that James looked upon Jesus as Lord, and ascribed to him the dignity of God. If this be true, "it cannot be denied that James also recognizes in Christological form the absoluteness of the Christian religion."

But a glance at the λόγος ἀληθείας carries us still further. As this is the Christian word, Christ is the word of truth communicating truth and wisdom from above. It is a divine revelation, revealing and teaching the creative Word. Furthermore, it is the product of his own will, in which he spiritually begets those, who, in sincerity, have partaken of the promise of life to be an earnest of his kingdom. It forces us to think of what must have been the burden of the teachings of St. John, who later wrote with such conviction his conception of the Word of Truth. And what does it teach? Does it not seem to make the Word the embodiment of divinity, and yet arouse in us the conceptions of humanity? Somehow the λόγος ἀληθείας seems to bridge over the gulf between us, the first fruits of his creatures, and the infinite, self-determining will which from eternity has decided to make us new creatures.

A third step is taken in his idea of Jesus' second coming, and the judgment. St. Paul gives a much more complete account of the coming of Christ, but St. James' account is sufficiently definite for his purposes. εὥς τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, he says, leading us to expect what follows when he says, ἡ παρουσία τοῦ κυριόυ ἤγγικεν. Then will be the judgment. The Lord not only will bring the law by which he will judge the world, but he comes with full authority to render the decision, to bestow blessings upon the just, but condemnation upon the wilful. He speaks of the nearness of Christ to God. Both are called

κύριος, whom he represents as even at the door. His doctrine of the law-giver and judge is reconciled by attributing the power of God to Christ. Thus again do we find James ascribing to the man Jesus the divine prerogatives of God.

Continuing we have reference made to the new birth. Though commented upon in connection with the "Word of truth" above, it is fitting to touch upon it again for clearer exposition. This passage reminds us of the synoptics, and deals with the saving act of regeneration. St. James assures us that "every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the father of lights." This evidently refers to God as the creator of light, himself being both the source and the light itself. But another fact presents itself. If God is Father, there must be a child—a son. Each requires the other for perfection. Now John speaks of the only begotten of the Father, and declares that he was the Word made flesh. James speaks of the "Word of truth" in much the same sense, so we conclude that he refers to The Son. Now the Word, or the Son, is the instrument of regeneration. While God wills to regenerate man, it is through the meritorious grace of the only begotten Word, for James tells us that he brought us forth by the word of truth. That is, the Word is first implanted in our hearts, and faith is the result. The man becomes a new creature because he is spiritually renewed by the ever living Word. In one sense of the word all creatures are the property of God, but being born again we are his in a peculiar sense, we are "a kind of first fruits of all his creatures" bearing the relation of "adoption" as St. Paul would say.

The result of this is a clean life. The received Word renews even the disposition of the heart and translates itself into purity of desire and nobility of purpose. Meyer says that according to James "Christians by the new birth do not as yet possess full salvation, but its obtainment is conditioned by conduct." Our conception of the passage is that conduct does not condition but declare the σωτηριά. That is, in the receiving of the engrafted Word, "put away all filthiness, etc." As a matter of fact the word cannot be received under any other condition. An ethical life does not transform itself into a saved soul, but the spirit of the Son—the Word of Truth—saving the soul declares itself in moral living. Man has no power of initiation, but the

power of the Word renews the creature. Faith is the subjective element in the spirit-touched life, but its objective manifestation is redemption through Jesus Christ.

IV.

IMPLIED STATEMENTS OF ST. JAMES' CHRISTOLOGY.

St. James may be called a writer of the Jewish Christian type, and his epistle styled "The gospel of the Law." This does not mean that James remained a Jew rather than a Christian. Though his epistle "approaches very near to the Old Testament, which he sees only fulfilled in the new, with the design and inner essence of which he as a Christian finds himself fully and freely at one, yet the Christian element which he has, presupposes an immense revolution in the ordinary consciousness of a Jew. He is drawn not to the law as such, or even to the ceremonial therein, but to that which is eternally ethical, for he sees there the ideal typified, and in Christ and his teaching realized. So exalted is his conception of the law that the question has been raised as to its real source. Ritschl thinks his idea of law and regeneration was taken from Paul. To us it seems rather his conception of Christianity described in Old Testament figure. The stately ritual of the Old Law was dear to St. James, and its ceremonies full of meaning. Therefore what could be more natural than to use such figures as did not conflict with the teachings of Jesus? St. James seems to give undue prominence to the continuity of the two dispensations, but in-as-much as the Old dispensation typified and foretold the new, it is no crime that he shows how the latter grew out of the former, and realized its perfected self in the teachings and sacrifice of the Son of God.

The law of which he speaks is a new law. It is not the law of retaliation given because of the hardness of men's hearts, but the Christian law—the law of liberty. Every Jew knew full well his bondage to Mosaic custom. Though claiming freedom by virtue of descent from Abraham he was forced to acknowledge the claims of the law, disobedience to which meant forfeiture of priestly intercession. But the law of liberty is a higher law. Its very existence is possible only in so far as the in-

dividual is free. He must think for himself, decide, and carry his decisions into action. He is free from the burdens and exactions of the old law, and his very freedom becomes the incentive to high and holy action. He is to be judged as one who is free, led only by his own motives. And how truly this corresponds with Christian experience. The exultant bouyancy of the Christian conscience rejoices in its freedom, and, like the uncaged bird, tends to soar upward toward the light, and life in the Redeemer who fulfilled the law to make men free.

Again the Christian law is the royal law. In speaking to the deceitful Pharisee, Jesus sums up the law and the prophets in love to God and your neighbor. When his disciples ask a form of prayer, the ideal relation between men is expressed in the injunction to forgive. It is not strange therefore that to James this should be the royal law. It is prescribed by Christ who is the King of Christians. It requires a mind broader than the sway of petty annoyances, and a regal heart larger than selfish desire. To rule by love, shows acquaintance with the Prince of that ideal kingdom whose law is love and whose father is God. To live by love in spite of temptation to the contrary is to obey the royal law, and "own the legislative supremacy of Christ."

And the Christian law is a perfect law. While not without, it is above human criticism. However unprofitable conduct according to the royal law may be rated in these days of commercialism, no competent judge will deny the lofty character and ultimate supremacy of such action. The very gentleness of the law of love becomes stronger than the must of might. It offers the highest and most effective governing power, and is complete in itself. The Old Law was amended by the new. Now the royal law becomes the law af royalty, in-as-much as they who thus rule are "kings and priests unto God." It guarantees to the soul absolute correspondence of true ideal and life. Than this we can conceive of no higher perfection. It is the living embodiment of truth, and argues a perfect law, and an unerring legislator. Could James' idea of the perfect law be less than this? If so his teachings are higher than his conceptions, and show clearly the influence of a higher power. That power was the Christ, whom he owned as Lord. "If he does not think him divine his language is exaggerated and overstrained" and the Lord of Glory is merely a name.

Another fact worthy of notice is his idea of the high priestly office of Christ. As such the office of high priest is not mentioned, but James teaches us to "pray in the name of the Lord." This of course is only one phase of the priest's work, but it is one, and in it "is involved the thought, that Christ is our intercessor with the Father, the Paraclete, through whom our prayers are acceptable unto God, and are heard by him." That James firmly believed in prayer is emphasized by the instructions given for its use, and the examples quoted in proof of its efficacy. Thus we may say with Schaff that James is "meagre in doctrine but rich in comfort and lessons of holy living based on faith in Jesus Christ the Lord of Glory."

V.

INFERENCES AS TO HIS CHRISTOLOGY FROM HIS WORK AT JERUSALEM.

The church at Jerusalem was not without its trials and false doctrines, but we have no record of any controversy among the leaders which was not easily settled by consultation. In fact the trouble which did arise seems to have been due to inaccurate reports from subordinates. Among the leaders we find James the Lord's brother. Though not, strictly speaking, an apostle he soon became head of the church with apostolic authority. To hold such a position it was necessary that he have full faith in the doctrines of Jesus' Person. In fact he must not only assent that Jesus is divine, but that his public and private teaching must proclaim the fact, else he could not be in accord with the other apostles. He must either be an arch hypocrite advocating a cause for which he is likely to lose his head, or be a true advocate of the Divinity of Our Lord. In the first place no hypocrite would willingly occupy such a position, with so little to gain and so much to risk. In the second place the character of St. James is the very embodiment of sincerity. Because of his strict allegiance to duty and beautiful life, he became known as "James the Just." He felt that the law of God was fulfilled in Christ, and that the Christian was placed on a higher plane of thought and religion. This argues his belief in the authority of Jesus to change the old law and in the sufficient righteousness of our

Lord to render satisfaction for the breaches of Mosaic law. Does it not also suggest his belief in the high-priestly work of Our Saviour?

The fact that Peter pays such heed to the suggestions of St. James is to us an evidence of James' full accord with the idea of Jesus' divinity. That the impetuous, devoted Peter, always first mentioned in the inner circle of the twelve, the chief spokesman of Pentecost, should yield priority, so dear to his nature, to one not an apostle seems little less than absurd. His sermons and epistles declare the God-manhood of the Messiah, whom the Jews have crucified as the blasphemer from Nazareth, but whom all Messianic prophecy proclaims the Christ of God. Peter had witnessed the holiest acts of Our Saviour's life, he had witnessed his glory on the Transfiguration mount, to him Christ is God. A few quotations from his second epistle will illustrate the reverence in which Jesus is held. "He is Jesus our Lord"; "He is our Lord Jesus Christ"; "He is the Lord and Saviour"; "He is our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ"; "He is our God and Saviour Jesus Christ." To his exalted majesty is due an eternal tribute of glory. With such a conception of our Lord, a man of Peter's temperament could have little patience with one who posed as a leader, while denying Jesus' Godhood. Thus it is safe to infer that St. James' conception of Jesus' manhood and Godhood was in strict harmony with that of the leading apostles. This is emphasized by Peter's desire to have his release from Herod reported to James, and his regard for the latter's opinion in the matters of church polity. Another fact of importance in this connection is found in Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion. He was received by Barnabas and became a guest of Peter fifteen days. Peter in turn seems to have arranged for an interview with James, whose approval he seems to have regarded as necessary before fully acknowledging the apostleship of Paul. It is also worthy of note that the condition of Paul's being received at all was that he had seen the Lord, and had preached in the name of Jesus. Thus again we are led to infer the Christocentric gospel held by the apostles, and especially by James, the acting head of the church.

The high Christology of St. James is further shown in the position taken by him in the council at Jerusalem. It will be observed that the council was not to discuss the doctrine of

Christ, but questions of freedom in worship and manner of living. James acts as the judge, Peter, Barnabas and Paul plead for the gospel liberty of the Gentiles. Then James gives his opinion, which seems to have been received as final without debate. By an appeal to Amos he declares the conversion of the Gentiles to be according to prophecy, and mentioned what in his judgment are the essential marks of a Christian, namely, abstinence from (a) meats offered to idols, (b) blood, (f) things strangled, and (d) carnal uncleanness. This was agreed to by St. Peter and St. John which shows the spirit of unity prevailing on essentials. These men by giving to Paul and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship reject circumcision and the observance of Jewish rites as necessary to salvation. They recognize Paul as a fellow-worker and pledge spiritual co-operation. It is legitimate therefore for us to infer from the council that all the apostles including Paul held substantially the same doctrines of Jesus' Person. True each man had his own peculiar conceptions of minor things, but upon the divine-human and eternal nature of Christ there was no dispute. Either this was a great compromise and sacrifice of primary principles, or the apostles were at heart one in opinion concerning our Lord.

Finally, the inferences already drawn are strengthened by Paul's conduct at the close of his third missionary journey. He reports to James who wisely advises him to prove the freedom of his gospel by paying the charges of the four men who are under the Nazarite vow hoping thereby to appease the narrowness of some Judaizing Christians. With the outcome we are not here concerned, the basic principle we wish to note is the perfect law of liberty taught by St. James and St. Paul, and the willingness of both to rest their doctrines in the divine, Son of God, who was known on earth as Jesus of Nazareth.

VI.

SAINT JAMES' QUOTATIONS OF JESUS' TEACHING AS AN EVIDENCE OF HIS CHRISTOLOGY.

To understand St. James it is necessary to keep in mind the object for which the epistle was written. Addressed to his own countrymen, it aims to reprove professing Christians for degener-

acy, to prevent the spread of libertine doctrines, and awaken the Jewish nation to a sense of the greatness and nearness of approaching judgments. It is a practical exhortation for Christian conduct, and reflects the "Ideal Christian character," depicted by our Saviour in the Sermon on the Mount. In fact the resemblance is so striking that Kern calls the epistle of St. James the counterpart of the Sermon on the Mount, and Schmidt thinks St. James had it before him for a model. Of this, however, we have no direct proof, but note that he holds Jesus in highest esteem as a teacher. He is imbued with Jesus' teaching on morality, and in writing while quoting Him more frequently in his short epistles than all other apostolic writers, emphasizes the moral spirit of Christianity, even to the exclusion of definite doctrines concerning Jesus' person. His quotations from the master-teacher all tend to develop the truest Christian life. And since an attempt at classification must prove more or less mechanical and open to criticism, we content ourselves with a mere catalogue of references, which can be made to teach, our relation to God, our relation to men, and the ideal Christian life.

From the sermon on the Mount we have the following parallels:—St. Jas. 1:2—St. Matt. 5:10-12; St. Jas. 1:4—St. Matt. 5:48; St. Jas. 1:5 (5-15)—St. Matt. 7:7; St. Jas. 1:9—St. Matt. 5:3; St. Jas. 1:20—St. Matt. 5:22; St. Jas. 2:13—St. Matt. 6:14-15, 5:17; St. Jas. 2:14sqq—St. Matt. 7:21sq; St. Jas. 3:17-18—St. Matt. 5:9; St. Jas. 4:4—St. Matt. 6:24; St. Jas. 4:10—St. Matt. 5:3-4; St. Jas. 4:11—St. Matt. 7:1sq; St. Jas. 5:2—St. Matt. 6:19; St. Jas. 5:10—St. Matt. 5:12; St. Jas. 5:12—St. Matt. 5:33.

Other parallels of Jesus' teachings are found in St. Matt. 15:19—St. Jas. 1:14; St. Matt. 10:28—St. Jas. 4:12; St. Luke 6:24sqq—St. Jas. 5:1-6.

The bearing of these quotations on St. James' conception of Jesus may be briefly summarized. In the first place it seems to show that St. James recognizes in Jesus the source of a new life. St. James was a Jew, familiar with Jewish ideals and religion. He had sought to obtain peace by obedience to the law, but had constantly found himself rebuked by the conscious failings of his own sincere endeavors, and the new yet perfectly natural teachings of Jesus. He taught a new doctrine in which not outward conformity but inward motive was to merit the favor of an all-

seeing Father. While put forth in simplicity it was irresistible, for it came with an authority born of innate purity and godly power. The words seem to search out the best within him, and make him restless until he has yielded to obedience. Jesus is different from all other teachers and in him is light and life.

But secondly, St. James recognizes in the teachings of Jesus a correcting power. Just as Jesus was able to heal the bruised and diseased body by his touch, so he was able to put new motives and new ideals into mental and moral life. He taught not as the scribes, but seemed to appeal to that in man which had been breathed into him from the nostrils of God when he became a living soul. Jesus knew what was in man and he knew what ought to be in him. He also knew how to arouse the sleeping divinity of each man's nobler self, and lay upon it the duty of godly service for self and humanity. James had witnessed the transformation of Levi, Mary and Zacchaeus. He had learned from his own lips Paul's account of his new birth. Nay, into his own soul had burned those words of love which had removed the dross of carnality and left the golden spirit of consecration. With Peter his heart would cry "to whom shall we go, thou hast the words of life"? And now that James would urge to lives of ideal service, he feels a poverty in his own speech which leads him to use the words of Christ, which, honestly received, have never failed to make "old things pass away and all things become new." James would teach the new life by using the words of Him who is the Word, the Truth and the Life. Could wisdom suggest a wiser method?

Finally James quotes Jesus as final authority. He is treating the most sacred problem of existence—life. Not merely this passing of days, but the life which now is and shall be. He is combating the most winning and subtle scepticism which has yet arisen, a scepticism which has dared even to pervert the faith, and make the instrument of salvation a defence for immorality. Therefore James as a wise bishop will quote final authority. This he finds not from the lips of priests or scribes, but from the life and words of the despised Galilean, "who was crucified, dead and buried," who rose from the tomb in defiance of Jewish plot and Roman power, and now sits at the right hand of God. Such trust as James shows in Jesus' authority argues his absolute faith in him as Redeemer of men. His self-confessed servitude to

"God and the Lord Jesus Christ" does not declare more emphatically his exaltation as Lord than does his constant appeal to His teachings. Jesus to James is not merely the best of men, He is the Messiah of prophesy, the Lord of Glory, Son of man and Son of God.

VII.

CONCLUSION.

In brief summary we would enumerate the arguments by which we have sought to show the high Christology of St. James. First, we have shown that St. James is in accord with the leading apostles. Second, that he presupposes and defends the doctrines of St. Paul. Third, that certain direct statements show his doctrine of the Person of Christ. Fourth, that an exalted Christology is implied in the many incidental expressions refering to Jesus. Fifth, that legitimate inferences from his work as head of the church reveal his conception of Jesus' divinity, and finally, that his numerous quotations from the teachings of Jesus give point to the position already taken. We conclude with a glance at the faith of St. James in his own Christology.

Dr. Patrick ably presents St. James' Christology as follows. God is the absolutely good one, who has made man in his own image. Man is meant to be separated from the world, and wholly given up to God. Sin is the foreswearing of this allegiance, and the choice of the world instead of God, and leads to death. For men under the power of sin, deliverance lies in the act of God, who quickens them into new life by the power of his word, which comes through meditations on Christ, by whom the old law is transformed into the new law, royal law, and law of liberty. Christ accordingly is the Saviour, to whom we owe our salvation. He is the object of saving faith, whom we must not belie by an inconsistent life. By such a faith James would live, rendering unquestioning faith to God and consistent example to his fellows. And so ably did he adhere to his ideal that his name has been indelibly recorded in history as "James the Just."

But the Christology of St. James did not serve only in private life. James would serve by his faith, for "faith without works

is dead." He is bond-servant to God and Jesus Christ. What mattered it to him that James the apostle is slain with the sword when his Lord's work demands a leader? Even though a Peter is threatened with death, shall this hinder him from taking his stand at the head of the persecuted church? Never! Let it be known throughout Jerusalem and the world that James believes in Jesus Christ, for he will never fail to serve at his post of duty. Though tardy in acknowledging Jesus as Lord, his loyalty now will be unquestioned, and with the vision of his Lord constantly before him, he will be a slave to the service of righteousness, confident "that he who converteth a sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall cover a multitude of sins."

So firmly fixed in his heart are the basic principles of Christianity that James will witness to death for the Saviour. He is μάρτυς in the truest sense. Like Paul he feels that "faith when once it lies in the soul is all christian practice in the germ." Where there is genuine faith in the crucified Christ there also is Christian practice, the living expression of an inward piety. For our purpose it matters little whether with Eusebius we describe the martyrdom of St. James in the language of Hegesippus, or follow the less beautiful but more probable record of Josephus. In either account the "Just" witness of God and our Saviour will accept no compromise with his faith. Years of trial have translated a questioning hope into an unyielding assurance. In sacred solitude meditation has yielded to contemplation as in life-like presence the Living Christ keeps his promise. Engraven on his very soul is the image of his Lord and for him he fears neither civil power nor ecclesiastical fanaticism. With death staring him in the face, his voice rings out the gospel message which heralds his entrance into the presence of the King of kings, whom tradition says he imitates with his last words, saying "Lord lay not this sin to their charge." In life, in death, James is the servant of the Lord whom he adores as God. This "is implied in language which would be exaggerated and overstrained on any other supposition. It is implied in a reserve which may be felt to mean at least as much as the most demonstrative protestations. A few passing expressions of the lowliest reverence disclose the great doctrine of the church respecting the Person of our Lord, throned in the back-ground of the apostle's thought. And if the immediate interests of his

ministry oblige St. James to confine himself to considerations which do not lead him more fully to exhibit the doctrine, we are not allowed, as we read him, to forget the love and awe which veil and treasure it, so tenderly and so reverently, in the inmost sanctuary of his illumined soul."

Williamsport, Pa.

ARTICLE VII.

PRESENT DAY SOCIAL PROBLEMS FROM A CHRISTIAN STANDPOINT.

BY REV. JOHN ERLER, A. M., PH.D.

The poet's line, "God made the country and man made the town," has doubtless a proper signification; but it helps to conceal a deeper truth, it rightly exalts the divine works and ways far above any human achievement. God made the country, and all around it keeps the original stamp of the Maker. But man made the town, the fabrics of brick and stone that shall crumble away, the uproar and the pretension, the fickle customs, and the atmosphere of guilt.

When however we pass from the things man does to man himself, the city assumes an interest which does not belong to land or sea. Humanity itself is God's work as well as nature, and it is His greatest work. The book to which he commits His thoughts seems a feeble thing when held up in the immensity of the Universe; but thought in its essence is more wonderful than electrical currents and wheeling constellations. In short, the interest of the city is as superior to that of the country, as humanity is to nature. The city reveals the moral ends of being, and sets the awful problems of life. The city furnishes testimonials of man's need—of man's profound want of that Light and Help which nature cannot afford.

All the moral significance of human life itself is then centered in the city, in as much as it is the peculiar center and sphere of human life. Walking among its crowds, and catching its various phases, while we find much to appeal to us and to sicken us, we find much also to encourage us; and in all, discover confirmations of religion, and the great argument for faith. For in the first place, the city illustrates the capabilities of humanity. The bare materials of the city—the assemblage of buildings—shows that he who toils among them is a being of wonderful nature and momentous destiny. The basis of religion, its assumption of a spiritual quality in man, is established by this single fact. Man, with nothing but his brain and his hand, has

thus conquered and moulded matter, has transformed the wilderness into a great city. Is there not a moral significance in this fact, familiar though it is, which lifts it up to the grandest conclusions of faith? Here are the symbols of civilization—the measure of human progress. Here is what the mind of man has achieved through the ages, evident not only in material improvements, but in laws and customs, and in that deference to sanctions which unconsciously control us in the street and in the home.

Let us go into the colleges and schools and consider the truths that are here accumulated. Observe too, the evidence of liberty, the influence of the pulpit and the press, the circulation of free thought, in fine, all the achievements in the world of matter and mind, for the city is the most complete representative of these.

Organization is thus a first condition of successful action, of healthy life. It involves co-operation among the parts forming a whole—a willing, free, active co-operation or working together Now in our most productive communities, large and various as are the results obtained, they are immeasurably below the capacity of the men who produce them, because the conditions of a thorough organization are none of them complied with, in every respect. Nowhere is there a willing and free working together of the parts forming the whole, neither within or without. Not according to the aptitudes do men work, but few of their capacities for work get scope to work. They do not work harmoniously together, one with the other and one with all. They do not work under the canopy of a presiding, all-embracing justice. Society according to the most orthodox economists is at this time, but a loosely organized structure, comparatively feeble. It is anything but the harmonious organization of the coming Kingdom. But the city is its best representative.

Look beneath the busy surface. I am not seeking for the faults of frail humanity. The city is a wondrous organism, far from perfect indeed, but summing up the virtues of ages of experiment. Let the Misanthrope's lantern discover what it can. The close contact that excites the worst passions of humanity also elicits the sympathies, and noble charities are born of this misery and guilt. The empire of business is not entirely carried on here in a sordid spirit. It is cheering to think how a thousand wheels of labor are turned by dear af-

fections, and kept in motion by self-sacrificing endurance; of the good feeling that flows warm through the channels of interest; of the business honor that stands up in the baseness of the world like a rock. Innocence may thrive best in the sweet air of the country, but that which is strongest and noblest in our nature is illustrated in the city.

The city in its various features is like an embodied man. It symbolizes the good and evil that are in its own mind and heart. The parallel can be traced in all the manifestations of city life and civic structures. Is there not a moral significance in the city, and a suggestion that we should study its diversified phases in the spirit of Him who looked upon man with blended sorrow and regard, and saw in him so much to love, so much to die for? There is an impressiveness in this universal restlessness, the hum and movement and ceaseless toil. It proclaims a good yet to be attained, or else that the good which is to be attained is unsatisfactory. The problem of human life there takes shape concretely. It is here that our earthly existence is tried out and made fully clear. The whole mind of thousands of persons working with the zeal of earnest labor upon the hundreds of varieties of occupations, in hundreds of groups, the minds of each member of each group in sympathy as well as in rivalry with each other and neighboring groups—here is the co-operative and complex mind in a distinct social group. This combines in one focus the many rays of a common work. All combine under a great organic law into one harmony, amid endless diversity. This spectacle of the crowd, the ever changing multitude, the good which they seek, and the result of their getting, freshens in us the conviction that this life is preliminary—a discipline working out spiritual and eternal consequences.

The unsatisfactoriness of the world and the incompleteness of sensual joys are interpreted by religion, which sees much to reflect on in the tide as it pours on in rythmic or sometimes disordered stress. It is not alone from a poetical point of view that the spectacle of society as grouped in the city, is to be witnessed. The moral issue is deeper.

It is somewhat doubtful if cities, on the development of industry and science, create content and enjoyment in their dwellers. These are only the means thereto, and we do not know how to use them. Nor will every advantage that city life

brings to a well-situated and prosperous man, bring him content, or bring a people contentedness. There is one thing that will, and that is reflection, religion. This truth cannot be too deeply pondered upon. The higher the civilization, through science and industry, the greater the misery of the masses. In industrious France there is more suffering than in lazy Spain, more in scientific Germany than in languid Italy, more in busy Belgium than in semi-educated Russia, much more by far in energetic England than in torpid Turkey. Not only is suffering a fruit of civilization, but immorality is likewise. One need not go further than the cities on the Atlantic seaboard. The corruption of luxury, however fortified by power, cannot elude the relentness law. Now as ever God holds the world in His hands and His eternal sanctions control it. Let not our consideration of the moral significance of the city be too painful. Go forth and look upon it as it stands in relation to your own spiritual being. God weighs not the gold and silver that are in it, the strong array of palaces and towers, the glittering equipage and the machinery of toil. He weighs not these, but souls,—your souls and mine. Notwithstanding the multitudes it is necessary to know that we are spirits, with a responsibility, treading the eternal path.

We may draw the entire significance of Society and the Individual,—of what each man contains in himself, and has a special mission to do,—and of what, either by way of reliance or obligation, binds him to others. These many conflicting interests form one vast, interdependent mechanism, bound about by the laws of common weal and common obligation. Each has his own work to do, yet he receives from and gives to others. while the profoundest lesson unfolded in this intercourse, is a clearer perception and a moral apprehension of the demands and the limits of these relations.

It is in society alone that man's wants and his capacities find their complement. We do not perhaps comprehend how much we live in others, how much we need them and receive from them. Our eyes may be listless as the busy forms that crowd the horizon pass before us. But it is a hardship even to imagine solitude. There is an inspiration caught from simple contact, form hidden sympathies that run to and fro through humanity as through a common organism. And this is the practical in-

ference to be drawn from this inevitable relationship, from the bare fact of society; that humanity is corporate, bound up in an indissoluble unity, and that no group or member is unaffected by the general weal or evil, any more than the public good can escape the influence of a specific disease, or a local benefit. No one can have in himself either the reason or the entire aim of existence. It is absurd for any man to style himself independent, though he may have unlimited pecuniary resources at his command. The logic of selfishness would end nowhere. The Christian law of society, shedding its light even through the mist of a great city, reveals the truth that these human dissimilarities we notice, are thrown together not for mere self-aggrandizement, but for mutual help; that man is placed here amply not to give but to receive. And for this, some power has been allotted to the least and the poorest. To every one is allotted some faculty of mind or body, some gift of fortune, or it may be merely capacity to sympathize and console. But this truth, it inculcates not merely in a precept. Through all the complex interests of society, through our hard and polished customs, our hollow respectabilities, our oppression and our contempt, there beams the image of one Life perfectly unfolding itself in acts of sacrifice, of one meek Face looking upward in prayer and downward in compassion—presenting us in our avaricious grasping and our selfish ease not only with the ideal of individual character, but the expression of social duty.

It is merely the principle that we are placed in society not only to be served, but to serve, not only to get, but to give; and that no one fulfills the ends of his existence who does not in some way help or bless others either by money or sympathy or good influence. And it is equally plain, capable of proof in innumerable instances, that the neglect of this principle lies at the foundation of every social wrong. This conception is thoroughly involved in any definition of society. An utterly individualistic conception of the term society is impossible, for it would not hold together. We are now living in the sociological age of the world. The doctrine of the relation of man to his fellows has received in this decade more than ever new light. No doctrine of the relation of man to his fellows could stand—no social system inconsistent with the teachings of Christ, could endure. These obviously underlie the constitution of man and of normal society;

and these recognize the great principles of individualism and of organization on which the world's progress has been so manifestly conditioned.

The phrase "body politic" makes of a nation, of society, a great organic personality—an ideal embodiment, endowed with individual characteristics. In this aspect a people's soul is a great unit, composed of numberless individual souls, a stupendous public mind, made up of numberless single minds. This complex person embodying many consciousnessess like the isolated individual, has a character, a responsibility, and a retribution. History, like a book of judgment, points to the tomb of nations to which as to their gehenna their sins have doomed them. Society binds up the relations of every member inextricably. Many a virtuous citizen, guiltless of national offense, shares in public wrongs. Our organic national personality has a mind to think, a heart to feel, a will to execute. This mind records every impression, even from the remote ends of its sphere. It feels the effects of good as well as evil in al lits parts. It is is a living corporate being.

The definition of society is found most perfectly expressed in the Sermon on the Mount, and this in fact amounts to a code of social laws rationally simplifying the main conception of society as a human brotherhood under the Fatherhood of God. In reality there is no truer definition, and to this society will in in time conform. It is more than a body politic united together under common laws for the purpose of promoting their mutual safety and advantages by the joined efforts of their combined strength. It is indeed sovereign in that there resides within itself a supreme and absolute power, acknowledging no earthly superior except those which come within its terms, but it has always been quick to obey superior counsels from whatever source. Nor is society government alone, defining and protecting the rights, privileges, and obligations of the citizens. The laws of the Christian Constitution of society are definite and rational as well, and within a superior sphere. They are of course grounded on nature and the eternal order. Political constitutions may change, but this is a witness to the ages. Nature according to its tenets, is the only ground and social pattern, whereby society can be reconstructed according to the law of God. It is not necessary to postpone obedience to this constitution to a distant

future. It is not an unattainable ideal, while it excels human constitutions, as the spirit does the substance. I do not mean to say that society will be constituted as a church and the peoples gathered under one institution,—that this is the ideal society. It is not institutional rule, but life itself which the Gospel promotes, which is defined under its terms. Organizations and religious institutions are not the ultimate form of society; but the end of institutional dominion where all men know the real character of God, and the people shall want no more, this is the perfect society. The church regenerated society, but it is not society's constitution.

Thus it is impossible to dissociate society from religion, while they are not yet the same and identical. I do not speak of the Kingdom as a church organization; nor yet is the social order a product of mechanism. It is at the point of personality that the two connect. The Kingdom is to come "not by outward force or social organization or apocalyptic dream, but the progressive sanctification of souls," individual human souls. The individual will find his own self-realization in the service of the social world. The church appeals to individuals, and to individual righteousness as the first law of social good. Thus the sphere it occupies in the social system is unique, and can be supplied by no other institution. It is of society, yet above it. What society should be without the church structure need not be said; but it would appear that its influence on the organization and progress of the social order is so enduring and vital as to constitute its essential of society. The relation between Christianity and the social question is a real and pressing question.

Society and the state are organizations of the people for their larger common interests, but in practice it is the organization of section against section for defense and protection of special interest. The chief function should be the maintenanee of justice, but it seems to have maintained existing conditions as its chief function. As has been pointedly said, "The state is the representative of things as they are; the church is the representative of things as they ought to be." It seems necessary to social organization to have a church within its bounds pointing out the way to moral enlightenment and improvement. Society is thus static; the church is active and urges on progress.

Social science is still in its infancy, and only recently have

the interior laws and organizations of economic life come to light. We are gradually acquiring a conception of society which is more scientific and with the advance of science we come to see that this is but a return to the fundamentals as preached on the Mount. It has taken a long time for self-conscious knowledge to arrive at this conception. With the disintegration of the old economic life, a great deal of light has been poured on the new conception of society. The facts but give a new interpretation to the cardinal doctrines of the Christian Constitution. Society is not a complex of men and women "each doing the best for themselves and thereby doing the best for society." That outlook is most selfish, and has produced chaos. Statesmanship and scientific thought have gone beyond this point today, and there is a stirring of a new conscience, and the atomistic philosophy is going to the rear. It has become profitable to preach and carry into practice the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. Ultimately it will prove the only feasible practice, when society will be so organized that to act otherwise in the business, industrial or social sphere will be seen in its true light. It is impossible to regard the individual alone in any conception of society. He is so bound up with it that whatever he does has a widespread effect. The law of altruism will yet be found profitable and expedient, as today society makes this difficult.

In the eloquent language of a forceful modern thinker, who has attempted to correlate society and the church, "We have the new science of political economy and sociology to guide us. It is preparing us to serve the Lord and human brotherhood. For the first time in religious history we have the possibility of so directing religious energy by scientific knowledge, that a comprehensive and continuous reconstruction of social life in the name of God is within the bounds of human possibility." Yet it is not definitions and preachments alone that accomplish this great end. A rational conception of the social structure will do something to aid in the readjustment to better conditions, but faith is necessary. The interest must be primarily ethical, and an enthusiasm for humanity must animate besides knowledge.

The greatest newness the world has ever seen was the teaching of Jesus. It was so because the truths it conveyed were the amplest, and for man the most momentous. It carried men up from the animal, the expedient, the finite, into the spheres of the

moral, the absolute, the infinite. From this elevation it embraced wider fields of life than had been yet beheld. The higher the elevation, the more diversified as the more beneficent is the range of action. If to help one man is good, what a thousand fold goodness to put a thousand men in the way of helping themselves. Individual and domestic affections, sweet, holy and imperative as they are, run but short distances, and by the fitness of their nature they play in a small fixed circle. But when from a family affection one expands into broad, human Christian affections, what an upraising and extension of the field! Instead of a score or two, one's love, through wise previsions and generous institutions may warm and exult millions. The great revelation of Jesus with regard to society is for man to elevate, and thus be elevated.

This wonderful, complex social organism, composed of thousands of units in any city, to be held together, must suppose lively, warm, diversified sympathies, and these can spring up only through work. Running through and through the social mass like electrical wires binding each one to all and all to each, how to generate such sympathy in a cold heterogenous concourse, how to convert ten thousand parts from being a mere congregation of units into a highly organic oneness, that is the problem. To knit them into a complex web of unity; to harmonize human interests, while multiplying and enlarging them; to annul discords, or rather out of many discords to make one great concord, so that these ten thousand shall not only be willing to stay together, but shall delight in being together, and so delight, that no impulsion or temptation can draw them asunder. Let no one for an instant entertain the thought that this great, new and magnificent result can be compassed by arbitrary and conventional rules. The most cunningly devised constitution and by-laws and regulations, unanimously adopted after a full discussion, would be impotent to solve this problem as would be the will of a town meeting to quicken the motion of our planet; for this great solution nought is adequate but natural law, applied with forecast by thinking faith-supported men.

Natural law is the principle of rule, primordially inherent in all created things, and must be comprehended and obeyed to bring about order and harmony. The function of man as to laws is executive and administrative not legislative. Laws, genu-

ine laws immutable, logical, and harmonious are the work of the Most High only. Man's part is to discern them, to interpret them, to apply them. Ever present and active are these natural laws and powers, when their significance being unsuspected, and their value unrecognized, they are not appropriated by man, as helpful agents. They play around us starting us into momentary wonder or curiosity like the lightning, which waited so long to be made the willing messenger of thought. Latent in man are natural laws, and these can be roused to activity to accomplish our present high purpose. In human nature and noticeable by the most superficial observer is the restless tendency manifesting itself more or less superficially and transitorily, but in which there is a deep dormant power. The tendency apparent on the play ground, in balls and social parties, in legislative and political assemblages, and elsewhere wherever men congregate, to break into groups, a crude exhibition in these cases of the law of attraction of like toward like, a law which in its natural play and intelligently directed, will furnish the key, is the key to the organization of work. This law is universal.

The kingdoms of nature, the constituents of the earth itself and of all on its surface are divided and subdivided into series and groups. That is into classes, orders, genera, species, varieties. The discovery of this universal division into series and groups was the inauguration of science. The perception of this graduated natural order is science, for science is the discerning by man of laws and principles that rule nature's facts and phenomena. Science is therefore absolute, permanent, unchangeable truth. The conception of man, however ingenious and bold, when not founded on or deduced from these immutable laws, are never science, for they are not absolute, unchangeable truth. They are in fact not truth at all but at best approximations to truth. Thus political economy is not science, nor metaphysics nor theology; it is often a makeshift, substitution for truth, resorted to in the dearth of true knowledge. The highest of all possible sciences were those of society. And that will be inaugurated when this discovery made by more recent investigators, that social tasks should be carried on, not as it has ever been in hostile disjunction, but in compact series and voluntary groups, in correspondence with the natural kingdom. This is a principle which pervades all nature. One unfailing law in

nature for the attainment of order and harmonious action, for complete life, is the serial, the law of series and groups. From these laws one can be friendly to Nature's hints and lessons, evolve practical results; it is then a law of mind.

Drummond wrote an epoch making work on the existence of natural law in the spiritual world. Such a law is operative no less in the social world. It is the business of Christianity to-day to reconcile apparently contradictory facts with religion. Or rather it should bring economic society into unity with the law of the Gospel.

When one speaks of the adaptation of society to the natural constitution of man, it would mean not the aggrandizement of individuals or classes, not the promotion of selfish ends, but in reality the education of man, the calling out of his faculties most fully, and the promotion in the highest degree of the individual and social good of the whole. That form of society is most in accordance with the constitution of man, which should best secure these conditions, in connection with which individual and social man may attain most fully his end. Government is not an end and no government can be a good one which does not propose to itself and secure, the true ends for which a government ought to be constituted. Hence it should adapt itself to the nature of man, and seek to hasten his true ends as a social creature.

It was perviously thought that science as taught by nature spoke forth competition and struggle. This is not a teaching of nature. A new phase of selection is at hand; a selection at once natural and divine, a selection of the weakest, the humblest, the most selfish. Ours is a new conquering race in the survival of the fittest. In the new Kingdom the Sovereign proclaims the passing away of the old, and the introduction of the new order. The Kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so; but he that is the greatest among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is chief as he that doth serve. It has been demonstrated that nature acts not ruthlessly but by a high plan. She is the essence of economy and organization. If man but patterns the social order after it there would be a saving of useless waste, competition, disorganization, rivalry. Otherwise the image of God in mankind would be defaced. Old things

are passing away. The spirit of Christ, that is the spirit of love is naturally to supplant the old competitive spirit, and to become as it were the new environment of man.

The most fundamental factor of environment is the home. It is this which is the unit of society—the family not the individual. "The family," said President Eliot, "remains the most sacred, durable, and potent of institutions; and through it must be sought the replenishment and improvement of society." Cities are not aggregations of houses and tenements, but in reality groups of homes. It is the character of the families that give color to the various sections of a city. It is from the home that the choicest elements of civic life, as well as social evils can come. In ill-adjusted families we find the soil of the evil growths which deface modern society. It is from the home that some of the fairest tenets of Christianity find their direct application—love, service, sacrifice. From the family the notion of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is derived.

It is almost impossible to over-estimate the importance of the family to society at large. All true civilization, that is all true civilization which has a large moral element, rests upon the basis of the family life. It is "founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,—relations dear, and all the charities of father, son and brother, first were known," through it alone. The common relationships secure mutual help and protection. Life and property are held sacred. A check is kept upon selfish cupidity. Chastity is honored. Each is interested in the prosperity of all. The sorrow or misfortune of one is felt as a common calamity.

A school of every virtue is every well-conducted family. Reverence for supreme authority, the existence of mutual rights, and the necessity of mutual service and subordination, the happiness resulting from an unselfish regard to each other's interests —are lessons, which learned at home, best prepare us for the wider associations of life. The law of God and the welfare of the State must obviously coincide here. The family government underlies all forms of government. Without it, a criminal population results. The large portion of debased society is recruited from persons who have early been without its influence, or have violated and deserted its sanctions.

The system as says an older theorist, is an admirable adap-

tation to our state and nature. Wild theorists have labored to overturn it; but "God in his providence has inscribed folly on all their mad and profane attempts to overturn His arrangements; and it has been found that after producing not a little misery, these parties have been obliged to abandon their schemes as prejudicial or impracticable." "Such a change when carried into effect, has led to cruelty and caprice, and opened the floodgates to every form of vice."

A pure home life is a positive virtue. We owe its blessings to the Gospel. Not Heathenism, not even the altitudes of Plato's doctrines, produced it. Somewhere or other there has been a fatal flaw, which has marred its beauty and destroyed its value. Neither Greece nor Rome knew it, in our sense of the word. We do not say that they never furnished bright examples of parental and filial affection, but all history attests that family life, resting upon mutual affection of husband and wife, in its purity, was unknown.

It is well known that the two great classic empires fell because of the violation of the law of the family. Their impurity sapped the foundation of every social compact, induced a life of mere selfish indulgence and so prepared them for destruction. Their literary and artistic culture was no substitute for the domestic virtues which grow up under the shelter of the family as divinely instituted. Those who systematically set at nought these sacred ties, come to be as the Epistle to the Romans declares, "without natural affections, implacable, unmerciful."

It is this lack of home life and its blessings which prompts the missionary to go afield, on duties of conversion. Everywhere in heathen lands we meet sutteeism, infanticide, neglect and positive cruelty to aged parents and other evils which had their counterpart in ancient times. These are opposed to the family institutions as to the positive commands of Scripture. What the state of society and social morals is in India, and under the influence of Mohammedanism in this and other lands, is too well known to need further mention. Home in our sense of the word, the sense in which the Word of God teaches us to give it, home as the abode of purity, where children and parents form a happy circle, in which love rules and mutual confidence exists, is not known to heathenism. The religion of the Bible is the only one which asserts the true relation of the heads of the

family, and provides for the government and training of the family in accordance with that relation.

In few respects has society made greater advance than in the relations of men and women. It is terrible to think how women suffered in savage life; and even among the intellectual Greeks, with rare exceptions, they seem to have treated them rather as housekeepers and playthings than as Angels who make a heaven of home. The Hindoo proverb "that you should never strike a wife, even with a flower." though considerable in advance, tells a melancholy tale of what must previously have been. And it is where the Gospel exercises its most powerful influences that the home is most distinguished by those qualities of order, sympathy, affection, and comfort, which we attach to the idea. Out of this divine order faithfully fulfilled what good may we not expect to come? How many holy happy homes would then make society the more just and upright, and spread abroad as from so many centres of power, an influence for good on all our social life. From these men and women would go forth to establish new homes in our own and other lands, to spread abroad the influence by which they themselves have been blessed. Our senate, our colleges, our halls of science, literature and art would thus be replenished not only with genius, but with genius sanctified by religion.

If we suppose that divorce were more common and easier, or subject to caprice, and that the family relationships were continually set at nought, social corruption would prepare the way for national extinction. The more carefully we consider the law of the family as ordained, and consider it in relation to the higher necessities of man's spiritual nature, the more fully must we be convinced that He, who knew what was in man, contemplated in this gracious ordinance our highest good as well as our greatest earthly happiness.

The Christian hope gives it its crowning glory, and makes it the purest earthly type of that happiness which is enduring. The Christian home will not be a scene of unmitigated sorrow even when it is robbed of its richest treasures. Thus the place of man in society finds its relation in domestic association, and thus to the community at large. Of both he is but a transient member but he participates in an eternal order of which the family is the type. That is, we presume certain ideal states, which

satisfy our conceptions by the very law of their being. Beyond such a condition, human nature can offer nothing more satisfactory. There are creeds which admit of another interpretation of the ideal family. Such are fast disappearing from the face of the earth. There are no higher sacraments in society, no stronger bond of human union, no forms of social life, which contain so much that is peculiarly fitted to the condition of man. It is not an experiment. It is justified by time and reason, and sanctified and given grace by all the tenets of religion.

It is this atmosphere of love which pledges the future of the race to a destiny fit for angels. Society is taught by the family. Society models itself after the notions and laws and conduct first appreciated in the family. Society is an aggregate of individuals, as of families. These individuals are reared in the family, and by its laws.

The formation of character is after all the object of education, not so much the fostering of knowledge, or skill, in the arts and sciences. For what profit it that a man gain the world and lose his soul? What if his mind be a store house of knowledge, and his hand skilled in a thousand crafts? This will not produce that harmony of character which moral instructions and home influence bring about. Society could not thrive on educated individuals learned for themselves. What a man is, will always be a more important consideration than what he knows, even though the question relate to religious knowledge. Nothing is done if this be left undone. No amount of learning or accomplishments can compensate for serious defects here. The wise man teaches us the relation of both these aspects of parental duty, when in addressing his son he says, "I have taught thee in the ways of wisdom; I have led thee in the right paths."

Who on serious consideration would prefer the material good to the spiritual? Who would not rather desire for his children that they should belong to a "virtuous household, though exceedingly poor," than that they should possess riches or greatness without this virtue? Who is not convinced that to educate his children in honesty, truth, industry, usefulness, is of immeasurably greater importance, even as to this life, than to secure for them, irrespective of these things, the highest positions earth could give? It is not cleverness the world wants. It is goodness which the world is wretched for wanting. Parents have the

souls of children entrusted to them from their earliest existence, so that they may seize the first opportunity of commencing the stupendous task. Every appliance for the work is theirs in the natural affection of the parent for the child and the child for the parent. With such a duty, and such means for discharging it, the wisest may feel burdened in its proper discharge.

While education originates in the family it is taken hold of by society and given its broad development. Know thyself was a comprehensive precept of ancient wisdom. Self-knowledge and self-development are the aim of education, and this comprehensive knowledge is not inherited, but is ever attainable, and the student begins by either underrating or overrating himself. In this state failure results, and the student sees disappointment laugh at hope's career, as the result of a certain indocility or unteachableness, when he is too sure. The narrowness of human powers, the short time within which education is possible, and the immense spread of science and specialization, demand a wise selection of work and material for the educational process. A thousand problems are connected with the education of the youth in this twentieth century. Of right it should connect the member of the family with the efficient member of society, and thus as one of the kingdom of God. But between these steps there are difficulties connected with the organization of society. With the difficulty of earning a livelihood, the inducements to waste, immorality, temptation, education to-day has a most difficult problem. It is too much for the family alone, for it demands specialization and science. It is too much for the teacher and school alone, for it demands co-operation of the family and the church. In every way the instruction of youth is hedged round with difficulties. There are difficulties of instruction, and differences of curriculum. There is the question of adaptation of education to each individual, and the matter of offering the fruits of education to the mass alike. The aim of education is well known, but the educative process, the results attained, are notoriously at fault. There may be an intellectual training which surpasses, but the results may be inertia. We may have moral education also, but unconected with the higher aims of existence. It may furthermore be uncertain in its ends.

By education I mean not merely formal instruction, but any

system of excitement or restraint, the object of which is to effect some definite change in the physical, intellectual, or moral character of man. The term I know is often used to include everything in nature and circumstance which can exert an influence upon the mind. Yet education by circumstance is indefinite, and we usually think of it as a humanly regulated course of action upon a growing mind and heart. A large part of education is influence. Instruction may mould the intellect; influence shapes the moral character. A child may be an inmate in a family, and form virtuous habits from the general influence by which he is surrounded, without having a word directed to him by way of advice. And we all know that it needs no system of positive instruction to render children vicious where the general influences by which they are surrounded are bad. We must regard the mind as a germ expanding under the influence of air and sunlight, not as a piece of iron to be laid upon the anvil to be hammered into any shape, nor as a block of marble in which we find the statue by removing the rubbish, or as a receptacle into which knowledge may be poured—but as a flame that is to be fed, as an active being that may be strengthened to think and to feel, to dare, to do and to suffer. He who can rightly appreciate the force of this principle, that nature is to be conquered only by obeying her laws, will carry out the consequences in the spirit of the maxim. This is education.

A thing should be what its name imports. Education means development. There is a very great error prevalent on this subject. When a parent directs his teachers in the education of his children, he informs them that he wishes to have so much knowledge communicated, say of grammar, arithmetic, Latin, etc. He sends his children to school as he does to the merchant, to get so much, as though knowledge, like cloth could be measured out. This theory is yet far from being unusuaal today. Many teachers take their pupils' minds one by one, and pour in, pour in from the larger vessel, of the required material, as though it were oil, and carefully cork it up, as if fearing the least motion should spill out the precious article. The child too thinks of education as a process of filling up. Now education is following out and liberating nature in the mind, instead of crossing and confining her. The school room should be an enchanted spot, and the child should enter it as the candidate

for the prize entered in the olympic games. It is the arena for mental sport and mental struggle, with a view to development.

I know that the demand in these years is for practical knowledge. But in this we should not become exclusively utilitarian, and not cultivate contempt for everything which is not a practical application. The general inquiry among parents is, what will enable my son to make money? Should this view be followed out to its ultimate conclusion, little else would be left. Still it is not a knowledge of books by which a mind may be properly educated. The mere bookworm is a useless animal. He who would have a mind properly trained, must acquire a knowledge of men and things. Like Emerson's American Scholar he must learn wisdom from books, from experience, from nature, from the past, from his reflections on the *summum bonum,* and the ultimate result of it all. I know of no better summary of the fullest requirements of education today than that uttered by the sage of Concord before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1837. In 1912 there is little need for readjustment of his views. They apply perfectly to our times, because they are practical.

Youth should be made to emerge from the little circle of self, to feel that he is an inhabitant of a deep and beautiful universe, which it is alike his duty and privilege to explore. He should be brought up from the domicile of the family, and made to realize that he is a member of the great family of God, and that it is his duty to prepare to bless the world and future generations. This is the ideal education.

In the view of Nicholas Murray Butler, "education is a life process. It is the adaptation of a person, a self-conscious being, to environment, and the development of capacity in a person to modify and control that environment." This expresses a view that is in consonance with the aims of religious instruction as of secular training. Education should be more than a development of intellect. Man is a compound being, and every element of his complex structure requires to be evolved. It has been a fatal error for centuries to regard youth as a mere intellectual machine. It is not enough to develop the intellect, as also the physical frame. There are other faculties besides the corporeal and mental. The moral faculties above all are in need of training. The physical organs are the servants of the intellectual

powers, but both are subjected to the moral and higher faculties. Hence the highest object of education is to develop the conscience and the affections—these elements of man's nature by which he bears the image of his Creator, and which, if properly cultivated will qualify him for an enduring content.

Such is the high office of the school and the college. For this high office the teacher cannot possess too high qualifications. In a letter to a schoolmaster on his appointment, Dr. Thomas Arnold, whose views are good today and apply as well, said: "The qualification, which I deem essential to the due performance of a master's duties, may be in brief expressed as the spirit of a Christian and a gentleman, that the man or woman should enter the business as a substantive duty; that he should devote himself to it as the especial branch of the ministerial calling which he has chosen to follow—that of belonging to a great public institution, and standing in a public and conspicuous situation, he should study things lovely and of good report, that is, that he should be public spirited, liberal and entering heartily into the interest, honor, and general distinction of the society he has just joined; and that he should have sufficient vigor and thirst of mind to persist in adding to his own stores without neglecting the full improvement of those he is teaching."

These qualifications should be found in teachers, and these aims at least should be felt and constantly directed. It is in the city especially that the need of good teachers is felt, for there is more inducement to vice. The public school is actually the principal digestive organ of the body politic. It has given to foreign children the American spirit, a respectable elementary education, a fair measure of common sense and intelligence, and some intellectual equipment. In some cities and States the opportunities for free education are carried through the University. These results are admirable, and serve to show what public education has done for the public. But too often it impairs the health of the children; it may even alienate children from certain classes of parents, who often lose control of them at a vital age, when such control is most necessary. Judged from the standpoint of character it would appear according to the emeritus President of Harvard to have threatened a failure. The results of our existing system, he states, by which so large a proportion of our children go uninstructed in religion and un-

trained in morals, are seen in our low ethical standards, and in the wide-spread spirit of lawlessness.

It is hence an evident defect in our school system that the intellectual is developed at the expense of the moral and the physical. There is an absence of religious training, or at least of moral instruction. This was observed by Washington, who was convinced that the secular system of training, was defective. I do not by any means advocate the establishment of sectarian education, but there is a distinct need for religious influence. In the words of Washington's inaugural address: "Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education of minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in the exclusion of the religious principle." This has been confirmed in the writings of Henry C. Potter, Butler, Hall, DeGarmo, and other investigators of first rank.

But it seems to me that if there is any one thing that may be regarded as an end and not as a means, it is the expansion, by a true culture, of the mind of man. Wealth is a means, place and power are means, this is an end. This is in fact the highest result intended to be wrought out by the entire organization of nature. This framework cannot stand, this wonderful harmony cannot be preserved, for its own sake. It subserves, indeed, material uses, it ministers to bodily wants, but it has higher uses than these, to which material uses and bodily wants are subservient. The opening flower, the ripening harvest, the falling leaf, the running water, the starry concourse, have a voice that speak to the spirit of man, to instruct him, and to lead him in the way that is good. It is not therefore in the city only, in the chief places of congregation, that wisdom cries and understanding raises up her voice. It is also in the forest, on the hilltop, by the side of the river. Nature is a chastener of the feelings, awakens curiosity, calls forth the observing and reflecting powers of the mind. This is an end which enters our very conception of man as a rational being. We can conceive of him having no bodily wants, of having those wants supplied without labor. And we can conceive of him as divested of those selfish and ambitious passions which are now too often the motives to mental effort. But we cannot conceive of him as acting in his true character as a man, who is to become in knowledge and virtue

what God intends him to be, except in connection with the expansion of his higher powers.

The more these are strengthened and expanded, the stronger is our feeling of satisfaction, and the stronger it would be even though man had no physical wants to which he might cause science to minister. We love to see the pillar of light in the aurora shoot upward to the zenith. But there is no object upon which the mind can rest with so much satisfaction, as upon a community of young men and women in a course of true progress, coming forward to be what they ought to be, and to lay the fruits of their ripening faculties on the altar of public good. If it is obvious that individual happiness depends upon true culture, rather than technical skill which is prized so much at this time, the connection between that and the public welfare, in a country like this, is no less so. Their will, expressed according to the forms of a constitution which they themselves have adopted, is and must be the law. But a second and perhaps equally important proposition is that the people should be so educated as to be fitted to rule well. These are fundamental principles of a republican form of government. If they shall be maintained, then the superficial divisions and rents of party will not extend to the foundation, and the building will stand. If not, there is no charm in the forms of a free government, by which they can preserve themselves, nor any means by which intelligence, and justice, and purity, and kindness, can be gained from the associated action of men ignorant, unprincipled and selfish.

It is they who arouse public sentiment. The eye and the heart of Christian benevolence are awake. The importance of moral education is better appreciated. It is even possible we may have a system of education which will act upon the whole man, the emblem of which is the sun, pouring forth light and heat, knowledge and love, and calling up from the mould of man's original faculties the flowers and the fruits. There is too a divine Providence, there is a Christian religion, and in connection with the over-ruling and moulding influences of these, I feel a cheerful confidence that the great work will be done, and that there will be wrought out from our free institutions, a social order, better than we have yet seen. This will not be done at once, for the course of human improvement is seldom direct, but

it will be done nevertheless. No change is needed in our present general system. The system has grown up from the wants of the people, and in its forms is complete in every part. We have the common school, where the whole people are, or should be taught so far as to qualify them for the duties of men and women. We have the High School where all who choose may qualify themselves to enter the college, or to commence with a limited preparation, a course of professional study. We have then the college and the professional school. They should qualify men for the professions, for the business of instruction, for legislation, and for those literary and scientific labors which please and elevate a people. These are all essential to a well organized community. They are all needed, equally so, since they are part of one system, and so exert a reciprocal influence, that neither can be what it should without the other.

But the great point here, and it is absolutely necessary in order to carry forward the main prinicples of instruction of which I have spoken, is such an intercourse and state of feeling that the officers and students can go on harmoniously together, and feel that they have a common object. This is all important. There is in regard for it too much need of reformation. A young man enters college often enough with the impression that the faculty and students are opposite parties with opposing interests. As long as he has such a feeling, it would be better for him and the institution that he should be away. It is the same in the public schools. Pupils of this character often find their greatest pleasure in defeating all the efforts which are made for their improvement instead of co-operating in them and considering their best interests as identified with the success of their teachers. If such a state of things must exist, they ought not to be sustained.

There is an objection against college education in that it does not teach manners. And it must be confessed that it is not one of the things for which the diploma is given. More ought to be done in this respect than has been done. If the student shall possess, as perhaps such men oftenest do, that higher form of politeness which consists in respecting the feelings of others and consulting their happiness, and we can send him into the world with sound head and a warm heart to labor for the good of the world, we shall be satisfied and the world thankful. Such men often become the pillars of society. The world is long rid of the

prejudice that knowledge of philosophy or theology renders one impracticably adjusted to the world. And it is equally rid of the notion that academic skill and scientific attainment or artistic power, is the essential of right education. But we would hasten the day when it shall be felt and seen that there is a coincidence and essential unity between the arts of life and religion, when the spirit of literature and the spirit of science shall minister before the spirit of godliness, and young men shall grow up at the same time into the light of science and the beauty of holiness.

When the Pilgrims landed, they brought with them the liberal system of education and provided the means whereby the widest diffusion of knowledge the world has ever seen was to be instituted. But they brought with them their religion also. The two are handmaids of the Lord, though both seem diverse in their manner of operation. It is the Church not any particular sect or creed which is the foundation of our institutional life and our present social well being. Critics may question, but they forget the debt which they owe.

It is commonly supposed that the sphere of the church is the sacred and that she is to deal only with the soul. The pulpit represents and enforces, maintains and spreads Christianity in every sense of the word, and without limits save those self-imposed. Hence its worth consists in its high functions as the necessary human agency in upholding and promoting the teachings of Christ. The subject of its preaching is the Word of God, and the power it wields is the power of the Gospel. But it appeals to the understanding, and applies this to the conscience and the heart. It is God's agency for the conversion to righteousness of a doubtful world, and likewise for the building up of the church, which is the salt of the earth. Hence it is not only national in character, but universal. Its scope is coextensive with civilization and humanity. The mission of the church is all of God's creations and all that pertains to the soul. But I shall primarily discuss its relation to the social question, though the church has an individual message. The mission of the church, then towards society.

Of course the church is bitterly criticised. There is no time to take up individual accusations, but this may be said, practically every adverse criticism reduces to the one fundamental notion that the church has neglected its social responsibility.

This however is a charge which does not conflict with its mission. Human agency here and there may be imperfect, but the main idea is not responsible for the failures. It is responsible for the good which is being done in an affirmative sense. The social disorders which exist today, and which have existed, are due to the manner of development of the social organism. The vastly whirling wheels of progress have caused some hitches. Specialization and the increasing complexity of man's work and social life have tended to throw men apart and to isolate them, even throw them into antagonism, competition and enmity. There is no doubt a dispersive force, but there should be such a tendency if any sort of social cohesion is to result. What the need of the present hour is, more than anything else, is integration, and the overpowering of the force that makes for social conflicts, so that its force will be nullified. An active power for good supposes an evil to be resisted, but it implies the previous existence of the evil, and a force greater than that. We need at this hour reconciliation in everything. We need an agency that shall overcome greed, selfishness, alienation. We need an invigoration of the community to a newer life. For this task the state unfortunately is not perfectly equipped, nor is it rightly conceived and administered. Every theory of a democratic state reduces to force, power, and the use of machinery. Furthermore the state is regarded with suspicion by all classes. At any rate it falls short of its purpose, and another agency is required This mission is fulfilled by the Church.

The gulf between present society and the Kingdom of heaven is vast indeed, and it is the mission of the church to undertake the task of bridging it. The business of the church is to preach and to realize here on earth this perfect state, and to bring about the reign of peace and good will. The ethical code it works by is not complex. It is simply the law of love. These are the very rudiments of the doctrine. Yet they are all embracing, and would realize a world where individualism would lose its derisive power, and the life of society be preserved and renewed. This is the only power that can counteract the vices that frustrate the existence of the Kingdom.

In order to come to this task with strong purpose, there must be a united aim, and a union in a common task of all the churches of Christ as one church, an entire and whole-hearted co-operation

in the spirit of comity and consolidation. A unity that is not visible to the world is ineffectual. The question is where is one to begin? There may be many congregations but there is in reality one Church. The active fellowship and co-operation in the task must begin locally and in neighborhood work. When all the members of a congregation submerge their differences and all come together in the name of the Lord, there is a foundation for unity. Similarly all institutions that call themselves by the name of church should in all reasonableness be prepared to receive and utter its message.

The law which was to govern men in their relations with one another, as well as that which was to govern them in their relations to God, was laid down significantly and clearly by Christ. There is in reality no limit to its spiritual sway. The duty of the church is in one way as much as the other. There is no separation of the sacred from the secular. All is invoked in the jurisdiction of Christ's see, all that concerns the welfare of man. But this does not mean the interference by the church in the functions of the state. The sphere of the church is society, but its function is apart from that of the government. The church may be interested in human concerns and influence life at many points, but its authority has been defined by the principles of our free civic institutions. No comparison is so graphic as the image, the church is the conscience of society. The conscience is the corrective voice, the guiding principle which regulates the will of the entire being, but its sphere is not the function of the will, while it includes the entire being, and plays a most important part in his conduct. Just as the sphere of conscience should include politics and business and social life, and its influence be heeded, even so the imperative voice of the church, expressing assent or disagreement with the moral worth of specific policies which come under question, should be likewise heeded. The church thus comes into close touch with all classes of men, all social and industrial life. While the church has the influence it need not have the authority, for this is Caesar's.

Guided by a definite aim, and unswerved in its imperative message "You ought," the church has a mission more than ever important to this generation. It proclaims the brotherhood of man, in the eloquent words of Washington Gladden, as "the one indestructible, irreparable, indubitable fact about human

nature; that the eternal Love which is behind all law is the Father of all,—Father of Chinamen, and Patagonian and African and American; Father of patrician and plebeian, of philosopher and hind, of landlord and tenant, of employer and employee, of almoner and pauper, of saint and sinner; that this fact of divine Fatherhood and human brotherhood underlies all human institutions and relations; that governments must rest upon it and seek to realize it; that industry must be ruled by it; that traffic must respect it; that it must furnish the fundamental reason for all human conduct." This then is the scope of the church, and it is almost unlimited. Were the voice of conscience obeyed correctly, there would be no evil-doing in the world, and its affirmative voice would inspire the reign of morality, and the dominion of love and brotherhood. Consequently this application of the golden rule would be sufficient in guiding the destinies of man. There would be no social strife, greed would be curbed, and service and fellowship would be instituted in all the affairs of life. Thus the Church would be the direct influence in promoting harmony in a world now largely given over to industrial strife, and social discords. This natural law of sympathy and service it would impart, would be sufficient to secure on earth the beginning of the thousand years of peace, and "that one far-off event divine to which the whole creation moves" be present fact.

This problem is not limited to any single phase of life, in a sort of fragmentary way. The family it has been seen involves issues of economic and social life. There is involved in the question of wealth and poverty questions of distribution and economic justice, the distribution of idleness and leisure. The social relationship that connects the family and the community in turn sweeps out to the entire industrial order. Questions of opportunity and the misuse of it, of ability and lack of opportunity, are not altogether economic. Nor are all social relationships dependent on economic conditions as certain theorists claim. Trade and industry are mighty forces that are at present not entirely under harmonious control. But though the forms which social and political science assumes be complex, there is no question as to the simplicity of the spirit which should underlie them all. Categorical instructions concerning these matters were not given by Jesus in the divine spirit of his teaching.

There is no such thing as Christian economics which would recognize modern society in set forms. Positive refusal to interfere with the rule of Judea and Rome was the policy of Jesus, and he refused to be entangled in issues of specific nature, and he declined jurisdiction in these affairs. No industrial arrangements were prescribed by Him, but his teachings involve decisions concerning human interests today. The religious point of view is not at discord with the world of business but approacheth it from within. It is then the mission of the church not to create an industrial program, but to see to it that whatever forms exist be made the instruments of human welfare and character. It exists in order to make duty superior to self-interest. It is the incarnation of the Christ-spirit on earth, "the organized conscience of Christendom," not a dictator in secular affairs, fettering the free forms of life. On the contrary it promotes and strengthens every endeavor to secure moral and social liberty. Its mission makes it "swiftest to awaken to every undeserved suffering, bravest to speak against every wrong, and strongest to rally the moral forces of the community against everything that threatens the better life" of men. The church will thus hold up society against the forces of disintegration which threaten it. It will rally the moral forces to overcome social wrongs, and inspire in society new and bounding life.

We ought to hear the voice of Christ sending out His messengers to preach the Gospel of the Twentieth Century. It is a voice the same yet not the same as of old, different in words but the same in spirit. "Go preach the Gospel of God; educate all classes, lighten the pressure of labor; increase the joys and lawful pleasures of life. Stir up the rich to labor for their country. Lead the poor toward thrift and industry. Discourage luxury and encourage public spirit." This is peculiarly the message of the Gospel to this generation. It is a social problem with which it deals, and by far the largest number are concerned with the tasks of life which earn them sustenance. It furthermore says: "Unite together by community of interest employer and employed. Where society appears to be disorganizing itself on the principle of competition, reorganize society on the basis of Christian congregation." It is the same gospel as of old which in this day will mitigate disease and banish epidemic. It will diffuse health, happiness, and culture. It will root out the causes

of crime, especially in the cities, and banish war from the face of the earth.

But by what means, it will be asked will the Christian Church return to her old position as guide of the world, leading on the way of progress? First by a clearer knowledge of the teaching of Christ, and also by an improved organization of Christian philanthropic action. It has frequently been said that the clergyman should devote less time to Latin and Greek and more attention to the great questions of the day, to social questions, to history, and above all the history of our nation. It is quite certain however that no effectual improvement can be effected without the systematic and regular co-operation of the congregation with the clergy. What we want in every district is a Christian army trained to act together for the destruction of evil, and the propagation of good in every shape.

If all, clergy and laity alike, were to devote themselves to the weightier matters of Christian duty, that is the improvement of the moral, material and mental condition of their fellowmen through the means suggested to us by modern knowledge, and if they were constantly in the habit of meeting, consulting, and co-operating for this purpose, all sects and divisions uniting for this common purpose, then the church would be brought into continual contact with the golden rule of Christian philanthropy. Then would the church be estimated at its proper value. Thus will arise an institutional church which will supplement the ordinary methods of the gospel by a system of organized effort. Thus would cities be redeemed from the destroyer. Thus social science would be aided by the only force which has a real power to elevate. Thus the prophetic prayer of our Lord, Thy Kingdom come, would find symbolic expression in a perfect city.

The Italian thinker and statesman, Mazzini said that "every political question is becoming a social question, and every social question a religious question." This epigram is the gist of a good deal of present day discussion. It applies not only to the cities, but indicates that progress will spread to country districts as well. It would appear that the problem is largely one of civic reform. A perfect American city will be a light unto the entire country, and spread good influences to the dwellers in the rural communities.

It is pointed out by Prof. Ely that it is not without signifi-

cance the Apostle John saw a redeemed society existing as a city. "And I John saw a redeemed city, New Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride for her husband." This view is significant of a civic church which shall bring religion to bear for the salvation of the people not only in a spiritual sense, but in a material and physical as well. The city shall be like a well-ordered household. It is the mission of the church to make this ideal city a religious institution. Municipal reform to be effective and thorough, should be an achievement of religion.

This socialized church, working along the law of progress and order, produces harmony among the disintegrated masses. It works with certain definite conceptions, which are fundamental. Christian principles embodied in the example and teaching of Jesus. It is a larger congregation which does not merely meet together once or twice a week on the stated occasion of public worship, but which habitually co-operates for other purposes. It is a united organization of which every member has a common object, and a different duty. Men as well as women take part in the congregational church work, and even the busiest will find time for it among the pressure of private engagements. Each member will endeavor to carry out to the best of his ability and according to his best light, the principles of the Gospel He will consider that life only comes from life, and that we must enter into other lives, identify ourselves with them, be in personal contact with them. Some will visit the poor, and in such numbers and with such divisions of labor that while none of the visitors are burdened, the visiting, instead of remaining a series of perfunctory calls, ripens into a friendly and intimate acquaintance between rich and poor, with a full knowledge of the inherent worth of humanity. All will follow the lead of Christ in being as Lowell called Him, "The first true Democrat that ever breathed." There will be teaching in schools, managing of relief clubs, reading rooms and libraries, the giving of lectures or readings for the instruction or amusement of other members, only it will be done much more effectively because the brain and the heart of every member will be ready to contribute to the work. And in addition to this we can imagine a body of Christian workers meeting together at stated intervals not merely for prayer or praise but also for the purpose of comparing their active experi-

ences, giving and receiving advice for their future efforts. It will be found not impossible for the congregation to improve houses of the poor in the neighborhood, and otherwise to assist the civic work of the community, but with more sympathy and zeal, and in a thousand shapes prove a fountain of philanthropic action. Thus will be proved to the antagonists of religion, and they are without number in our day, that Christ loves, heals, the souls of men, by showing that he cares for their bodily welfare, so that they will be forced to say, "See how these Christians love one another." Such Christian action would be the best commentary upon the New Testament. It would be proof of the brotherhood of man. Such organizations will be different in that they are not based on common material interests, but on the Fatherhood of God; not because the same trade or profession is followed, but because they are men. Not a separate function of the man will be recognized, as his skill in a trade, but the entire man, physical, intellectual and spiritual. The church will express itself in service and sacrifice, and overcome evil with good.

Thus will the spiritual force of Christianity be turned against the worser tendencies in our industrial and social order. It will be seen that life is more than food and raiment, or the momentary reward that issues therefrom either to the employer or the worker. Men are first of all men, members of society, rather than the wielders of the spade, the plow, the lever, or the pen. They are not functions, except in an unfeeling economic sense. Our national wealth is not summed up in the amount of pig iron or miles of steel rails produced, but by the spiritual welfare of the people. Not the property owners, as much as the family owners should be counted. Man must be put before wealth, and human welfare be the first aim. It will come to be understood, though with vast opposition, that the soul is of more value to the individual than the body. Life must take precedence over property and wealth, and commercialism awed into silence instead of hushing voices of protest. It will be at last seen that man does not live by bread alone, but by the will of God. Moral value is more than income, and soul more than body, though both appear not.

In every social question, the problem of guiding and directing social energy lies behind the problem of developing social organi-

zation. The elements of order and harmony in the world already exist in the mind, and every occasion should be used to utilize these elements, educate and direct it to its proper end. A cause can be pursued with strength in this light, and the "No Thoroughfare" signs abolished. It requires knowledge of the paths by which right actions are guided and the righteous tendency of better human nature, for this impulse of love and hope, courage and patience, sympathy and wisdom, to produce fruit. The Christian Church has both. It has the social power, above all. Each new access of genuine Christian life produces spontaneously a harvest of philanthropy and social fruitfulness. It is not a church which simply guards and maintains correctness of opinion; it is not a place for the calisthenics of the soul. It is a living church, itself a source of power, a communicating power. It leads the forces of humanity on, and this is its reason for existence. It is the conscience of society, and it is to use aright the new opportunity that has come to it. The social order was never so well prepared for the direction and intercommunication of its forces. The church is in a position to know how to direct these forces along the channels of Christian life.

It is necessary first to have a genuine church spirit working in American men and women. This is not an ecclesiastical spirit or sectarian spirit, but it is social—a spirit of Christian companionship and fellowship. What we want is therefore that faith in Christ and love of Christ which shall lift us out of our selfish inertness and antipathies, and make us one with Him, able to feel as he felt, and to love as He loved. Without this spirit of love we can do nothing. It is true that Christian action is essential to Christian love, just as air is necessary to life; but just as air cannot create life, so no amount of seeming action can replace or create Christ's love. There is but one sign one may obtain of his spiritual condition, which gives an immediate answer to introspective questions: "By this men shall know ye are My disciples, if ye have love toward one another, not towards the amiable but towards the dull and commonplace as well, towards those average people, whom, may be, your fastidiousness finds it difficult to tolerate." Thus will the worthiness that is in them be seen, and the walls of brass which divide men be smitten asunder.

Not alone the individual, but society, was the object of Christ's

teaching. For the ideal man is he who lives in perfect co-operation with his neighbors. Similarly, without a perfect social organization, it is correspondingly difficult to develop the perfect man. Civilization and its complex institutions—the family, the industrial world, the church, the home, the school, are "factors" which well organized, tend to promote the objects of religion and morality among individuals. Humanity and good-will are social instincts among the fairest. All morality is in fact social, and hence dependent or modified by environments.

It is asked what is the chief point of contact to-day? It is upon our industrial and economic system. Poverty, ignorance, and injustice accompany it. It is not true that the intemperance and lack of thrift are the chief causes of poverty. There are millions of factory women who work very hard, neither drink nor waste money, yet are poor. Postal savings banks and vacation and industrial schools such as they have in Belgium would not prevent poverty. Mr. Charles Booth, in "Life and Labour of the Poor in London," says in effect: Multitudes of Christian men and women are fighting a losing battle with the sin and indifference of a vast city, and so absorbed in the desperate strain of the conflict, as not to perceive that the day is going against them. It is little short of terrible, said the late Charles Cuthbert Hall. And Canon Hensley Henson says: We rise from a study of Mr. Booth's gloomy but fascinating volumes with the suspicion which might even grow into conviction that Christianity must approach the masses indirectly by reforming their conditions of existence before offering them its spiritual message.

The make up of the cities, the conditions of industrial existence, are to blame for the injury to the home in the lower ranks of society, for its vice, ignorance, immorality, intemperance, such as we find in the slums. Then too the vast number of women are called away from the home to do factory work, in order to increase the family wage. This means the destruction of the home among the larger portion of society. When a man earns $500 a year or less without a friend or helper, and his wife does washing, leaving the children at home, is it not natural that the boys should grow up on the street as idlers? And yet one third of the children of the United States grow up under such conditions. Women must return from the paper mills,

cotton and woolen factories, from washing on the outside, to the home with their children.

This industrial and economic problem has much to do with the question of immigration which so fast fills our Atlantic seaboard cities with slum. We cannot touch the problem, if greed is made superior to the rights of the people. This same problem affects the lodging house, the house of prostitution, and it is behind all the political corruption in the country. It seems that a despotic oligarchy rules the industrial world of to-day, and that these send emissaries to the legislatures who put them in control of everything, so far as the people will let them. What has legislation to do with Christ's ideals, and where does religious reform come in? It would seem that the dollar is superior to morality, Mammon is God, the law of one's own will and pleaasure to moral obligation. It is not till the people dethrone this conscienceless, despotic power which assumes control over all their lives, that we can check this widespread demoralization.

The city environment determines the character of the city man. The community spirit has to be reckoned with to-day, as of equal rank with the spirit of the individual. It cannot be denied this environment has finely improved under prospering municipal governments. With a short working day for the large majority, and a fair income, the use of leisure becomes bound up with the environment. It is the city which affords rich and complex background, with all its advantages for culture over the country, as well as all the disadvantages, which go along with the parks, and the theatres, and the libraries. The business of the city is to provide institutions for the mass of the community, and this is a matter of vital importance. Not as necessary evil, but as the accompanying factor of civilization, not as a monotonous succession of thoroughfares, but the dwelling place of all that is best in our twentieth century life, the city rises to the possibilities of higher types of civic life. There is then an advance to higher standards of culture and usefulness.

To avoid the temptations of the city was one of the pervading concepts of the eighteenth century morality, and the cry of the French philosophers, "return to nature." Until the end of the eighteenth century the urban death rate was very high. But to-day the cities are self-increasing and need no new citizenry

from the fields of the self-maintaining. The alarms of Josiah Strong in his "New Era" are exaggerated. Still legislation cannot check this inpouring . Farm life is becoming less prosperous, and country life is monotonous, despite what Mr. Hill had to say some time ago. The city supplies industrial opportunity and educational advantages, and other powerful attractions.

Concentration of population means greater degree of interdependence, and neighborly feeling, with the risks of damaging another by mere neighborhood, through selfishness and ignorance. With social responsibility, standards are forced upon the lower elements, by the higher. There is danger of overlegislation. The eighteenth century ideal of "let alone" has proved inadequate. Communal welfare is of the first importance. With the improvement of city environment, every public work, we have a better community.

The home has not played its best part in this advance. Nothing is worshipped more as an institution than the home, and it often cloaks many wrongs, offenses against business. The family stands for industrial progress and welfare, necessarily, whereas being a good citizen is often hurtful to business success. Politics and the home do not go well together. The women of the country have been so individually trained, that they have even kept voters away from the polls. The home is economically isolated.

In many American cities the saloon is the only centre of social intercourse for the laboring classes. That this is so is due often to the uninviting appearance of the street and the home. There must be enough institutions of an elevating kind to supply those pleasures which otherwise run to excess and moral collapse with so many of the people. Take the waterfronts of the cities; here they are often least attractive and so are the resort of the basest element.

The municipal problem is a real one. The city has not advanced to its responsibility. Inheritance, inertia, and ignorance keep down progress. Business appeals do not seem to work. Reformers are often discouraged by the meager response. Only concentrated action when the time is ripe for co-operation, can exert real influence. Only action animated by the motives separated from selfish, narrow interest, civic loyalty, can develop the modern city. The family unit must not act so as to inter-

fere. A larger grouping is necessary to moral health. Civic advance depends on the development of the social instincts and the increase in social ties. It is only the city that can supply the larger social pleasures, the theatres, the club, the literary, scientific and musical societies, become an integral part of the life of the incomer. Especially is the University a model to the community at large in its spirit of co-operation, neatness, order, and growth, and its absence of debasing elements. The church fosters loyalty, and with the club tends to the development of civic instincts. The city is not alone a protector of person and property, but is associated with large groups of services upon which the highest standards of life are based. The city democracy towards which we are approaching is not one of the suffrage and of finance and government only, but a democracy of pleasure and upliftment; not a matter of administration problems, but of the deeper forces of social and moral life.

The well being that is sought is not a thing of earth or wholly under human control, however. Material advantages do not necessarily bring in their wake high purposes and aspirations. A genuine and enduring prosperity calls for qualities of mind and heart gained from the working out of high moral results, rather than from the abundance of things. The church is not an economist. It does not devise schedules of wages or industrial schemes, but rather diffuses a spirit of equity, humane consideration, and moral values. The control by the government of the machinery of production and distribution will not overcome greed, selfishness, and narrow spirit. Nothing but a sense of brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God will reach down into the troubled sea to produce calm.

Many difficulties may not be reached by enacted laws. It is only a sense of our responsibility to God that can reach them. When employers are forced to raise wages, they will continue if godless to raise the price of their commodities. Thoughtless parents will still continue to send their children to work when they should be at school. Young women with no board bills to pay still work for very small wages and thus compete with breadwinners who have to accept their wage. In the industrial grind women and children are sent to the mills and factories, while discarded, wornout husbands stay at home. Fine material such as this hidden away in the ranks of the common people are per-

verted, and lost through unjust conditions. Human values, not dollars, is the root of the social question.

"The city is the nerve centre of our civilization. It is also the storm centre." In these trenchant words, a modern evangelist sums up the chief problem of to-day. It looks as if the largest part of our citizenship will be urban. As DeToqueville said many years ago, "I look upon the size of certain American cities, and especially upon the nature of their population, as a real danger which threatens the security of the democratic republics of the New World." Complicated and multiplied relations require a more delicate conscience and a stronger sense of justice, and considering the growing evils of cities, the violations of the Sabbath, the increase in intemperance, and the huge multiplication of the industrial problem, divorces, the course of overimmigration, the piling up of vast personal fortunes,—and it becomes easy to see that the city faces quite a task.

Popular morals need to improve, and often conditions in the city do not make for this civic morality. Bossism continues to wield enormous influence. It is well to be on guard for the sake of the future. The church sees the imminent crisis, and is only now beginning to take the steps to prevent this; and when "with the temptation to destroy brought into conjunction with every opportunity, the means, the fit agents, then will come the real test of our institutions, then will appear whether we are capable of self-government," and then will the church re-appear unto its own. In due time our cities which are gathering together the most troublesome elements of our civilization, unless Christianized will prove the destruction of our free institutions. Nothing but the Gospel can transform lawless men and women into good citizens. The number of Christian workers in our cities ought to be increased ten or twentyfold.

Thus growing year by year in the knowledge of goodness, in the knowledge of Christ which passeth knowledge, let us go forward on the path directed by Christ's spirit. Each for his own soul is the watchword of Satan: but let us strive to bear another's burden. Soldiers of the Cross of Christ, let us consider ourselves sent into the world to make war against evil. Let us hope and pray that the church may be drawn into closer union, and be led into a more life-like activity, not for the mere

purpose of self-preservation and self-defense, but for the grander and more Christian object of assailing the common enemies of humanity. Then will the reign of the Kingdom appear again, and poor and rich will worship side by side, adoring the common Father. Social quarrels will be subdued, religious difficulties vanish, and the Christian Church be identical with society in its new Constitution.

There are skeptics who state that city and national government is bad because the natural law of selfish self-preservation is stronger than the law of love. It would then be stronger to destroy. Such is hence not a natural law, but on the contrary is most unnatural, because it would merge everything into chaos were it followed out. Actually the way of love is the only way of life. There is no other solution of the social problem. Politics can do much, but the spiritual life of the nation needs deepening, and all will turn out well. As Charles Kingsley said: "If the Christian Church were what she ought to be, for a day, the world would be converted before nightfall." Thus the responsibility for the world's unsaved condition rests with the Church. The task is not too great for it.

Let the new spirit and conscience prevail among the different classes of society, and act as an oil on the agitated waters. The chief evils connected with the diversity of men would then cease, and everywhere and always, men would meet each other as men and brethren. Is not the star of hope which we see in this direction a beautiful star? It is no meteor of a fervid imagination or of false philosophy. It is that great idea of universal Christian brotherhood, pointed out by Christ, not in the text only, but everywhere, as an inherent part of his system. It is a great mistake to suppose that equality is all that would be necessary in a perfect social state. This will not bring on the Millennium. It is the right centripetal and constituting force that is chiefly needed. Thus will the great social problem of the harmony of the individual freedom and the unity and efficiency of governmental and social action be solved. But the solution of a problem whose conditions were apparently so incompatible, was not left to human wisdom. It furnishes another example of the simple yet exhaustless wisdom of Christ. In the affection and brotherhood everywhere inculcated by Him we have precisely

such a principle, and the only possible. It must be borne in mind therefore, that it is not every kind of equality which is the solution, nor any kind of equality standing alone, but an equality of rights balanced by an affection based upon principle, which should constitute society a Brotherhood.

Saugerties, N. Y.

ARTICLE VIII.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I. IN ENGLISH. BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D. D.

The Expositor (April) has an article on "St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions" by Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy who shows that the emphasis of critical investigation of the Pauline Epistles has been shifted from the question of authenticity to Paul's view of the Christian faith.. Gunkel asserts that the Christianity of Paul is "a syncretic religion." It is true that the apostle was surrounded by an atmosphere of mystery, produced by a conglomeration of Babylonian, Egyptian, Hellenic and Jewish beliefs and practices. He confronted the magicians and caused the burning of magical books in vast numbers. Was he himself consciously or unconsciously influenced by these things? Of course, the denial of the Holy Spirit and of inspiration opens the way for any theory, but the acceptance of the Scripture doctrine at its face value makes syncretism in Paul's case an absurdity. Moreover, to the man who is not looking for peculiar and occult theories, Paul appears as a hard-headed man not easily influenced by vagaries. His epistles, somehow, have a marvelous adaptation to this most practical age in which "mystery" plays a very minor part.

In the same review there is a very satisfactory discussion of "Modern Christian Apologetic" by Dr. Selbie, of Oxford. There must not be a mere recital of stock theistic arguments. There must be a reasoned attempt to distinguish between what is permanent and what is merely occasional in the Christian faith, to restate the Christian position in terms intelligible to the men of to-day and to meet new attacks. To do this will require not only that a man shall have a living and experimental knowledge of the Christian religion and its history, but also that he shall be extremely sensitive to all the changes in the intellectual atmosphere of our day.

The attacks on Christianity are less open but more subtle than formerly. One of the chief dangers arises from a tendency to

accept all types of religion or none. Christianity is simply one of the world's religions only better in degree but not in kind than its rivals. Or on the other hand religion is spiritual and therefore, unreal and not supernatural.

The first difficulty that confronts us is as to what it is exactly that we have to conserve and defend. In Germany, in the reaction against the extreme negative position, the aim now is to retain the fundamentals of the old Christian faith and express them in terms of modern thought. But what is meant by "fundamentals" and "modern thought" is a matter on which there is no agreement.

There can be no doubt however, that first of all the apologete must discover the actual contents of the gospel as originally preached. The verification of the facts must be psychological as well as historical. It must not be lost sight of that the great objective facts of the incarnation and crucifixion prevented Christianity from becoming a mere philosophy. The psychological apologetic is founded in the deep experience of believers and the marvelous results which flowed from them in individual lives as well as in great missionary movements. This apologetic establishes only a strong presumption in favor of the truth of Christianity, and it needs to be supplemented by metaphysic and the appeal to reason. We begin with facts, those of history and of experience, and upon this foundation build our edifice of proof. The logical deductions from these facts must constitute a powerful apologetic.

On the strictly philosophical side the task is less difficult than formerly. The materialistic view of the universe, prevalent fifty years ago on account of the rapid growth of the physical sciences, has received a check in the recognition that the ultimate nature of the universe is after all a philosophical problem. The present day tendency is toward Idealism rather than toward Materialism. The scientific method has come to stay both in philosophy and in theology. "Anthropology and the comparative study of religions stand now at any reasonable theological system." The religious phenomena of history can not be put down either to fraud or illusion, but must be regarded as an essential equipment for life and work.

"The metaphysical side of apologetics is not entirely discredited as would sometimes seem to be the case. The familiar

ontological, cosmological and teleological arguments, if stated in the newer terminology and confined to their proper sphere, still remain valid, and offer suggestions which no student of the subject can afford to ignore."

In *The Harvard Theological Review* (April) two articles deal with Luther and his recent biographers. Dr. Francis A. Christie, Unitarian, in speaking of "Luther and Others" would have us believe that Luther, though holding nominally to the doctrine of the Trinity, actually finds God through the man Jesus, emphasizing his merely human side. What a gross perversion of Luther's words and teaching is here implied! Think of Luther for one moment leaving out of sight the Diety of our Lord!

Dr. J. W. Platner of Andover writes sympathetically of Luther. He says, "In effective moral leadership none of his contemporaries, not even Zwingli, can for a moment be compared with him." Of Dr. McGriffert's "Luther, the Man and his Work" our reviewer says that however excellent, its author is not at his best in "popular" writing and that he was under the constraint of adapting his style to a more general audience than "his usual public." Of Dr. Preserved Smith's "Life and Letters of Martin Luther" our reviewer speaks highly as a presentation of the outward facts of his life, but regrets the lack of any adequate treatment of Luther's "thought." "The two biographies....are welcome additions to our Luther literature.....If they fail to arouse enthusiasm, they will at any rate serve the cause of sound knowledge.....In order to catch the full significance of a man like Martin Luther, one must needs feel a spiritual kinship with him, such as was felt by the Scottish hero-worshipper.....Most of us, authors and readers alike, must be content with writing or reading simple annals of the past. wherein we are constantly aware that the figures which pass across the stage are figures of the dead, and all our chronicling is but an inscription on their tomb. They lived once; they live no more. But one day there comes the literary artist,—and then they live again before our eyes."

I have read both these biographies with deep interest and much profit. Dr. McGiffert's work impressed me as being too mechanical and Dr. Smith's as being not well balanced in omitting the inner life of the Reformer and in giving undue

prominence to his coarseness. The coming biographer of Luther will be a Lutheran, of German blood, deeply spiritual, "orthodox" in faith, with the historic insight and broad outlook, and rugged style of Carlyle.

Dr. W. T. Davidson discusses "Eucken on Christianity" in *The London Quarterly Review* (April). He gives this much lauded modern philosopher credit for correctly gauging the forces which are opposed to Christianity to-day, and for pointing out the insufficiency of the remedies proposed by "the modern man" for the ills of life. Eucken endeavors most seriously to lay the foundations, not merely of ethical, but of lofty spiritual teaching. But alas! after all he seems to be advocating an ethical idealism, of a more or less Christian type indeed, but not a religion in the proper sense of the word. He goes further in his rejection of historical Christianity than the modern Unitarian. Christianity is for him not the Absolute Religion, but the highest of all religions. His idea of God is vague. God is to him a Spiritual Life that has attained to a complete subsistence in itself and at the same time to an encompassing of all reality. But when the question is asked "Is God personal?" Eucken hesitates in his answer, saying "An unconditional affirmative of the personality of God is undesirable."

"Other leading doctrines of historical Christianity fare no better at Eucken's hands; they belong to that 'Existential form' which must be got rid of if the substance of the religion is to do its work for men. The notion of the death of Christ as an atoning sacrifice for sin must be entirely relinguished..... The doctrines of the Trinity, and of Christ, as Eternal Son and Eternal Word, disappear. The current doctrines of Christianity as to the creation and fall of man are, according to Eucken, in direct conflict with modern knowledge.....The whole conception of rewards and punishments is out of place in the life of religion; and the Christian doctrine of the future life, and of a judgment seat....is little more than mythological."

In short Eucken is an illustration of the fact that the rejection of the revelation of God in the Bible leaves man in confusion and darkness concerning the Way, the Word and the Life. How simple, beautiful, credible and comforting is Bible Christianity alongside of the vagaries of so-called philosophy.

An article by Canon Barrett in the same Quarterly "On the Church and the Poverty Problem" reviews a discussion on this question by Mr. Lloyd George and adds some very pertinent suggestions. The Church has not the requisite resources, nor can it supply the necessary administrative ability to deal with this enormous problem. Nevertheless, the Church can do much to alleviate the situation: First, By rousing the national conscience to a knowledge of the existence of the evils and to a responsibility for dealing with them; Second, By inculcating the necessary spirit of self-sacrifice.

The Church must study the question so as to be able to present facts in the most telling way, and thus force them upon the attention of the nation, and bring home to each citizen the sense of his responsibility. The laws, customs and habits of the people are the causes of poverty and misery to a much greater degree than any actual lack of resources.

The Church must next create an atmosphere by inculcating the necessary spirit of self-sacrifice. The Church's one foundation is Jesus Christ, and it must always hold up the figure from whom new powers of sacrifice reach humanity. This sacrifice does not consist mainly in money giving, which indeed often involves no sacrifice at all. Charity must have a larger meaning than almsgiving, and sacrifice implys more than a gift. People must be taught that humanity demands their best thinking.. The most valuable asset in the country is the thought which is expended in its business and its scientific discoveries. The product of this thought is comfort and pleasure and money. Of the last, large sums may be given to the poor, but this is not the real sacrifice demanded. Men must be taught to give their best, to study the facts, causes and remedies of poverty. The Church must also inculcate the spirit of self-subjection, humility and lowliness of heart to take the place of pride and of patronage, which embitter the poor against their would-be benefactors. Christians, inspired by the eternal sacrifice of Christ should serve their neighbor's needs with generosity, with judgment, and with self-subjection.

"The White Man in the Tropics" by Edward Walker, M. D. in the same Quarterly presents an array of frightful facts in reference to the almost inconceivable havoc wrought in the tropics

in the past by the epidemics which have blighted them. He holds that malaria conquered Rome and Greece by enervating their people, and that India has lost untold millions of her population to the same enemy. In the year 1900 out of a total military force of about 300,000 in India, one-third suffered from malaria. Sleeping-sickness in Africa has wiped out whole villages, and caused the reversion of large tracts of fertile land to an impenetrable jungle. In the Uganda alone over 200,000 have perished in a few years from this cause. Yellow fever has in the past exterminated whole regiments of British soldiers, and made some of the fairest parts of the earth uninhabitable.

But now through the discoveries of modern science that diseases are caused by parasites conveyed to man by insects, a wonderful change has come about. It has been found that malaria is conveyed by the bite of the anopheles mosquito, and yellow fever by another species of the same insect, the stegomyia calopus, and sleeping sickness by the tsetse-fly. Through proper sanitation the breeding places of these noxious insects may be destroyed, and the drinking water purified, and windows and doors of dwellings properly screened. These and other precautions have already wrought wonders. Panama and Cuba are illustrations of what sanitation has done in recent years. Yellow fever has been almost unknown. It is said that yellow-fever, more than anything else, defeated the French in their efforts to dig the great canal.

The influence of these discoveries is most beneficient and far-reaching. The best portions of the globe may now be inhabited with comparative impunity. Missionary work will be most favorably affected. It will attract more men and enable them to remain for longer periods away from home and require a smaller force. At present sixty per cent. of missionaries die from preventable diseases. It is cheering to note that man is slowly but surely conquering the evils by which life is beset.

The Bibliotheca Sacra (April) has an interesting article on "The Testimony of Josephus Concerning Jesus" by Herbert W. Magoun, Ph.D., of Cambridge. The passage particularly under review is the following from the "Antiquities of the Jews": "Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works—a

teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ.. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross those who loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day." (XVIII. 3. 3.).

This passage has long been regarded as a forgery. Dean Farrar said of it "That Josephus wrote the whole passaage as it now stands no sane critic can believe." He regrets it for two reasons: first, it was unknown to Origen and the earlier fathers, and second, its place in the text is uncertain, being found in different locations in the several editions.

Dr. Magoun argues that the facts must have been well known to Josephus, who was a Jew and a native of Palestine and who was born only seven years after the crucifixion. He says that critics like Farrar, fail to take the proper view-point. They did not put themselves in the place of Josephus.

A forgery, under all the circumstances, would not have been possible. Origen died A. D. 253 while the historian Eusebius, who quotes the above passage, was born A. D. 264. It would, therefore, appear, if the critics be correct, that within fifty years the clever forgers had insinuated this passage "without raising a howl of protest from the enemies of their beliefs."

Happily the historicity of Jesus and his divine supernatural Sonship are not in the least conditioned on the authenticity of the passage. On general principles it would seem not unlikely that Josephus would allude to so important a person as Jesus, whose condemnation must have been a matter of public record.

"The Great Question" of personal immortality is ably discussed in *The Hibbert Journal* (April) by William Dillon, Esq., of Chicago. He examines what he conceives to be the strongest abstract argument in favor of the proposition that the human soul is immortal.

He summarizes the usual arguments for "Immortality" as presented in the *Encyclopoedia Britannica* as follows:

(1) *Metaphysics*: based upon the essential nature of the

soul. (2) *Juridicial*: based upon the idea of a just God who will in the future mete out retribution based on the character of our human lives. (3) *Ethical*: the triumph of the human lives, emancipated from the body by death. (4) *Emotional or Affectional*: as worked out by Tennyson in *In Memoriam*. (5) *Universal Aspiration*: This may be added to these above cited.

Coming now to "the strongest abstract argument," he begins by making a definition. "By the immortality of the human soul I mean that the spiritual as distinguished from the bodily element in the nature of each man will continue to exist after death; and that such continuance of existence will be accompanied by a consciousness of continuance of individual personality." "Persistence of personality is persistence of consciousness of personality." The former necessarily implies the latter.

In offering proof of his definition, the author first explains what is meant by "proof." "Proof is the inferring a proposition, the truth of which is not apparent to the mind, from other propositions, the truth of which is apparent to the mind." This is the logical definition of proof. The sense in which our author desires to use the word is, "to render probable." This is all that can be expected in reference to the average mind. Socrates however seems to have arrived for himself at actual demonstration through abstract argument.

The argument proper begins with a concrete case. "We see a friend die. We see the dead body after death." But the body is not the personality. What has become of it? One of three answers may be given: "It has ceased to exist. It continues to exist. We have no means of knowing whether it still exists or not."

In reference to the first answer, it is clear now that the body and the mysterious something which constitutes the personality were separate and distinct existences. The spirit was not perceptible to our sense while it was associated with the body any more than it is now. "The spirit remains after death, just as it was before death, incapable of being apprehended by our senses." Hence, our lack of perceiving the spirit now does not form a presumption that it no longer exists.

Further, we realize now that the spirit was the better part of the man, far superior to the body. And yet even the body has not been annihilated by death, and though its form may be

changed, it still exists. If then death does not terminate absolutely the existence of the body, is it likely that it terminates the existence of the spirit, the highest element in man?

Some will rest here, and say with the pantheist that only the spiritual element will survive, but not in the form of personality. Yet to a large number of fair-minded men the persistence of the spirit implies the persistence of the individual. This strong presumption is increased by the juridical and ethical arguments.

"But, it will be said, as a matter of fact, many men have in all ages, in regard to this question, passed far beyond mere probability, and attained to practical certainty." This has been done in three ways: First, by a direct revelation from God; secondly, by a process of reasoning, e.g. Socrates; thirdly, "by calling in the aid of the emotional element in human nature to fortify and intensify the conviction which is prompted by the personal experience of such belief in others, and of the moral results which such belief in others is able to realize."

Of the last a few words are said. The belief in the immortality of Socrates which his friends cherished was based not so much on what Socrates said as upon what he did. They had seen his life and his death, and these were the arguments which convinced them. They had observed that to the very end "he had retained a calm but absolute confidence that while death might separate it could not destroy. Were they to believe, could they believe, that that confidence was a delusion?"

"And for us, nowadays, even a higher degree of certitude is possible than was possible for them. Our certitude can be higher in a degree just in proportion as the moral law introduced by Christianity is higher than any moral law that was known to Socrates or his disciples. The two basic principles of Christian morality are stated in the two great beatitudes: "Blessed are the clean of heart," and "Blessed are the merciful." Or to put it as St. James puts it: "Religion clean and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their tribulation; and to keep one's self unspotted from the world." The habitual subjection of the gross earthly element to the pure and spiritual element in us, the habitual dwelling of the mind upon high and holy and clean thoughts and the unselfish service of others constitutes the highest type of Christian life. This noble living fits one for realizing the unseen. The death of a

man who has lived this kind of a life is often full of confidence in the reality of a future life, a persistence of the personality. The goodness, intelligence and conviction of such a man forbids the idea of a delusion.

The conclusion of the whole matter is this. For those who accept no test but reason and logical argument there can be nothing more than probability. In some cases this may approach certainty. But certainty can ordinarily be attained only by one of two classes: First, those who in spite of modern scepticism still accept the Scriptures with simple faith, and Secondly, those who have had a personal experience such as is described above.

"Reconstruction in Theology among Laymen," by E. G. Schaltz, B. D., of River Forest, Ill. in the *Methodist Review* (May-June) is based upon answers to certain questions which were sent to seven hundred prominent laymen of different denominations. Of these two hundred and thirty-six responded. The following is a very brief summary on important doctrinal questions.

God.—Concerning the nature and character of God much confusion exists and there is no little difficulty found in conceiving him as a spirit, or as a personality without definite form. To many God is either "the great impersonal oversoul of the universe or a personal being so vague as to be almost impossible of approach." "God is an impassive intelligence." "God....is a universal force from which all energy emanates." "He radiates from a central position as possibly the sun or Sirius." "He is the author of good and evil." "God is an infinite Spirit pervading the universe as life pervades the body. He manifests himself not only through the material creation, but in the mental and moral universe as well."

Man.—As to his origin, fifty-five per cent. accept literally the Genesis account as a direct creation. Thirty-three per cent. hold to a theistic evolution. Unconditional immortality is accepted by eighty-three per cent.

Sin.—All declare that sin is a reality. Its origin is variously attributed to Adam, to Satan, to man's selfishness, to moral freedom and even to God himself. Of the doctrine of total de-

pravity a large number seem to be entirely ignorant, and all but a few repudiate it with scorn.

Christ.—Seventy-eight per cent. accept the "virgin birth." The rest either deny or doubt, and a large proportion of all see no special importance in the doctrine. Ninety-one per cent. accept the Diety of Christ. The rest have doubts on the ground that a "God-man" could not be an example to us, while a "perfect man" could. Concerning the Atonement, fifty-seven per cent. believe that the sufferings of Christ were substitutionary in their character; twenty-one per cent. deny this; eleven are in doubt. Eighty-six per cent. hold that the Atonement contemplates a change in the attitude of the sinner toward God, rather than in His attitude toward the sinner.

The Holy Spirit.—The answers are vague. Twenty-two per cent. believe the Spirit to be the Third Person in the Trinity; twenty-seven per cent. regard the Spirit as God working in the souls of men—that is, He is an influence rather than a Person.

Personal Salvation.—All but five per cent. believe that every sinner must have a "change of heart" in order to be saved. Salvation means "acceptance of Christ as a personal Saviour," "Escape not from penalty, but from sin," and "a right attitude toward God."

The Future.—Forty-four per cent. believe heaven to be a literal place, and the same number look upon it as a spiritual state. Twenty-four per cent. regard hell as a literal place while sixty-four believe it to be a spiritual state. Sixteen per cent. think there will be a Final Restoration of the lost, two per cent. believe that they will be annihilated. The Resurrection of the body is held to be spiritual by sixty-three per cent. and physical by twenty-five. The prevailing idea seems to be in favor of a spiritual resurrection at the time of death.

The Bible.—About fifty-one per cent. admit that modern teachings have caused them to modify their ideas about the Bible. Ninety-one per cent. declare that it means more to them than formerly; seven that it means the same; and two that it means less.

The Church.—Seventy-three per cent. hold that the Church is necessary to Christian living; sixteen think it is not; and the rest believe it to be a great help. Forty-eight per cent. believe that the Church satisfies their spiritual needs and forty-three

think otherwise. Most of them believe that the Church is the most beneficient institution in the world.

In general the laymen seem to manifest suspicion concerning creeds and formal theology.

We have given this rather extensive review of this article on "Reconstruction" that our clercial readers may know the average opinion of educated laymen, and that they may regulate their preaching accordingly. We recommend "doctrinal preaching," not of the dry-bones kind but that which has flesh and blood and throbs with life. We recommend the catechism even for adults. Luther constantly carried one in his pocket. Theological reconstruction of course, will never come through laymen. It must come if at all through the theologians. There is a vast difference between religion and theology. The former is a life; the latter the interpretation of it. The one is a flower garden; the other botany. The florist is not generally a botanist. Theology to be true and helpful must be Biblical in its ground and must include all phases of religious development. Off-hand opinions of theology are about as valuable as off-hand opinions on any other matter.

Dr. Shailer Mathews of the University of Chicago writes of "Vocational Efficiency and the Theological Curriculum," in *The American Journal of Theology* (April). First there must be a clear understanding of the minister's vocation. What is he expected to do when he leaves the Seminary? Some will say he is to be a prophet heralding the news of salvation. Others will say he is to be a priest mediating salvation through sacraments. But in fact he is more than a prophet and a priest. "He is the leader of a church." And what is the Church? It does not exist for itself. It is an organization which trains its members to work for the welfare of the community in all its interests—physical as well as spiritual. We are passing from a dogmatic to a sociological conception of the content of religion. There is danger that the Church may forget its fundamental function of ministering to the spiritual life of personalities; but this emphasizes the need of training ministers to see things in their right relations.

Let us not belittle the ministry as a vocation. To do this is a tactical blunder. It has greater possibilities than ever before.

Leadership involves two specific types of activity. The first

is the prophetic. To minimize this is to reduce the Church to an ethical society. The second is the social sphere. The minister is not only a prophet but also an apostle, one who organizes the Christian forces into effectiveness.

With this conception of the Seminary the following principles must underlie the curriculum which is to be constructed.

1. The subject-matter should be adapted to prepare the minister for leadership. While the Seminary should not be expected to give a College course, the need is pressing to give elementary instructions in psychology, biology and sociology. The Bible must be studied in a thoroughly scientific way. The student must be helped to gain a clear view of the development of the Hebrew and Christian religions, and also of other religions as related to the former Church history, systematic theology, and vocational training in homiletics and pastoral theology must not be neglected.

2. Ministerial efficiency demands severe mental discipline. A college course ought to be required, and this course ought to be shaped for the work of the Seminary. The minister must be trained to be not only an organizer and an evangelist, he must be a defender of Christianity.

3. The curriculum should be so arranged as to give the student a broad vocational training during say his first two years, and then to introduce him to sequence courses in some particular field of theological study.

4. The vocational courses ought to set forth the genetic relations between religious institutions and doctrine on the one side and religion itself on the other.

5. The curriculum should be marked by continuity and progress.

6. Each term's work should have a unity based upon comparative treatment.

7. Emphasis should be laid upon training for self-direction rather than upon the memorizing of information.

8. Theological studies should be pursued under conditions similar to those in which the minister must work.

II. IN GERMAN. BY PROF. ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, A. M., B. D.

Can Americans become Lutherans? Can Lutheranism be translated into the English language and transplanted into

American forms of civilization? Such were the questions that used to be controverted with great vigor both in this country and in Germany until little more than a generation ago. These questions have now been answered with an emphatic affirmative. Prayers uttered in the English language are not a sacrilege, for the Father of all men has actually heard and answered such prayers. Lutheran doctrine is not by any means limited to Luther's mother-tongue. It has not suffered by its translation into English. Lutheran tunes are not less sweet when sung by English throats, for their popularity in this country is growing rapidly. The English Lutheran Church has justified her existence by her splendid growth and by her wholesome influence upon the religious, cultural, and national life of our country. American Lutheranism is no longer a forbidden term, for the Lutheran Church in America has a distinct mission to perform.

The error of our early history: Luther's doctrine for Luther's language only, has passed forever. But a striking reminder of the old error is to be found in current German literature. This cannot fail to be of interest to American readers, especially to those of the Lutheran faith. For while American Lutherans are beginning to bethink themselves seriously of the national mission of their Church on this side of the ocean, the Germans are discussing the question whether Christianity itself is not limited to German civilization, that is, to the German nation and language. It is quite natural that this question should arise at this time in view of the swelling national consciousness of the German people, and more especially in view of the persent-day emphasis upon the psychology of religion.

The association of the idea of nationality with that of religion is not a new thing, even in the Occident. With characteristic insight and breadth of vision Leopold von Ranke insisted that it is impossible to think of a great nation, worthy of the name of nation, whose political life does not spring from religious principles, which it must be one of the constant aims of that nation to bring to complete realization. Lagarde in his day ventured to prophecy that the Christian religion would ultimately perish because of its Germanic devotees. A recent reviewer of Houston Steward Chamberlain's book on the fundamentals of the nineteenth century declares that a Germanic Christian is a contradiction in terms, that the two ideas are utterly incompatible

One of the critics of Gobineau declares that the inmost nature of the true German to-day is just as diametrically opposed to the fundamentals of the Christian system as was the nature of his Teutonic ancestors a thousand years ago. In a recent public address at Stettin, Ludwig Gurlitt asserted that Christianity has cheated the German people of its best elements and that the healthy body of the people is about to react powerfully against the poison.

But while there are those who hold that Teutonism and Christianity are incompatible qualities, there are on the other hand even more who feel that Teutonism and Christianity are inseparable quantities. These insist that the Christianity of the German nation, so far from being an artificial construction embodying an inner contradiction and destined to wreck the cultural development of Germany, is in reality its most valuable asset and fraught with the most blessed impulses for the life of the people. These have the flattering support in their position of Emperor William. In a recent address at Marienburg His Majesty expressed sentiments to the effect that Teutonism and Christianity are inseparable and that from their close union alone is to come the salvation of the German people and through them of all mankind.

The arguments of both sides of this question are deftly summed up by C. Lülmann in a series of articles in current numbers of *Die Christliche Welt.* The articles are entitled *Christentum und Deutschtum.* They furnish insight into one aspect of current theological thought of Germany.

The author begins with a brief historical review of the union of Christianity with Teutonism. The introduction of the Christian religion among the early German tribes was by no means a Christian process. Religious motives played very little part. It was chiefly political considerations and gross superstitions that opened the door for the new religion. Writing of Clovis' conversion to Catholic Christianity, so tremendous in its historical significance, Professor Hauck of Leipzig says, "He came to the conviction that the God of the Christians would be the most powerful protector of his kingdom and in that sense he recognized him as the true God." Similar considerations converted the Burgundians. Pure force of arms brought the Saxons into the Christian fold. Uniformity of religion was

recognized by Charlemagne, Otto the Great, and others as a convenient means of political union. Hence Christianity, the religion of the august Roman Empire, was arbitrarily prescribed.

But in spite of the fact that Christianity was thus originally superimposed upon the Germans it soon began to reach the very heart of their being, as witness their schools, their literature, their thought-life and all their institutions. The fusion of German and Christian grows constantly deeper and more thorough throughout the Middle Ages until the period of the Reformation the union of the national spirit of the Germans with the religious spirit of Christianity receives its full and complete expression. Luther is recognized to-day as the greatest German of them all. Anti-Luther is anti-German. "For my Germans I was born," Luther wrote, "and my Germans I will serve." He has rightly been called the German Paul. This union of German and Christian has continued to be a potent factor down to our own age. For it is now commonly recognized that the glorious victories in the struggle for independence a hundred years ago were in largest measure due to the fusion of Christianity and Teutonism. Queen Louise was the most German woman but at the same time the most Christian woman of her time. Thus in the course of the centuries the German spirit has so completely absorbed and appropriated the spirit of Christianity that we are encouraged to leave the sphere of history and to investigate the inner grounds upon which this permanent union rests.

The thesis is set up that the Christian religion is fundamentally adapted to the essential qualities of the national German character. A distinction of terms is here made between Teuton (*Germane*) and German (*Deutsch*). Teutonism (*Germanentum*) is the generic term for the race, whose root and type is to be found among the Indo-Europeans or Aryans. Germanism (*Deutschtum*) is the narrower term and designates the German nation whose distinguishing characteristic is the German language. It is assumed as a matter of course that Teutonism receives its purest and strongest expression today in the German nation. The writer then proceeds to analyze the typical national German character and points out three qualities that have always been essentially characteristic of the German through all the varying

fortunes of his history. These three qualities are bravery, depth, and independence.

The courage to fight and the will to do have always been characteristic of the Germans. That fact was clearly observed and strongly emphasized by Tacitus. It finds abundant illustration in that most typical German of modern times, Chancellor Bismark, the very incarnation of courageous deed and unbending will. Now this quality of energetic achievement is one of the watchwords of Christianity. The Christian life is a battle between the forces of good and the forces of evil. It calls for heroic action. "Fight the good fight of faith." Christ himself was a divine hero. He overcame the Tempter, cleansed the Temple, punished the Pharisees, triumphed over Death, and was constantly impelled by the will to do. This element of manly action and heroism in Christianity appeals to the fundamental nature of the German.

Coupled with the German desire for brave deed is a deep inwardness of spirit. This has always been recognized as the special heritage of the German. It receives its expression in his conscientiousness, and fidelity, his thoroughness and penetration. These traits also have their clear echo in the Christian system. Christianity is preeminently a spiritual religion." It is the spirit that maketh alive." The soul is everything. Love is its chief activity. Faithfulness must endure even unto death. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith alone is admirably adapted to the deep inwardness of the German spirit.

The third great national characteristic of the Germans is their spirit of independence. It is a well-known historical fact that one of the most valuable contributions that the German barbarians made to the stream of classic civilization was the spirit of personal freedom and individual responsibility. This chord in the German nature responds quite readily to the Christian emphasis upon freedom. For with the principle of personality Christianity advocates also the principle of liberty. She warns against snares and servitude, and lauds the glorious freedom of the children of God: "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

If there are such marked lines of correspondence between the Christian religion and the German character, why should any serious-minded person regard them as incompatible? It is not

merely fanatical hatred of the Jews and everything Semitic, for cool and serious arguments are made. One class of arguments is directed against the so-called asceticism of Christianity. There is much in the history of Christianity, in its ethical system, in individual passages of the Scripture, and in its hymnology, that would seem to justify the charge of asceticism. And all this is supposed to be contrary to the German nature. Christianity with its other-worldliness and its pious passivity, with its self-denial and its self-renunciation, with its longing for redemption and its appeals for grace, is directly opposed to the essence of German character which finds its ideal in the free symmetrical development of personality through a life of unhampered activity and happiness here on earth. In reply to this argument it is pointed out, first, that this very element in Christianity has brought about the pleasing deliverance of the German character from its primitive brutality in the warlike ethics of barbarism. Secondly, that the ascetic ideal is not genuinely Christian Thirdly, that the patience and self-denials of the Christian are not mere passiveness but are action of the highest type, namely, acts of the will, and hence are in entire accord with essential German character.

Another alleged reason why Christianity and the German spirit are intrinsically unsuited to each other is found in the fact of Christian doctrines. Christianity, it is felt, is only a historical phenomenon consisting of a body of dogmas which are more or less out of harmony with modern scientific conclusions and which appeal chiefly to the intellect. The German on the other hand, wants food for his soul. His religion must consist solely of experience and feeling. To this kind of arguments it is answered, first, that doctrinal statements are but the necessary result of religious experience. Secondly, that as a matter of fact the speculative and intellectual element in the Christian religion has always found ample justification and abundant response in the penetrative German mind. Thirdly, that the dogmatic statements of Christianity have arisen naturally in the course of Christian history and must not be confused with the Christian religion itself. Genuine Christianity is not a matter of metaphysical petrifaction but of deep religious experience and therefore entirely compatible with the real German character.

Still another class of arguments against German Christianity

is based upon the fact of the Church. Christianity as an organization is contrary to the German spirit of independence and freedom of conscience. The hierarchical system obliterates the individual person. Clericalism has often interfered with the harmonious development of the German nation. To such arguments it is answered, first, that the organized congregation of believers is only a necessary deposit of the practical piety of the individuals and is really an indispensible regulator of healthful piety. Secondly, this external organization does not of necessity interfere with the inner freedom of the individual, as Luther plainly shows in his "Christian Liberty." Thirdly, hierarchical Christianity is not genuine Christianity, and the Church is not necessarily the Roman Church. The Church as such is the necessary means of transmitting the Christian religion, but the primitive Church as well as the Protestant Church proclaim the universal priesthood of believers. The union of Christian and German is the sure preservative of both individual freedom and ecclesiastical organization.

Our conclusion therefore is that at all points Christianity and Teutonism are intrinsically adapted to each other. But this must not be misunderstood to mean that they are identical. The German is not necessarily a Christian. And Christianity is not limited to the German nation or the Teutonic stock. It is supernatural, adapted and destined to be the universal religion. Christianity has the lofty mission of conquering the world. And the closer her union with Teutonism the more readily will she be able to accomplish this mission. It was through the Germans that Christianity was first led upon the stage of the world's civilization. Both Teutonism and Christianity have profited by the union that already exists between them. A closer union can be attained only if each factor retains its own individuality and emphasizes its own special values. To that end the German people must oppose all efforts at denationalization and the Christian religion must purge itself of all oriental asceticism, Greek dogmatism, and Roman sacerdotalism.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY. PHILA., PA.

Systematic Theology, A Compendium and Commonplace Book. Designed for the use of Theological Students. By Augustus Hopkins Strong, D.D., LL.D., President and Professor of Biblical Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary. In three volumes. Pp. 1166. Cloth Price $1.00 per volume; postpaid, $1.20.

Dr. Strong's "Systematic Theology" is his crowning achievement, upon which he has wrought for many years and which has passed through various editions since 1886. The three volumes are really one book in three parts, paged consecutively, and furnished with an exhaustive index of over a hundred pages with thousands of references. The vast labor involved, and the learning applied, not to say anything of the excellent make-up of these volumes, render the price merely nominal. This work is almost a library in itself, and is a thesaurus which the preacher and theologian may well keep within reach every day.

The ultimate aim of the book is to set forth truth not simply in an orderly, systematic way, but also in a thoroughly practical manner. "Theology" the Preface declares, "must be a passion. *Pectus est quod theologum facit.* * * * Theology is a science which can be successfully cultivated only in connection with its practical application. I would, therefore, in every discussion of its principles, point out its relations to Christian experience, and its power to awaken Christian emotions and lead to Christian decisions. Abstract theology is not really scientific. Only that theology is scientific which brings the student to the feet of Christ." With this view I am in hearty agreement. The study of theology without deep devotion to Christ as a personal Saviour may give one some superficial knowledge of God and his relation to the universe, but it will not lead him into the real apprehension of the divine character or fit him for the Christian ministry.

The General divisions of the work are: The Doctrine of God, The Doctrine of Man, The Application of Redemption in Christ through the Holy Spirit operating in the Church, and The Doctrine of the Last Things. Under these various headings are included the many things involved in the broad idea of Christian Theology.

The fulness of the discussions may be estimated when we say that if all the matter were set in the type used in the QUARTERLY

it would fill over two thousand pages. Perhaps this very fulness makes the work somewhat unsuitable for class-room use; but it adds to the value as a book for reference.

In the treatment of the separate parts of the work we notice a few items.

The knowledge of God's Existence is held to be intuitive, but this knowledge is explicated and confirmed by arguments drawn from the actual universe and from abstract ideas of the human mind. While not any single one of these arguments can be claimed to be an absolute proof, taken together they form such a strong presumption that we are morally bound by it.

That a Supreme Being, possessed of all the noble attributes of personality would and could reveal himself to his needy, rational creatures is inherently probable. This probability reaches the stage of certainity when we weigh all the evidence in its favor. The genuineness and authenticity of the Sacred Scriptures may be established by the evidences available. The writings themselves indicate their supernatural origin. History, miracles and prophesy confirm this conviction. Inspiration is defined to be the influence of the Spirit of God upon the minds of the Scripture writers which made their writings the record of a progressive divine revelation.

The first objection to Dr. Strong's presentation is found in his discussion of the divine decrees in which he takes the position of Calvinism. He says "there is therefore no such thing in God as *scientia media.*" Everything that is has been so decreed (Page 357). "Election" is defined to be "that eternal act of God, by which in his sovereign pleasure, and on account of no forseen merit in them, he chooses certain out of the number of sinful men to be the recipients of the special grace of his Spirit, and so to be made voluntary partakers of Christ's salvation" (p. 779). The definition is self-contradictory. To be chosen absolutely without regard to forseen faith and to the exclusion of others not chosen can not be harmonized with the idea that the favored elect are "voluntary partakers" of salvation. Happily, very few Christians outside of Calvinistic theologians now hold to the unscriptural and preposterous idea of what Calvin himself called the "horribile decretum."

The Mosaic account of creation is held to be "pictoral" rather than allegorical, mythical, or hyper-literal. Evolution is only a method of creation, and may be accepted within proper limits.

The transmission of the soul of man, since the primary creation, is explained on the Traducian theory, namely, that parents beget the child, body and soul. Adam was created a personal and holy being. His state was that of *posse non peccare.* His body also was endowed with a *posse non mori.* But he fell

from free choice, and revolted from God and became subject to spiritual and physical death.

The imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity is explained on the rational ground of the organic unity of the human race. None of the various theories of imputation are entirely free from objections. We may as well rest in the fact that we are the posterity of Adam with all that is thereby entailed. Infants dying before arriving at moral consciousness are saved by Christ through regeneration. "As without personal act of theirs infants inherited corruption from Adam, so without personal act of theirs salvation is provided for them in Christ."

The statement of the doctrine of the Person of Christ, while orthodox, is not as strong and clear as could be wished. The assertion is constantly made that in Christ there is the union of his two natures. This is true, but not the whole truth. When Christ became incarnate, the divine *person* took a human nature. His personality is eternal, and human nature became personal only in the union with the divine personality. This distinction is real and vital.

Dr. Strong discredits the *descensus ad inferos* as taught by Lutherans. He holds that the word, karusso, should not be given the unusual sense of " proclaiming his triumph, instead of his gospel." But as a fact the word is not the usual one for preaching the gospel (Evangelizo) but is the general word which signifies to herald or to proclaim. "The passage (1 Pet. 3:18-20)," says the author, "does not assert the descent of Christ into the world of spirits, but only a work of the preincarnate Logos in offering salvation, through Noah, to the world then about to perish." This interpretation is purely gratuitous, without exegetical and dogmatic authority. It evades what is to the author's mind a difficulty. The Lutherans have no difficulty in standing by what is written. They believe that it is not only credible but even necessary that Christ should have extended his work to the spirit world, giving to the saints the full assurance of their faith, and proclaiming to the wicked, both men and devils, his complete triumph over evil. Were the Scriptures silent on so important a matter, it were nevertheless a fair deduction from Christ's purpose and work that his triumph extended to the remotest bounds of the great universe.

Dr. Strong believes in the Satisfaction theory of the atonement. He calls it the Ethical Theory. While objecting to the Arselmic theory, he actually reproduces it in its essential features. It is true that Arselm is not full and clear on all points. He probably thought that his followers would be able to understand his deep meaning without his going into details. Our author believes that both God and man must be reconciled. In this thought lies the crux of the whole matter. To deny that God

demands satisfaction is to rob the atonement of all valuable content.

We are pleased to notice the clear and full exposition of Justification as the forensic act of God, with its effect on the believing sinner of the forgiveness of sins and restoration to divine favor.

In reference to "perseverance," Dr. Strong advocates the Calvinistic doctrine. This position necessarily must regard all the exhortations to be faithful unto death, in which the Scriptures abound, as unnecessary; and intimates a temporary aberration in Paul when he expresses the fear that he himself might become a castaway.

As might be expected Dr. Strong is quite narrow and unsound in his view of baptism. The definition which he gives is as follows, "Christian Baptism is the immersion of a believer in water in token of his previous entrance into the communion of Christ's death and resurrection,—or in other words, in token of his regeneration through union with Christ." Compare this with the following, which we teach, "Baptism is an ordinance instituted by Christ in which water is applied by an authorized person to a believer or to his children with the purpose of bringing the same into fellowship with the Father and with the Son and with the Holy Spirit."

Dr. Strong has a very one-sided view of exegesis and of history in reference to baptism. "Immersion and immersion only" is the true mode. If this be true then generations of Christians were not baptized, and the early Baptists themselves were not baptized, for they practiced sprinkling. Dr. Strong shows a strange lack of acquaintance with the apostolic fathers. There is not a single clear instance of immersion mentioned in the New Testament. Moreover, does the amount of water have any particular meaning or efficiency?

Of infant baptism he says, "This we reject and reprehend." How strange that men can not see the inconsistency of admitting a rite for infants under an older preparatory dispensation, and then denying one under a newer, fuller and perfect dispensation! Ignoring so patent a fact leads them into the denial of the true nature of the Church in all ages, as well as the solidarity of family, recognized everywhere and especially in the Orient.

Dr. Strong shows his lack of acquaintance with Lutheran theology in charging it with holding the doctrine of "Consubstantiation," which as a matter of fact has always been repudiated by Lutherans. The Lutheran Church expresses its doctrine in the Augsburg Confession, which says (Art. X.), "Of the Supper of the Lord, they teach, that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present, and are distributed to those who eat in the Supper of the Lord; and they disapprove of those who teach otherwise." Now this means that our Lord is present in his

Supper in both natures, divine and human, the whole undivided Christ. His presence is not a carnal, but a spiritual presence. The body is his glorified body. Lutheran faith asks for no demonstration but accepts the divine promise. His presence is a sacramental one. To him there are no impossibilities.

In spite of the above grave errors in Dr. Strong's Theology we recognize its great value as a theological compendium, and commend its use to our readers.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

ALFRED TOEPELMAN. GIESSEN, GERMANY.

Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testamentes und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. By Dr. Erwin Preuschen of Hirschhorn on the Neckar. Bound in cloth, 15 M.

This new lexicon is designed to replace the venerable *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum in Libros Novi Testamenti* by Grimm which for so many decades has enabled ministers and students to obtain a good understanding of the Greek text of the New Testament. Our best English New Testament Greek Lexicon, that of J. H. Thayer, is based on Grimm's work.

Excellent as the Thayer edition of Grimm's lexicon is, our knowledge of the New Testament language is constantly enriched and grows more accurate. Our lexicons have, to be revised ever anew, therefore, in order to render all the reliable and generally accepted results of New Testament exegesis accessible to beginners in Biblical studies as well as to the large body of clergymen who lack the expensive apparatus that would make them independent of any special lexicon.

It is my desire to call the attention of all those who feel in duty bound to base their New Testament studies upon the Greek text to Dr. Preuschen's "Handwörterbuch." It embodies the ripe fruit of evangelical Bible studies up to the date of its publication. It is at the same time a key to the literature of the primitive, or Apostolic Church outside of the Bible, as far as that has come down to us. We realize more and more that a flood of light falls upon the New Testament from the writings of the Apostolic Fathers etc. Conscientious ministers of the Gospel are reading them in order to understand the better the conditions and problems which the primitive Christian Church had to meet and to solve.

For these reasons, even American students who are so justly proud of their Thayer will gladly add Preuschen's Handwörterbuch to their philological set of tools. The book is to be recommended especially, because it employs the German language as its medium of information. Even at Grimm's time scholars in

Germany imagined that Latin was still an international means of exchanging thought and ideas among the different branches of the Protestant Church. That is why he wrote his lexicon in Latin. But that language has ceased to be readily understood, at least, in America. On that account alone Thayer's English edition of Grimm's work became necessary.

Preuschen has happily avoided that mistake based on ancient tradition and reminding us of the former power of the eternal city, a mistake still cherished by some Protestant scholars. German is much better known by protestant theologians in America than Latin ever was. All who make any pretense to theological scholarship in our country possess a reading aacquaintance with German. One may indeed go so far as to state that all American theologians who make it their practice to read the New Testament in Greek read also German.

WM. WEBER.

Pittsburg, Pa.

THE FREE CHURCH BOOK CONCERN. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Lutheran Germany and the Book of Concord. A Treatise on Confessional Subscription. By John O. Evjen, Ph.D., Professor of Church History in Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn.

Professor Evjen gives us in this brochure as a product of careful and scholarly research a valuable compilation of statistical facts. He gives us both history and figures which are decisive as to numbers of adherents in matters of confessional attitude.

The student who wishes to know the confessional position of the fifty millions of Lutherans in Europe will find in this compact volume, both in detail and summary, historically tabulated records defining the confessional attitude of the various Lutheran bodies.

The detailed investigation furnishes most valuable information respecting credal subscription, and deserves studious attention.

Two-thirds of the Lutherans of Germany do not formally subscribe the Book of Concord; while in Norway, Denmark, Austria, France, and Hungary, the entire Lutheran population assumes no allegiance to the Formula of Concord.

In the present credal agitation in America the reading of these carefully prepared statistics, and explanation of credal attitudes, will be most helpful in appreciating the sufficiency of the Augustana as the symbol of true Lutheranism.

M. COOVER.

THE MACMILLAN CO. NEW YORK.

The Friar of Wittenberg. By William Stearns Davis, author of "A Friend of Caesar," "God Wills It," &c. &c. Cloth 12 mo. Pp. 433. Price $1.35 net.

This is a powerful historical novel. It treats a great man and a great epoch in a masterly way. Its hero is Martin Luther, who wins by his righteous attitude and personal influence a young nobleman. This man is the son of a German father and an Italian mother, known in German as Graf von Regenstein and in Italian as Gualtiero, and is a combination of the ruggedness of the north and the softness of the south. In rearing and culture he is Italian; at heart German. The book is largely a biography of this Regenstein. The first scene is laid in the Vatican at the time when Luther had begun his agitations; and the last at Worms.

The author has caught the Reformation spirit and possesses the true dramatic genius, combined with accurate knowledge of events. The presentation is not always in the order of historic sequence, but the story as a whole is a fair representation of a tremendous movement. Of course, our Roman Catholic friends will condemn it; but that may not be a good ground why Protestants may not read it gladly.

The delineations of the intrigue, the corruptions and the splendid decay of the papal regime are most graphic. The movement is rapid and thrilling. The young Graf emerges with many hair-breadth escapes, both moral and physical, and stands forth at last as a valiant defender of the faith. Amid many strong temptations he breaks off a *liaison* with the magnificent (?) daughter of a cardinal, and finally settles on his German estate and marries a nun.

Luther's courage and achievements are the motif of the story. while one would not go to a novel for history, the general impression made is at once vivid and correct. The dry details of an ordinary narrative are not necessarily more true than the story painted by the artist whose imagination may have introduced a background not always quite historic.

The literary style is of a high order, and the plot consistent and full of surprises. Every lover of Luther literature will want this book and will place it alongside of "The Schönberg-Cotta Family" which it suggests but excels in dramatic power.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

EATON AND MAINS. NEW YORK.

Social Creed of the Churches. Edited by Harry F. Ward. Pp. 185. Price 50 cents net.

This volume is announced as "authorized by the Commission

on the Church and Social Service of The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America." It is also stated that it is "preliminary to a series of Social Service Handbooks now in course of preparation."

The volume contains thirteen chapters with the following titles, *The Extension of Privilege; Child Labor; The Employment of Women; The Sweating System; Reductions of Hours of Labor; One Day's Rest in Seven; Unemployment; A Living Wage; The Protection of the Worker; Workmen's Compensation; Conciliation and Arbitration; The Prevention of Poverty; Distributive Justice.* These titles are taken from the several articles in "The Social Creed of the Churches" adopted December 4th 1908 by "The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America." "This Creed" also furnishes the title to the book.

The several chapters have been prepared by a group of men each of whom is recognized as an expert in the line of work with which the chapter deals. Rev. Mr. Ward, who is the secretary of "the Methodist Federation for Social Service," is the general editor.

The work has been well done. The discussions are of necessity brief, but they are full enough to give a very satisfactory view of each of the subjects, and they are remarkably clear and illuminating. Anyone who reads this little book carefully and thoughtfully will gain a very clear conception of the several subjects presented, the problems involved, the difficulties encountered, what is being done or attempted towards their solution, what is still needed, &c.

Each chapter closes with a paragraph dealing with the special relation of the church to the problem discussed, and suggesting the ways in which it can contribute toward, or cooperate in, its solution.

Each chapter is followed also by a list of "References," books, pamphlets, reports, &c., which may be used in a further study of the subject which the chapter treats.

This book is especially adapted to the use of study classes and reading circles interested in questions and problems of social reform and social service. More and more, in these days, the church is being confronted with the task of studying such problems and applying the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ to their solution so as to secure a larger measure of social justice. It is becoming more and more important, therefore, that our pastors and people, and especially our young people, should be informed on such subjects so as to take an intelligent and sympathetic part in the performance of this task. To this end we know of no better helper than this volume, and the price of it such as to put it easily within the reach of every one. We shall await with interest the appearance of the promised series of "social service handbooks." JACOB A. CLUTZ.

Further book notices are deferred until next number of THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

THE

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

OCTOBER, 1912.

ARTICLE I.

THE NEW HIERARCHY.

BY PROFESSOR DAVID H. BAUSLIN, D.D.

This is the day of the expert. But the fact that a man is alleged to be an expert provides no assurance of freedom from error. This is the period of the specialist, but specialization is an industry that is sometimes confessedly overdone with the resultant of a man who has become lop-sided and perverted. The mere fact of unusual attainments in Semitic languages is for an example no guarantee of the infallibility of judgment even in questions of Old Testament criticism. The same is true of Greek, archaeology or any other factor involved in a thorough and reverent study of the sacred writings. There is such a thing as announcing as indisputable truths, mere opinions which have been based upon an incomplete knowledge of the subject and the bias of personal prejudice. Men who are known as experts in what is called the "Higher Criticism" of the scriptures, should be gracious enough always to remember that there are at least some intelligent non-experts who are capable of some discrimination in forming a judgment, and that such are liable to revolt against a critical dogmatism that is not based upon sufficient grounds, and who decline to be enslaved by the opinions of a self constituted court of critical arbiters, and especially when the court shows such a pronounced capacity for self-reversal. Such men are not seeking to ignore a single issue raised by "Mod-

ern scholarship," even if they are disposed to pay little attention to the horde of Bible-haters who sneak up under cover of other men's attacks and play the part of Bashibazouks in a campaign they are incompetent to originate. Such men too are made cautious when they have seen one hypothesis after another surrendered by experts and non-experts, with the exception of the obstinate few with whom it is likely that an hypothesis once stated is stronger than a real principle, or a position taken more important than a carefully ascertained and indisputable fact.

We stand in this discussion for the rights of the general scholar, for ordinarily well-informed men who are classified as "non-experts," and who are somewhat arrogantly set outside the walls by those who call themselves "experts." Critics in their assumption of a monopoly of knowledge on the subjects of their investigation have no right to assume that those who do not humbly and modestly agree with them have been smitten with blindness and mental stagnation. Every such assumption is certain to arouse the assertion of the principle of that individual right that is fundamental, and an assertion of it that may in some cases even lead to its exaggeration.

What should be properly designated the "destructive critics," whose work in recent years has been so persistently and ostentatiously pressed upon the attention of the Church and the world, include two classes: those who are destructive and avow it and those who are destructive and vehemently affirm that they are constructive. Those of the former class are usually bold to the point of audacity, and in the affirmation of their hypotheses have the ex-cathadra air of the papist. They have as much faith in their own theories as would be needed to accept the beliefs of the most superstitious of religions that have ever been declared among men. The destructive critics who affirm that they are constructive are not so bold in expression but are often fully as presumptuous and self-confident as the others. Both have the same air of cock-sureness and both as confidently affirm that the man who is not a critical specialist has no right, even to an opinion, expressed with any confidence, on matters pertaining to their field of specialization.

We have read some of the books of the Higher Critics of the destructive order, and some of those written by the constructives who have opposed and corrected them. We have also observed

from time to time the changing attitude of many of the former, and have further been interested to note how many of both old and young, anxious no doubt to be counted among the up-to-date experts, have in turn made readjustments and fallen into line with certain of the leaders, and then again, how that when the leaders of the destructive school have been obliged to correct themselves and acknowledge their errors,—a thing for which they have actually shown capacity—their followers immediately, in turn, readjusted themselves and were as confident as ever that they were once more in the succession of duly accredited "experts." Personally the writer has the feeling that he would be just as willing and that it would be just as reasonable to submit the direction of his mind and his faith to the Pope, the head of a great and venerable hierarchy reaching back to the times of Leo the Great and Gregory the Great, as to submit either or both to a syndicate of self-appreciating, mutual admiration critical experts. This can be said of the Pope who dwells by the Tiber, that while his pretensions have no basis in either Scripture or history, he does not change his own administration as frequently as the critical popes have been known to change their hypotheses. When one knows that an order or a theory possesses the attribute of stability and is not subject to such rapid modifications he can at least adjust himself with some assurance of mental tranquility.

In the Church of Rome, as is well known, the organ of administration is the hierarchy. Its judgments are presumed to be infallibly correct and from them the devout and faithful are never supposed to appeal, however much their understanding and conscience may be outraged. When moral independence exists it has come to pass not in consequence of the Church's training, but in spite of it. In the hierarchy common men are looked upon as the passive recipients of blessing, while the favored or the clergy, are the active Church, leading, instructing, interceding for and governing the first class named. The Church is authoritative, the sacraments are the channels of salvation and the priest is necessary to make the sacraments valid. Our time in the Church has seen the rise of a new sort of hierarchy which has some marked features in common with that older one just described. The new at least assumes, even if many qualified and competent men dissent, the attribute of infallibility in its own

sphere. This new hierarchy is composed of many of the advanced biblical critics of the day, particularly such as display the usual condescension and ex-cathedra imperiousness of their class. In much that is said and written in our day on critical subjects pertaining to the sacred Scriptures, there is an implication that the "expert" scholars of the Church, the trained-abroad "specialists" contribute a new sort of supreme court through which final judgments are pronounced on mooted questions. The authority of the Pope and cardinals being rejected as the final interpreters of Schistianity, and the authority of the Scriptures being weakened in our time in many Protestant minds, there has emerged a tendency to set up another authority to be known as the "unanimous verdict of scholars" and the "consensus" of the experts. These men pronounce such supposed infallible judgments in the sphere of alleged critical scholarship that it is with some temerity that an ordinary man who still holds fast to some old fashioned views about the Bible arises to express his dissent from certain unwarrantable assumptions proclaimed over and over again. Because he cannot attain to such attenuated heights of hypercritical speculation as have been attained by some of the critical hierarchs, and because he is unwilling to accept as "results" what seems to him upon the basis of duly accredited data, to rest chiefly upon the imagination of the writers, this ordinary man is sometimes even called hard names and placed without the camp as an obsolete and out-of-date ignoramus. He is set aside, to use the words of one of the most advanced representatives of the critical hierarchy as "a theological bourbon who never learns anything from past defeats." He is further assured that he has no right to opinions upon questions of scholarship pertaining to the Bible unless he has become an "expert." It is very frankly assumed that the Church must go to the "experts" to find out what the Bible really is. Not long ago for instance, a representative writer of this school averred that "the real conflict is now between modern scholarship and the traditional view." And again, that "it is a battle of truth against prejudice," and further we are confidently assured that now "practically all Old Testament scholars" have accepted what is known as the Wellhausen theory and any attempt at dissent from this judgment is arrogantly stigmatized as "the protest of theological prejudice against the application to the Bible study of

modern methods of linguistic, historical, archaeological and literary investigation."

To the ordinary man who is reasonably well informed only on the subject it may look strange that such of the new hierarchy as pass as the champions of independent thought, and who seem to think that they have been called and anointed to break the chains of authority imposed by the hierarchial Church of the past, should be so constantly and confidently appealing to the authority of "all scholars," and the "consensus of modern scholarship"—which by the way is no consensus at all—to settle in the most authoritative manner vital questions affecting our estimate of the Holy Scriptures.

A very meagre induction into the facts in the case, we are assured, will make it amply apparent that if there is any dogmatic assertiveness that can surpass that which is a characteristic of some members of the new critical school when they speak of their work as being "exact and thorough in its methods" and of the theory that "Moses did not write the pentateuch" and that "Isaiah did not write half of the book that bears his name," and of "the sure acceptance of their views by all genuine scholars the world over," then we are not acquainted with that form of confident assertiveness. Now it is not pleasant for the ordinary man who still has some cherished and sturdy beliefs about the Bible to be assured in this confident fashion that he is trying to smash the "microscope of criticism" and that he is still wearing the "spectacles of a vanquished tradition." It is not agreeable to him to be driven from the field by loudly sounding deprecations and not to be misunderstood intimations that he is not even qualified to hold an opinion. It moves him to sorrow when he sees his Bible surrendered as a corpse is given over to the anatomist for ruthless dissection. But being entirely capable of detecting the weak point in the "expert's" harness and able to see the weakness of a great many alleged proofs, it stirs his resentment when the effort is made to force upon him some sophisticated hypothesis, destructive of his most cherished and valuable beliefs, and which is to be blindly accepted even before it has been subjected to a candid and unbiased investigation. Such a man is disinclined to be cudgeled out of court because it has come with him to be a serious question not merely whether a doctrine is grounded on the Scriptures, but whether the Scriptures them-

selves, the sacred collection of writings to which the truly Protestant theology and Church make their final appeal is worthy of reception as the final arbiter and test of truth in the important sphere of religion. He does not graciously submit to being placed in the class of incompetents because he cannot see the wisdom in the assumption that what is old and established is necessarily at variance with the canons of sound scholarship.

The man who still has the conviction that the Bible is the veritable word of God, having divine inspiration and authority, is not going to submit without a struggle, and be frightened from the field by that kind of biblical criticism which comes with a long list of preconceptions, opinions and guesses which form the basis of theories which in themselves have no foundation, and which become in turn the basis of other theories, often diverse from one another, and often resting on nothing but an original unprovable guess.

That we have not presented an exaggerated aspect of the attitude of a class of critics, is manifest enough in what many of them have said. "There may be such a thing as the slavery of traditionalism, but evidences multiply that there is also the slavery of criticism." Take a sentence like this from Beyschlag, who says of I. Timothy: "The man who is now able to ascribe it to the author of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians has never comprehended the literary peculiarity and greatness of the apostle." Herein is a fine bit of scorn for all those who do not agree with Beyschlag. It is an expression of critical popery and comes to this if you wish to rank as critic or scholar agree with me.

As a confirmation of this judgment it is interesting to note what is said by Prof. Nash of the Cambridge Divinity School in his "History of the Higher Criticism," a book that ably advocates the right of criticism as a science. Prof. Nash affirms:

"There has existed these past sixty years, a party of critics who have borne themselves as if there were some such thing as a purely critical process, and as if they were its representatives. In truth, there is no such thing as an absolutely pure critical process. And the idolatrous estimate of the imaginary standard of criticism is just another chapter in the long history of the reign of words, another divorce between words and things... The critics are part of a great stream of interest and prejudice and

passion.....The story of the purely dispassioned critic is another edition of Robinson Crueso.....If the conceit of a purely critical process be kept up, it creates a new kind of orthodoxy... They put outside the critical pale those who retain any part of the supernatural interpretation of the origins of Christianity... But, surely, it is at least conceivable that a mind strongly conservative might be more truly critical than the most radical critic, might have a holier desire to get at the whole body of facts recorded in the Scriptures."

These are fine words and as aptly spoken as they are timely. In his "Historical New Testament" Dr. James Moffatt is full of the same sort of radical and supercilious scorn toward all conservatives. In a late number of a review, Principal Salmond speaks of a certain style of criticism with a severity so unlike himself that it is impossible not to be startled by it. The subject under discussion was one of the volumes of Cheyne's "Encyclopedia Biblica," and his anger is specially aroused by Schmeidels' article on the Gospels, though he is not indeed the only one of the writers of the encyclopedia whom he condemns. The learned principal is provoked at "the lack of reverence, the arbitrary pretentions, self-confident subjectivity, that intrude themselves in so many contributions to the volume." But with Schmeidel he is out of all patience, because as he thinks, in his case, we have a method of dealing with the New Testament narratives, which if applied to Tacitus or Gibbon would make their histories absolutely ridiculous. Schmeidel starts with the presupposition that Christ was a mere man and a man only, and accepts as historically reliable only such passages in the Gospels which would seem to imply his humanity,—such for example, as "Why callest thou me good," "Of that day knoweth no one not the Son." "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me." "The numerous passages," says Dr. Salmond, "which speak of a unique relation of Christ to God are hidden out of sight by the wave of the hand," while "the origin of most of the miraculous narratives is to be sought in figurative speech." This method of dealing with the Gospels it may be said has been smitten with absurdity and may be described as biblical criticism gone mad. But it is worth remembering that it does not differ essentially from the method employed by men of more

sober spirit than Schmeidel, and the conclusions of which are just as objectionable.

The language used by Dr. Lyman Abbott to express his view of the book of Jonah is by another writer pronounced to be so much akin to that of Thomas Paine, that he is led to wonder whether it is a case of remarkable coincidence or a case of teacher and pupil. He presents the two views in parallel columns that the striking similarity may be seen the more readily.

LYMAN ABBOTT.	THOMAS PAINE.
"The Book of Jonah "* * * was written as a piece of satirical fiction, to satirize the narrowness of certain Jewish prophets."	"It is more probable * * * that it has been written as a fable to expose the nonsense and satirize the vicious and malignant character of a Bible prophet or a malignant priest."

The striking similarity forces us to the conclusion that Mr. Thomas Paine so accurately anticipated not only the views, but the expression of these views, by the able editor of the *Outlook* who was to come one hundred years after him, as to at least lay the foundation for one of the most remarkable coincidences on record. Certainly Principal Salmond was right in view of all this and much more that might be cited, in declaring "self-confident subjectivity" to be one of the conspicuous facts in the work of the modern hierarchy of destructive critics.

It may not be out of place here to quote Dr. Robertson Nicoll editor of the *Expositor,* as applicable to the cool assumption and confident certainty of such critical popularizers as Kent, Sanders and others, that all the truth is completely and finally with themselves. He says:

"Bishop Lightfoot, who is practically ignored by the new critics, but who surpassed them as much in knowledge as he did in judgment, expressed in memorable words his opinion of many German critics. He compared their work to that of the Rabbis of Jewish exegesis. The Rabbis were quite as able, quite as learned, but their work came to nought, even as the work of the many German critics, though minute and searching, failed because it was conceived in a false vein. It may be, said Light-

foot, that "the historical sense of seventeen or eighteen centuries is larger and truer than the critical insight of a section of men in our late half century."

It is enough to say that conservatives are not going to be frightened by pretentious assumptions and scornful flings. They are not as noisy as the radicals and do not get as much free advertising in the papers as "great and free scholars," but they are just as sincere; they know where they stand and why, and are not lacking in scholarship, sense or numbers. They are not to be terrified longer by the alleged and mythical "consensus of opinion." Facts about the holy Scriptures are not to be settled by a majority vote of either the populace or of scholars. Holtzmann once called Weiss "dogmatic" and not "scientific," because Weiss differed from him. Prof. Nash well says: "It requires a considerable dash of infallibility to draw the "scientific line across the field of New Testament study in that fashion," to which we may add that infallibility is an alleged attribute of but one man—the head of the papal system who abides in seclusion in the vatican at Rome. It seems strange that logical processes which would not be tolerated in any natural or moral science are received with a respect akin to awe when advanced to support the wildest assertion connected with the Bible, and the first years of the history of the Christian Church, and that historical methods that would make a man the laughing stock of the learned world if applied to the history of Germany in the Middle Ages, or to North America in the colonial period are still applied to biblical subjects with an assurance that they will be accepted and seriously discussed. Face to face with the modern conception of the world we have what we call the "new science." Along with it there has come a new learning applied to the Scriptures. That new learning must not expect to command respect and win a place of permanent recognition by opposing the commonly received teaching of the Christian Church with the methods of that old hierarchy whose claims are disallowed by the most enlightened portion of Christendom. Devout men and fairly informed men are likely to go on refusing to listen to a self-constituted court of authority which seeks to improve the lame logic and the suspicious hypotheses of many of the critics of the last two hundred years as something more worthy of seri-

ous consideration than the Bible as a unity in God's providential dealing with His people.

But what we have thus far said is in no way intended to discredit the function and the usefulness of legitimate criticism. There is criticism and criticism. There is textual criticism and literary criticism also called the "Higher Criticism." Textual criticism is a science and of unspeakable value in the proper study of God's Word. Higher criticism is again of two kinds—destructive and constructive. Neither division is new. Constructive criticism has been carried on for generations, frequently under the name of biblical introduction. The destructive criticism is also old, but it has received special emphasis during the past one hundred years. There is a sane and sober criticism of the "higher" order. Its attitude is that which is strictly judicial and not based upon presuppositions and subjectiveism. This is that which is in the best sense critical. The Bible has two sides, one human and the other divine. We are to take hold of its divine side, and view the book in its unity, as the one unchangeable word of God, the pledge of our Father's love and His gracious purposes with us, the expression of the divine will in man's redemption, the living witness of what God has been to our fathers and what He is to us in Christ Jesus. Luther took hold on that divine side as every Christian must take hold upon it if his faith is to have a strong and secure basis. But the Bible also has its human, external and historical side, and upon that Luther also took hold. In that aspect it appears as a collection of writings made at various times, from various authors and in various styles, based upon various historical relations and circumstances, all of which must be studied if we would understand and interpret the sacred oracles aright. The right of the higher critics to pursue his work in his own sphere is not questioned. What is objected to is the conduct of that criticism in such a manner as to present us as its outcome, with a new and reduced Christianity documented in a new and reduced body of Scriptures. Dogmatic presuppositions are not to be read into the biblical narratives, and no more is matter to be read out of those narratives on the score of dogmatic presuppositions, such as the non-occurrence of divine interventions in human history. Christianity asks for no franking privileges. It does not ask exemption from candid investigation. It is but fair to ask the

miraculous, for example, to give a good and satisfactory account of itself, and to submit its claims to fair tests of credibility. But to exclude it by a sweeping speculative dictum, as is done by some of the critical hierarchy, is not scientific and in no wise savors of the much exploited "historical method." That is sheer dogmatism instead of legitimate criticism.

This destructive criticism proceeds for the most part from certain chairs in great universities, the occupants of which are not necessarily ministers nor even Christians. They are simply scholars learned in languages. It is likely that their position exposes them to peculiar temptations. They see their fellow professors in the departments of the physical sciences constantly making discoveries and gaining honor for what is called "original research." They likely want to be abreast of chemists, electricians and other physicists and share with them in popular recognition. Work that is regular, faithful and efficient is not usually the kind that creates a sensation or elicits the newspaper crown. As Dr. George H. Schodde says there is, among German university scholars practically, "a canon that recognition as scholars can be based only upon the discovery of something new. A compiler or mere polyhistor is not a scholar, according to German ideals. Only he is such that produces 'new' results. The temptation to offer these at all hazards is, naturally, only too great. As a rule, these advanced theologies are based on a germ of truth, the exaggerations and abuse of which constitute their 'stock in trade.' "

If we might be permitted to add to Dr. Schodde's unquestionably correct statement, it would be to say that even the "germ" is often lacking, and that the new thing is put forth without even so much for a basis, and buttressed by a great show of learning, to the amazement and grief of careful seekers after truth and to the delight of unbelievers.

We have no just reason to fear biblical criticism when it is genuinely scientific, when it is governed by principles that are applicable to its subject matter, and when it does not substitute precarious and rationalistic conjectures for established facts. Criticism where rightly ordered, is nothing more than careful examination and testing, having for its aim the verification of truth and the exclusion of error. If proper implements are employed and properly employed, the application of criticism to

the Scriptures ought to be welcomed, for it creates a more accurate knowledge of the most important of all subjects. The Church in our age is not afraid of the discovery of truth, the revelations of science, the progress of knowledge or the march of mankind to higher standpoints and clearer views. It has been the chief promoter of all of them. It is not to be charged with obscurantism because not willing to accept views which are still in the speculative age. It is not to be accused of cowardice because of its unwillingness to accept some theory about the Bible that may not live to see its first anniversary. There must be something very real in a discovery to justify it in appealing to the courage of conviction in such an important matter as religion. There is no cowardice in declining to attempt a landing in some hypothetical fog bank or in the refusal to line up with some vanquished heresy for a mere truth. It is not correct to put a man up in the category of great scholars simply because he has advanced something new and startling. There is such a thing, even in our day of startling announcements, as a man bringing to the investigation of theological problems and biblical questions a ripe and ample scholarship and yet see no serious reason for a change of his most cherished beliefs. To say that he is no "expert" in scholarship simply because he reaches such a conclusion is a preposterous begging of the question. The fears of devout and good men who love the Bible are not to be quieted nor the theories of critics who have been swept off their feet by the cry of progress confirmed by an obvious assumption of infallibility.

It is no doubt true that some of the traditional views regarding the Scriptures are incorrect in particulars and when the higher critics succeed in bringing the truth to light it is our duty to accept their results without hesitation however unexpected they may be. But it is not logical to surrender old views concerning the dates and sources of sacred literature before we have assured ourselves that the new conclusions maintained by the critics have been arrived at by methods that are really scientific and historical and are supported by sufficient evidence to warrant them to the classification of final results. Anxiety to get into line at the very earliest possible moment with the views of specialists does not proceed from reason or intelligent regard for evidence so much as it is frequently the outcome of excessive

deference to very precarious authority. Plausibilities do not afford sufficient reason for a revolution of accepted opinions, especially if, as in the case of biblical criticsm, there is reason to suspect the validity of the point of view which creates the plausibility. It may even be seriously contended, when one confronts the surrenders and modifications made by its own representatives, in the memory of men yet under fifty, whether much of the higher criticism is entitled to be worthy of the name of a science, for many of its conclusions have destroyed themselves. Their own authors come speedily to the point of their rejection. That which is ever changing cannot be true and is hardly scientific. Much of this work has been impulsive and subjective. It has seemed to esteem evidence of much less importance than the subjective consciousness.

The radical defect of the kind of criticism we seek to antagonize, as it seems to us, is this—the fundamental principle of its working theory seems to be the reconstruction of the Bible on a purely naturalistic basis. The distinction between the natural and the supernatural must be abolished. All history must be accounted for by a natural development. Though we may speak of a divine plan in history this must be taken loosely and by way of accommodation to human thought. Many things must be spoken in this way and are, in fact, put thus both in the Scriptures and out of the Scriptures. On the contrary this presupposition must be present in a truly Christian and scientific Old Testament criticism, so much pursued in our day that the Bible is the Word of God throughout and supernaturally inspired. The writer does not now refer to any particular theory concerning the method of this inspiration, or how it became the Word of God. But this doctrine, this fundamental concept, that the Scriptures are divinely inspired is no cryptic nonsense lying out beyond the boundaries of intelligible definition. It means something very definite. It means in the language of one of the ancient creeds that the Holy Ghost somehow "spake by the prophets." In a very real and proper sense that can be said of no other form of literature ancient or modern. God is the author of the sacred Scriptures. Not that the human agency in its authorship has been entirely nullified, but that we may say of every part of the Bible as of no other book, that God as well as man had to do with the making of it what it is. And such a

literature thus produced is certain to exhibit some literary peculiarities, which theories as to its human source or sources will not and cannot fully explain.

The outcome of the criticism that proceeds on any other and naturalistic assumption makes sad work of the Bible. What it comes to has been well described by one of our own most capable scholars, Dr. Theodore Schmauk, in a review of a book written by an advanced representative of this critical hierarchy. The Bible, says he, under such treatment, "degenerates into a heap of soluble but unimpressive literary remains. The old Books of the Bible are entirely dissolved, and the basis of arrangement is that of traced literary similarities in the hypothetical Biblical traditions and documents that went into the make-up of the present Bible. The book is much as if you would tear Westminster Abbey to pieces, and assort the parts into stone piles, brick piles, lumber piles, mortar and plaster piles, etc. This, in the author's mind, is wherein the logical superiority of his work consists, and he would say: "Now, behold the glories of Westminster Abbey: Here are the older, and there are the newer dust and stone heaps. We have carefully broken all statues to pieces, and separated the original parts of lines hewn and casts made, from those found by us to be later. Here is Westminster arranged according to a true critical logic.' "

In view of all now that may be adduced in the name of sound learning and genuine religion it is not surprising that men of fair attainments and interest in the life, work and future of the Church should be disinclined to accept with confidence and as authoritative the products of the ingenious fancy of this new critical hierarchy as over against the sober tradition and teaching of the years of the life of the spirit guided Church. The reasons that may be adduced are numerous, serious and well-authenticated.

1. First of all there is the harm that has been done. It would be difficult to estimate the damage that has been done in the last forty years, to the legitimate authority of the Bible, not by faithful criticism, but by the flippant language and the destructive spirit of leading critics. When we consider that a biblical encyclopedia edited by a divinity professor of the Church of England proceeds systematically upon the supposition that nothing in the Bible is to be believed unless it is corroborated by

other evidence, it would be difficult to imagine anything more destructive of what was once supposed to be the sole foundation of the Christian faith. And who can deny that the destructive work of this critical hierarchy we have thus discussed, has had a baneful influence on the minds of thousands of ministers and hundreds of thousands of lay people who have no knowledge of scientific criticism, but who have been left wandering in dry places on the popular assumption that in our day, nothing is settled in religion, and that even leaders in the Church have at last been forced to abandon the old paths. The gravity of the matter is strongly presented by Professor Robins, the author of "The Ethics of the Christian Life," in what he says under the heading of "The Attempt to Dislodge the Bible:" In such attempts says this able Baptist scholar, we have "an ominous sign of our times, namely, the attempt to dislodge the Bible from its unique place in the literature and history of the world, and, loosen its hold upon the affections of the people by a method of so-called criticism which *in its extreme form leaves* little that is of historic value in its records and deprives it of its spiritual usefulness. If these extremists have their way unopposed and attain their end the Bible will no longer be what it always has been, the 'supreme rule of faith and practice' of believers in Christ."

2. Another feature in the methods of this critical hierarchy to discredit its work, is the fact that it sweeps a large part of the Old Testament, in particular, into the rubbish heap of legend and myth with unconcealed disdain. It is difficult to express the audacity of this modern criticism. Professor Cheyne, in an article entitled "A Turning Point in Old Testament Study," has called attention to the conclusions of Hugo Winckler, a learned German whom he praises very highly, and who has to the satisfaction of Professor Winckler, and it would seem also to the satisfaction of Professor Cheyne, resolved all of the Old Testament heroes even down to King Solomon into solar and lunar myths. Abraham instead of being the living, journeying, struggling, believing and sometimes sinning man that he has for centuries been regarded, has become an "eponym" of Abraham. That word may roll well from the tongue and look well in rhetorical expression, but it is ambiguous and hazy and has a perplexing significance. Isaac and Jacob are lunar heroes and the twelve tribes of Israel the twelve signs of the zodiac.

Jacob was the moon, Joseph the sun and so on down to Solomon who is a mythical and not an historical figure of any kind. David is a constellation, and Giant Goliath none other than Orion. Thus the patriarchs of the Hebrew nation, and David "the sweet singer of Israel," fade away into the ghostly dreams of a credulous age. The human intellect, we are told, cannot be bound by the significance of certain words. Accordingly instead of revealed truth as to creation and the first man and his fall into sin, we have the "legends of Genesis." We are assured that we know nothing and can know nothing of the origin of the universe. The Garden of Eden, man's primal holiness in the moral image of God, his moral fall, these are mere imaginations, hypotheses invented to account for existing facts and not veritable explanations. Most of them were borrowed from ancient sources and other peoples. "Who believes now," we are exultantly asked, "that Adam and Eve were historical characters?" As to the story of the fall into sin, we are assured that "nobody knows that a single word of it is true, and so far as the statement comes within the range of modern knowledge every word of it is false," and again the question is asked, "Who does not know that Satan is really a fiction of the ancient imagination, as really as Baal or Jupiter."

Years ago a ribald but popular infidel lecturer went up and down this land lecturing, at big remuneration, about "The Mistakes of Moses," when now indeed some of the more radical among the critics consider the chief mistake of Moses the thought that the most commanding figure in Jewish history ever lived at all. Rameses II would have found some of the critics valuable when he was trying to suppress the Hebrews in Egypt for some of them deny that they were ever in the land of Rameses.

And it is interesting to note how the ground of attack has gradually shifted. Fifty years ago the local point of the battle was the Fourth Gospel and the person of our Lord revealed in that Gospel. Then the Old Testament had its turn, and now as Dr. Robertson Nicoll phrases it, "the storm has moved round the whole horizon, but it is rapidly concentrating its strength and fury above one sacred head." The latest criticism now being much popularized in this country does not longer evade the real issue, to which it all must at last come; its aim is admittedly to obliterate Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and the Son of Man

from history. It is at this point we feel assured that the whole Church will gladly accept battle and contend with absolute confidence. More than thirty years ago the distinguished English Independent, the late Dr. R. W. Dale, said in an address at the Congregational Union, the question of the veracity of the Bible must in the end become the question of the authority of Christ. Readers of the last volume of the Encyclopedia Biblica, edited by Dr. Cheyne; and those who have read "The Historical New Testament" of Moffatt, and the "New Epoch of Faith" by Dr. George Gordon, can hardly longer doubt that the Christianity presented in such writings is a Christianity resting upon man and not upon Christ. The positions taken in these works, by men who still claim to be Christian teachers, is not simply the rejection of the Old Testament but the rejection of the New, and the dethronement of our Lord from his unique place as the Son of God and the authoritative Teacher and Redeemer of mankind. It is now confidently and audaciously maintained that we have no supernatural revelation in Jesus Christ and that the "time has come when the churches and the theologians must decide whether religious truth is to be sought, as all truth is, and its authority be what all truth possesses, or whether it is to be received as a gift to which nothing can be added, and for which nothing can be substituted." We are thus summoned in the name of "modern scholarship" to abandon as untenable the conviction of the Christian Church, held during all the Christian centuries, that we have given us in the sacred Scriptures a special revelation of the way of salvation for sinful men through Jesus Christ.

We accordingly repeat that it is not surprising that men dissent from this new hierarchy of destructives; that they refuse to accept its judgment as infallible when it employs methods of criticism of the Old Testament which when transferred to the New, demolish at a stroke the structures of historical Christianity, resolve the incarnation by the virgin birth into a fable, the deity of our Lord into a myth, an aftergrowth of the imagination of his too credulous disciples, His resurrection from the dead a mere translation of the fact of His death into an objective rising of His dead body, His ascension to heaven as the vision of an overheated brain and His session at the right hand of the Father where He ever liveth to make intercession for us as noth-

ing more than a perpetuation among men of the tradition of His example.. What the critics have yielded as indefensible aspects of our holy religion have at last proven to be the citadel itself. We know the Christ which the infallible Scriptures give us, and every lineament of that divine form is precious to the devout believer. But how much of it goes down in the wreckage wrought by the destructive critics? Which Christ shall we be ultimately forced to put up with? the Christ that Wernle gives us? or Werde? or Oscar Holtzmann? or August Sabatier? or Bossuet? the Christ whom Prof. Drews has entirely eliminated? or the Christ of the Gospels and Epistles of the divinely inspired New Testament? The non-expert has the logical, philological, philosophical and moral right to say within himself and to others, that whether or not he thinks himself competent to overthrow the details of the process and even to follow it, he will accept no theory which leads in the direction of such dark disaster to the world's most precious interests, even though a procession of "experts" of ever increasing length and arrogance affirm that theory. In the Smalkald Articles the Lutheran Church says, "For it is of no consequence that articles of faith are framed from the works or words of the holy fathers." In the Formula of Concord it is said, "We believe, teach and confess that the only rule and standard according to which at once all dogmas and teachers should be esteemed and judged are nothing else than the prophetic Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testaments." The symbols of the Reformed Church teach the same doctrine. This excludes all unwritten traditions not only but also all decrees of the visible Church; all resolutions of conventions or other bodies, declaring this or that to be right or wrong, true or false. The people of God are bound by nothing but the Word of God. But what becomes of this binding authority of the Word of God, if fancy and fact, fraud, misapprehension and misrepresentation are so intertwined and wrought into the entire text of the Bible, that the uninstructed reader is left in hopeless despair of ever finding anything that is settled and any bit of solid ground upon which to rest in confidence and assurance?

3. Another fact that induces distrust of this critical hierarchy under discussion, and its methods is the dubious character of its "assured results." Of course if the results of this line of work are really assured, we must accept them, and must change

our views of the Bible, however reluctant to do so we may be and however great the moral and spiritual desolation which may result. Our religion and our morals must not rest upon a lie. But the question is as to the assurance of these widely heralded "assured results." They are not for the most part assured at all. When they have not been utterly discredited they have been rendered decidedly dubious. It is always to be remembered that much of the work of this critical school is of a very transient nature. They make extensive claims of "settled results" but such results are hard to find. Their theories may be brilliant and startling but they are unsubstantial. Prof. Sellin writing of the Wellhausen theory admits that "we stand in a time of fermentation and transition," and he presents his "own opinion merely as the hypothesis that seems to us to be best founded." Prof. Henry Preserved Smith, one of the chieftains in the critical hierarchy, has recently said: "Each year we have the necessity forced upon us to learn something new and to unlearn something of the things we had supposed settled." It is not so long since the death of Dr. Robertson Smith, and yet his admiring disciple, Prof. Kennett, in re-editing Smith's article on the "Book of Psalms" for a new edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," says that he has had "to omit or rewrite" much of it and of his, Smith's, contention as to the date of the writing of many of the Psalms, that "the theory is untenable" owing to the results of Old Testament study since Prof. Smith's day. Pretentious commentaries by this school are scarcely issued until they are in need of revision. Some of them, for a good part at least, are already about as valuable as last year's birds' nests. A prominent writer of this school asserted before a company of theological students, with a triumphant air, that the battle between criticism and traditionalism was finished in favor of criticism, and that all that now remained was to fix the indemnity. One of his contentions was that the date of the ceremonial law was later than the captivity. In a short time after making the above declaration, the same writer was candid enough to announce that the date of the ceremonial law could not be placed later than 1350, B. C., which certainly comes so near to the traditional date that the difference warrants no notice.

Not many years ago writers of the Wellhausen school were certain about the mistake in the date of Mosaic authorship of the

Pentateuch because the age of the Hebrew language was not a literary age. The art of writing could not have been in use among the Hebrews of that period. Vatka, who was regarded by Wellhausen as an authority on that subject, denied that Moses had any knowledge of writing. Wellhausen himself took the same view for he says in his article on "Israel" in the "Encyclopedia Britannica," "Writing had been practiced earlier than 850-750 B. C.; but only on formal instruments mainly on stone." But now we have the discovery of Amarna Tablets of Abraham's age and of the code of Hammurabi centuries older than Moses and more recently the discovery of the Elephantine Papyri scarcely later than the time of Ezra. It is now a demonstrable fact that in the century before the exodus Palestine was a land of books and schools. Thus one of the "assured results" of the critics was completely overturned, which serves us as an admonition not to accept too promptly the conclusions of the critics. They do not have even as much claim to infallibility as the pope, and his claims are beset with difficulties that make them preposterous. The critics, too, in order, let us say, to construct a theory of the development of religion in Israel, assume as a fundamental that all religions begin in fetishism, or some similar low form, and then gradually develop into monotheism. But how does he know that all religions begin then on a low plane and rise to monotheism? He does not know it, nor does he undertake to prove it, but only assumes it. No idolatrous or polytheistic or fetish religion has ever so developed, no natural religion to use a generic term—has ever become monotheistic In every such religion the tendency has been downward to grosser polytheism and idolatry. The farther back we go in the examination of the origin of religions in India and Egypt, or any other countries where early records are open to us the simpler and purer is the faith. Polytheists and idolaters, it is true have become Monotheists, but not however by development of their own, but by conversion to some other religion. The only monotheistic religions in the world are Christianity, Judaism and Mohammedanism, and these were monotheistic in their origin. There are no examples of the development out of polytheism into a higher faith. To use the words of Prof. Kittel of Leipzig, "Science also is tending toward the assumption that Polytheism, and still cruder forms of heathenism, were not original,

but represent degenerate phases of an originally higher conception of God." The lower forms of religion, according to this great scholar, are to be regarded as the results of a process of degeneration. The unity of God is and remains the distinctive inheritance of Israel.

Another of the assumptions of this school is this, that "modern scholarship" has "proved" that underlying the Pentateuch and constituting its basis are two independent documents which the "critics" indicate by the symbols J. and E. and that these documents were woven together by an editor or "redactor" who is indicated by R. But even this J. P. and E. and R., &c., of the Driver notions have never been established and on this subject the critics have been divided into warring schools. A man who speaks of this theory as a "proved fact" speaks either from inordinate prejudice or from a total misapprehension of what constitutes proof. It is another case where guesses have been taken for facts and theories for evidence.

In an article in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" for January 1908, the Hon. Mr. Lamb, a jurist of distinction, who knows what facts and proof are, uses this language regarding this fantastic analytical theory. "What evidence do the higher critics produce to prove that the alleged E and J narratives existed before the Pentateuch was written or existed? None. What these critics propose as evidence to prove their affirmations true is found in their abundant publications. They do not even pretend to produce any direct or positive evidence to maintain that allegation." This is the judgment of an eminent lawyer whose profession has disciplined him in the science of weighing facts and sifting evidence, and after carefully examining the evidence which the "critics" bring forward to establish their proposition, he unhesitatingly declares their proof to be worthless.

For a time it will, we are sure, be remembered by some of our readers, Prof. Harnack held to the theory of the composite authorship of the book of Acts. But later this great scholar presented an elaborate and convincing study to show that this important book in the canon of the New Testament "The we passages and all were written by the beloved physician, Luke. More recently he has asserted that many of the critical positions must be given up and a closer adhesion to the conservative and traditional position be maintained.

Too much of the reasoning of this school is contradictory. Speaking of the prophets of the Old Testament one of these writers tells us in one place that "the predicters were chosen without regard to their moral attainment" and in another "the first great and permanent service that the Old Testament renders to a man is that it presents to him personalities worthy of the profoundest reverence." Again we are informed in one paragraph that "in turning from the Old Testament to the New we are turning to a new religion" while in the paragraph following we are told also "that it is hard to prove that Jesus introduced any absolutely new religious conception." In this aspect of the subject there is abundant reason why people, both learned and unlearned, are slow to share in the confidence with which the new critical hierarchy is attempting to force its conclusions upon the Church and the world as though they were all based upon indisputable data and infallible logic, upon the basis of mere hypotheses, mere guesses and plausible conjecture, people are asked to surrender the most potent religious beliefs that the world has known. And this is called the latest and soundest "assured result" of the new critical method. In its last analysis the radical features of this movement come to a denial of revelation, a repudiation of the supernatural, a reduction of all religion, to a human evolution, originating in man, never going beyond man and knowing nothing but man.

4. The theories and much of the work of the hierarchy under consideration too meets with a severe repulse at the hands of thoroughly accredited scholars in this department of learning. If any one doubts this let him read any good statement of the radical critical methods, as for example Wellhausen's "Prolegomnena," which has been translated, and then read Professor Orr's "The Problem of the Old Testament," and then ask himself without prejudice how much of the former remains. The refutation is overwhelming. In his day Professor William Henry Green of Princeton, was likely at the head of the Old Testament scholarship of this country, and his great work on "The Unity of the Book of Genesis," digs the analytical theory, the composite J E and R assumption, up by the roots and shows conclusively that Genesis was practically written by one and the same hand. No serious effort has been made to answer Professor Green's great book and as a scholarly and conclusive refutation of de-

structive theories, it yet holds the field. The fact that in whole lists of works published on this subject, such books as this of Professor Green and others of the same order are entirely omitted, furnishes a species of unqualified dogmatism that is a fine travesty on the "open-mindedness" so much exploited among members of the critical hierarchy.

The claim of this kind of critics that the real scholars in Germany, England and our country hold to the destructive critical positions reminds us of the reply once made by one of the sanest scholars of his day in this country to a friend of the advanced school. The latter had made an address in which he claimed that "all first-class scholars agreed with him." To this the former replied with a story. A man manufactured a patent baking powder and advertised it widely as kept by "all first-class grocers." When asked who were the first-class grocers, he answered promptly, "only those who keep my baking powder." The critical unworthiness of much of the work done in our generation in this department of learning has been set forth time and again by men whose names carry great weight. Professor Ramsay, for instance, the author of "St. Paul the Traveler and the Roman Citizen," declares in the preface to that work, "There is no class of literary product in our century (the nineteenth) in which there is such an enormous preponderence of error and bad judgment as in that of historical criticism." The late Bishop Lightfoot, referring to the German "Higher Criticism," said that nowhere in any literature, did he know of such a mass of absurdities as has been heaped together by some of the most able and learned German critics in connection with the names Euodias and Syntyche in the "Epistle to the Philippians." Professor Sayce of Oxford, having averred that the end of the nineteenth century was "witnessing the ebb of a wave of historical criticism which began to flow more than a century ago," delivered the following judgment on the general question: "The higher critic may be right in holding that the historical books of the Old Testament in their present form are compilations of late date, but he is no longer justified in denying that the materials they embodied may be contemporaneous with the events recorded in them." Dr. James Robertson, professor of Oriental language in the University of Glasgow, maintains that "the modern critical theory raises in the way of its own acceptance difficulties of

a much more serious kind than are those which it professes to overcome." "It postulates," he says, "miracles of a literary and psychological kind which contradict sound reason and experience as much as any of the physical miracles of the Old Testament transcend them."

Bishop Ellicott says:

"Some of us are old enough to remember how books of the New Testament, about the design of which no reasonable doubt could be entertained, were regarded simply as the outcome of the controversies that arose between Judaism and Gentile Christianity Where now are these theories? Cast away long since on the waste heap of baseless speculations, exploded and forgotten. And that such will be the fate of a large portion of those that we are now considering in reference to the Old Testament, is certainly not a very hazardous prophecy.

"Inability to accept the supernatural is the distinctive feature of the analytical system; all its results patently disclose it; all its investigations unconsciously presuppose it. How modifications of such a system, or deductions that may be drawn from it, however cautiously and guardedly, can ever be used to help failing faith, especially in such an age as our own, is to me inconceivable."

Thus, there are critics who have grappled successfully with the men who in the name of "modern scholarship," have persistently pressed assumptions, guesses and hypotheses upon the attention of the Church and the world as "assured results."

The only effectual remedy for the evils of rash, irreverent and destructive criticism is the slower but more edifying criticism of men who love truth too much either to rush into hasty conclusions or to reject conclusions which are really justified by facts that have been fully ascertained. It is after many years of that sort of painstaking and veracious study that the distinguished and industrious scholar, Dr. James Orr, now at last publishes his own conclusions, and the sum of them is this:

"The case which the critics present must be met in a calm, temperate, and scholarly way, if it is to be dealt with to the satisfaction of thoughtful Christian people. On the other hand, those who come to this book expecting to find in it agreement with the methods and results of the reigning critical schools will probably be disappointed. The author has here no option. With

the best will in the world to accept whatever new light criticism may have to throw on the structure and meaning of the Old Testament, he has to confess that his study of the critical developments—now for over thirty years—has increasingly convinced him that, while biblical students are indebted to the critics and to Old Testament science generally for valuable help, the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, now in the ascendant, is neither in its methods nor its results entitled to the unqualified confidence often claimed for it. He is persuaded, on the contrary, that it rests on erroneous fundamental principles, is eaten through with subjectivity, and must, if carried out to its logical issues,—to which, happily, very many do not carry it,—prove subversive of our Christian faith, and of such belief in and use of the Bible as alone can meet the needs of a living Church. Only, if this is to be shown, it must, as far as one's knowledge enables him to do it, be done thoroughly and with due regard for all really ascertained facts."

5. We may affirm once more that the work of this school is still further discredited by an unsatisfactory and even dangerous position, it takes in the sphere of Christian teaching. Much of the contention of the critics is on the question of when and how the books of the Bible came into existence, and however unreliable and fantastic their theories may seem to many Christian scholars, yet it is affirmed that the Bible still remains to us an effective and useful book with its spiritual contents unchanged and its pedagogic value unimpaired. Those who set up this claim are not greatly troubled when large portions of the Bible are relegated to the domain of myth and tradition, for they are intent only on its spiritual teaching. This is an unsatisfactory and dangerous position for when the historical accuracy and truthfulness of its writers have been impeached, the Bible must inevitably lose much of its authority in matters of faith and life. With this school it seems to be a strong ground of commendation, as it is expressed by one of them that "he pays no heed to orthodoxy or heterodoxy, regarding them as phrases without meaning." We entirely dissent from that view and would even go so far as to say that the Bible may be taught in such a way and by such a teacher as to actually make it an instrument of irreligion. We have in mind a Unitarian minister who was accustomed in his work as a teacher of religion to tell New Testa-

ment stories to the children of the Sunday School, usually prefacing them with remarks to the effect that they were not true at all, they never really happened, but were good stories that intelligent people ought to know and with which not infrequently some good lesson was connected. We seriously doubt the pedagogic value or the ethical suggestion of the best of stories given upon such principles. This may be new pedagogics but it is valueless religion. This separation of the Gospel from the literary documents in which that Gospel is conveyed to us is not likely to be of any value to the educated or uneducated mind in the sphere of morals and religion. This speaking reverently of Jesus by some who pose as though they were His special champions and had a monopoly of attainments, in biblical theology is not consistent with a method of literary criticism that would well-nigh render the life of Jesus valueless, as a mere exemplar in righteousness not to say anything of the greater aspects of His work as Redeemer. It is He who stands forth before the world through all the ages as the subject of these writings, their burden and fulfilment and declares them to be the Word of God that cannot lie or err, or fail or pass away, though heaven and earth may pass away, until all be fulfilled. In the critical discussions of the last century Strauss himself asserted that according to his notion the historical Christ was lost but that his ideal divine-human Christ was left. But how little support an ideal Christianity had, when the historical foundation had once been removed, soon became evident. But a few years passed after the appearance of his "Life of Jesus," before the entire Christian doctrine with which Strauss had comforted his readers in an appendix was torn to pieces and scattered. Those who had comforted themselves with the assurance that this capable man would build up dogmatically what he had torn down historically found themselves early in depressing disappointment.

This age of ferment and criticism we are assured is going to turn back to a fuller and broader study of the Scriptures and of the ages that cradled them at their birth. Some fresh light is breaking and a broader and deeper foundation is being laid, and the old Bible of our affection and redemption will stand more commandingly among men. Loyal and able defenders are always being equipped for its conflicts. We can afford to possess our souls and await with tranquility and assurance the outcome.

In her conflicts with the powers of the world, the arrogance of science, the pride of philosophy, the haughtiness and perversions of criticism, the boastfulness of rationalism, and the malignity of unbelief, let it always be remembered that the Word of the Lord is always panoplied with the native vigor of its own divine strength and with the spiritual power of its own heaven-provided weapons.

In what we have written honest critics have been in mind, but it is well known that rationalism, agnosticism, atheism and other old foes of the Gospel have found it convenient to adopt the dress of the destructive criticism. This whole critical movement has grown out of the attempt to interpret religion and history in the light of an evolutionary philosophy—a delusive and impossible task. But this is too long a story to enter here.

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ARTICLE II.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF LUTHERANS.

BY REV. W. A. LAMBERT.

A few years from now the world will celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. Already two works of importance have appeared in preparation of that celebration. Neither of them is the work of a Lutheran. In fact, one is written by a scholar who has been noted rather for a liberal interpretation of the New Testament, the other is the son of an Old Testament critic. Neither of them may therefore reckon upon any appreciation from the Lutheran Church beyond that accruing to him from his "Life of Luther."

At the time of the anniversary of Luther's birth, in 1883, preparations were being made by a Lutheran scholar in America to write a standard "Life of Luther in English." That work was not completed, and no other American Lutheran scholar has arisen to resume the task. Now the honor has gone to another, for it will for a long time be almost impossible to produce a work to rival that of Preserved Smith. What a glorious opportunity the American Lutheran Church missed!

How much will this same Church leave for the non-Lutherans to do in celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the Reformation?

This is only a fragment of a far larger question: How much does the American Lutheran Church recognize the magnificent opportunities lying before it, and in how far is it willing that the work which it could do and ought to be doing shall be done by others? How far is it willing to be a leader among the Churches, and how far is it willing to be merely a sect among the Churches? Or, rather, one ought to say, a group of sects among the Churches?

We Lutherans are very glad to boast of our heritage, and of the great things which are being and have been done by Lutherans. It rarely occurs to us to ask, to what extent we are sincere and straightforward in our claims. When the census officials sum up the membership of Lutheran bodies in America, and, con-

fused by the divisions of the Lutheran Church, fail to give proper credit to the total, we feel indignant. When we speak of the total Lutheran population of the world, we are careful to count all Lutherans. But when we speak of Lutherans among ourselves, we are ready with our distinctions. Here are true Lutherans, there half Lutherans, there poor Lutherans, and there unfaithful Lutherans. That is, we count Lutherans to our advantage, and we distinguish between Lutherans to flatter ourselves that we are better than others of the name. Which of our definitions of Lutheranism is correct? Then we claim that Lutheranism is the true Protestant Christianity, but define it carefully only by its distinguishing marks, as a separate and distinct branch of Protestantism, which can have little or no connection with the rest of Protestantism. We speak much of the correctness of the teaching of the Lutheran Church, but are woefully at a loss to define exactly what that teaching is. In America we have not produced a system of doctrine, we have only translated a Lutheran History of Doctrines. The task of making Lutheran theology to speak in English we have left to the Scotch and the English, the Episcopalians and Congregationalists and Free Church scholars. And now we have left to others the opportunity of writing a classical "Life of Luther in English."

But all this is not enough. In the great movements of thought in theology and history and philosophy, where the Lutheran Church has a right to be heard, and a message worth hearing, we are doing practically nothing. Who else can do for modern Christianity what Lutheranism might be doing? It has the Gospel in a purer form, with less philosophical admixture than any other Church; and it preaches it only to its own people in a language out of touch with the thinking of men of to-day, and thinks it has done its duty. It sees the errors of others, and criticises, but either will not or cannot build up where it sees others tear down. Some day, I suppose, when others have built up again, by borrowing from European Lutherans, whom we now scarcely acknowledge as Lutherans, we will point with pride to their success and claim them and a share in their merit. But now we are conservative to a fault, so conservative that we cannot even reach up to Luther, but must stop with the lesser dogmaticians. For Luther too in his day was a higher critic; he was a historical critic, and expressed views which we to-day

must repudiate. We are sure that if he lived to-day, he would not say what he said then.

A short time ago a book-reviewer wrote in the "Nation": "If Dr. Martin Luther were alive to-day, one would scarcely expect to find him preaching justification by faith, or any other doctrine to which the world has grown indifferent. He would be, most probably, a belligerent prophet of some dangerous new religion—perhaps a communistic anarchist, or leader of the assembling hosts of Socialism." The reviewer was right in part. Luther would not be preaching some doctrine to which the world had grown indifferent, but he would wake up the world to see that the doctrine of justification by faith is not a doctrine to which men can be indifferent. He would not waste time and energy combatting minor doctrines of minor men, but would go to the heart of matters with fearless courage and honesty. And these are what the Lutheran Church needs to-day.

Courage and honesty. Of course they are Lutheran virtues, like all others that are worth having. But what a splendid showing of courage we make when we are afraid of the questions the modern mind is raising, for fear our faith might be lost! And what resplendent honesty it is, that we are willing to manifest in a double system of book-keeping, on the one hand subscribing to modern science, where it does not seem to conflict with the theology of the seventeenth century, and on the other hand denying to that same science all right to existence whenever we fear that it may conflict with a cherished tradition! And how honest it is, to ascribe to our Confessions multitudinous positions which they did not and could not take! Is it courage, which has based the Confessions upon the Scriptures and then based the view of Scripture we hold upon the Confessions? Is it courage, is it honesty, when we have hurled into the teeth of the Roman Catholics, that our faith rests upon Scriptures, to hurl into the teeth of the critic who studies the Scriptures: But you must study the Scriptures in the light of the Confessions?

Can we face the history of our Confessions and take them at their own estimate? Harnack has written: "Luther had first to find the truth, and when he had found it, he sold all that he had, to gain it for himself and for Christendom. He sold the most glorious possession of the age, the unity of the Catholic Church: he broke it into ruins, without taking thought of the

'weak,' and at the cost of all his old heaven-earthly ideals; but his followers are so weak and cautious, that they are not even willing to admit that they have learned anything new, and are in imminent danger of selling themselves to a tradition of yesterday, or—risking all evangelical knowledge—retreat to Greek dogma." DG III[3] 612. Is it a truth, or is it a slander?

Look into the dogmaticians, and see the development. Note the rise of a new, a Protestant scholasticism: the revival of a traditional theology on a Protestant basis. Note the formation of the Formula of Concord, a compromise made possible because the leaders of controversy were dead, and the issues were dying; note the growth of a fundamentally Catholic Church idea in Protestantism, which has reached its height in the Missouri Synod, although it can be found in Hollaz. Of course much has been made of the providential guiding of history in the formation of the Formula of Concord, and the logical and historical necessity of its formulation. But, do we not forget that it is a simple matter for a man to trace the hand of Providence in any connected series of events? The most rascally criminal can see the hand of Providence in the many escapes he has made, and can then, when caught, see the hand of Providence in his capture and repentance. But that tracing of the hand of Providence neither proves that his crimes were predestined, nor that his repentance is genuine.

Granted, however, that the Formula of Concord is providentially formed in the way we now have it, and that the Augustana without it would be incomplete, what is the Formula of Concord and what does it claim to be? Is it not just as important to know what it does not contain, as to see what is contained in it? It claims to be a statement of the solution of controversies which had troubled the Church, and a testimony to future generations of the manner in which those controversies were held to be solved according to the Scriptures. Two things the Formula of Concord could not do: It could not claim to be the final solution of all controversies that might arise, and it could not claim to be the infallible or even inerrant interpreter of Scripture. "Other symbols and books are not judges like the Holy Scripture, but only a testimony and explanation of the faith, telling in what manner the Holy Scriptures have at each time, (i.e., at the time of their writing), been understood and explained by the men

then living, in the points in dispute in the Church of God, and the teaching opposed to it rejected and condemned." (Epitome.)

As Confessions of Faith these Confessional Books are not laws, but testimonies. They have their legal side, in that they were adopted at the time by the lords of the Church as the standard for teaching in their Churches. But they were standards of teaching only because they were Confessions of Faith.

Even as Confessions of Faith they have a marked peculiarity. They are the Confessions of Churches, not of individuals. And with few exceptions they were political documents. And as such they were not intended for the laity. The Formula of Concord rightly selects as the Layman's Bible the one Confession which is personal, the Catechism.

As historical Confessions of the Lutheran Churches, teaching how the fathers understood the Bible, these Confessions are invaluable. As final authorities either as to the essence of Lutheranism or as to the true meaning of Scripture, they become a burden too heavy for any Protestant Church to carry. And worse than that, they destroy the appreciation of the essence of faith.

The faith which Luther brought to light was not a new and correct teaching, but a life of trust in God and in Jesus Christ. The Confessions of the Lutheran Church are of value in so far as in their time they strove to defend this center, not always most wisely, against all attack. But the moment they draw faith to themselves, and convert it from trust into belief, they are a curse to the Church. The moment they detract the attention from the Scriptures and the needs of living men to whom the Scriptures must in each age be applied, they are worse than useless, they are a positive hindrance to the Church.

And yet, in our day one could wish that the Lutheran Church had so accepted the Confessional Books *in toto,* and then studied them *in toto.* For they would then have driven to a study of the Scriptures. They themselves throw out the challenge; they want to be tested by the Scriptures. They do not vouch for the verbal inspiration of the Bible, they do not attest the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, they do not even insist that the Gospels are written by the men whose names are attached to them. These are not matters of faith, but of science, and they are not made matters of faith by the Confessions. If we seek for providen-

tial influence we may well find it here. When men went back to Luther, and built a new Protestant tradition upon him, they could find no insistence upon these matters in his writings. Nor on many other points which have since then become prominent in the Church. The whole prolegomena to the systems of the dogmaticians were constructed independently of Luther. That is, when scholasticism made a tradition going back to Luther, it could do it only upon the basis furnished it by Melanchthon. And now the men who would most vigorously attack Melanchthon must do it with the weapons given them by Melanchthon himself.

What an opportunity there lies before the Lutheran Church to-day! To get back to its Confessions as they are, not as they are thought to be, to their testimony to the truth as found in Scripture, and to their challenge to test that truth by Scripture. To get at the heart of them in the Confession of faith in Christ, and not to cling to the form of them as the settlement of controversies long since dead; to build upon them a theology and a witness to the truth which will be intelligible to the modern mind. To give up not one jot or tittle of the gold they contain, but not to choke on the forms in which it is contained; to enter the life and the thought of to-day as the scholastics and the dogmaticians and the authors of the Confessions entered into the life and thought of their day, and to carry with us the strength of faith, the honesty of intellect, the courage to face problems which they and Luther before them manifested.

But all this is not within the reach of those who take refuge behind statements that applied to other times, and insist that the present must accept them or perish. Luther might have done that. and saved the world the annoyance and himself the anxiety of a reformation of the Church. Before Luther's day the Roman Catholic Church had its system practically complete. To-day the charge is made that had he known Thomas Aquinas he would not have become a reformer. But Thomas Aquinas was not inaccessible and he would not have satisfied Luther. To-day the world is restless; the scientists and philosophers who a few years ago would have nothing to do with religion, are seeking one. And they are turning to Christianity for a religion. They despair of the Churches because the Churches seem to be out of touch with the times. Can the Lutheran Church, with its grasp

on the essentials of the Gospel, now, four hundred years after the Reformation, hold its own, and appeal to men as the teaching of Luther did then? Or, shall we let others learn of us what the heart of the Gospel is, and leave us behind, as a Church of the past, of tradition, of a theology that is inconsistent with science, even the science of the study of the Bible?

South Bethlehem, Pa.

ARTICLE III.

THE RITSCHLIAN THEOLOGY.

BY WILLIAM ROSENSTENGEL, D. D.

It is nearly twenty years ago that Professor Dr. F. H. R. von Frank of Erlangen made the following prediction concerning Ritschl's theology: "The time will come when the period in the development of the new theology will be viewed with some feeling of shame. Not so much because of the commotion it has created in the church and the confusion it has caused, but because of the thoughtlessness and the immaturity of mind with which this doctrine has been appropriated. It is humiliating to think that there was a time when such young theologians were its mouth-piece."[1]

This prophecy of Professor von Frank has, as far as I am in a position to judge, not yet been fulfilled. That "feeling of shame" does not seem to have come as yet over the followers of Ritschl by any means, to say nothing of repentance for the great harm done to the church and its members. The new theology has not yet run its course although, judging from more recent occurrences in the land and home of its founder, it appears as if it had passed the meridian of its popularity. The harvest of the sowing of this School has been ripening very fast of late years, and the fruit has been anything but wholesome and delicious. This has been fully made known in the case of Rev. Jatho, in the city of Cologne. It is generally conceded that the social democracy is largely the outcome of Ritschl's liberalism as taught by his followers in the universities and in the pulpits. Pastor Mehliss, superintendent in Hildesheim, Hanover, wrote some time ago in "Der alte Glaube," among other things, the following: "The common liberalism has produced free-thinking and finally social democracy, which latter has consistently further developed the liberal and free-thinking doctrines and is now ready to carry its aged ancestors to the grave, or at least step in as an heir. Many of the advocates of the modern negative

1 Vademlecum fur angehende Theologen, p. 309.

theology have fallen or gone far ahead of their fathers and companions. How far have the Friends of Evangelical Freedom not advanced above their founder Ritschl! Ex-pastor Goehre is now already a genuine social democrat, and many others have advanced so far that, in addition to their many so-called exaggerations and errors of the New Testament, they have put the question: 'Has Jesus really lived?' And answered it by a definite 'No' ".

Seeing then that Ritschlism is largely responsible for the deplorable religious conditions in Germany, it may not be amiss even at this seemingly late hour, briefly to point out his false teaching regarding some of the fundamental doctrines of the church.

I. CONCERNING THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

I think it proper to begin right here, for the Scriptures must forever constitute our standard, the only infallible rule of faith and practice, by which every man's religion and theology must be tested. What position does Ritschl take with reference to the Bible as an inspired book? To my mind this question precedes all others in the settlement of a man's orthodoxy. To be sure, Ritschl wishes to base his teaching on the Bible, but how does he do this? He at once pushes aside the Old Testament as a source of proof-texts. He says: "The theology, which the Christian religion is to recognize from the original sources, is to be confined only to the writings of the New Testament." And again: "The theology which is to present the authentic contents of the Christian religion in a positive form, must be taken from the books of the New Testament and from no other source."[2] He considers it a mistake in theology to go to the Old Testament for proof-texts. Isaiah 53 is "apocryphal." Not only does this chapter, acording to his views, interrupt the connection of prophesy in its entirety, but its contents are not followed up in the succeeding chapters. This forces the conclusion that originally it was foreign to the book of the Babylonian Isaiah, and only accidentally, on account of the similarity in the name of the subject, inserted in the book."[3]

2 Justification and Atonement, vol. ii, 13, 16, 18.

3 Justification and Atonement, II, p. 62. Quoted by "Lehre und Wehre," Vol. XL, p. 282.

But even the New Testament is not to be accepted in its entirety. The Acts of the Apostles are a "secondary writing" and the Apocalypse as to its main body a "Jewish production." In fact the way and manner he speaks even of Paul's writings leaves the impression that he considered them not much more than mere human productions. For instance: "The judgments of Paul as they appear now and then about the law are not thought out in systematic order." "It must in this connection especially be considered that he made a transfer to Christianity from Pharisaism. The double line of arguments in which the Christian Apostle moves are proof how individualistic, yea, how pathological his views along these lines are."[4] In a similar manner Ritschl speaks about other passages in Paul's writings. Does this sound as if he considered Paul an inspired writer? Yea, he plainly designates the Biblical accounts mere historical monuments. Prof. Kuebel quotes from his works the following sentence: "One can do without the means of a dubious theory of inspiration." That means as much as to say, one can do without the means of any theory of inspiration.

From these few quotations it will be seen how Ritschl stood regarding the Bible. No wonder then that we see him using the greatest liberty in interpreting and applying the teachings of the sacred volume.

Ritschl, as those who know something about his theology need scarcely be told, insisted on doing away with all metaphysics in theology. But what does he include under that term? Luthardt reminds Ritschl of the fact, that the word metaphysics is a very "elastischer Begriff," which may be expanded in such a way as to include most anything. He says: "Metaphysics is to be excluded from theology. Now this and that comes under the category of metaphysics, therefore this and that must be excluded from theology. And thus we see immediately the trinity, the divine-human in Christ and a multitude of other parts which we have considered hitherto as essential parts of the Christian faith and the Christian doctrine, shown out of doors. Nothing more simple than that."[5] Then Luthardt continues showing the fallacy in the use of the term metaphysics. "For,"

4 Rechtfertigung II, p 313. Quoted by Prof. Kuebel: Ueber den Unterschild, &c., p. 184.

5 Zur Beurteilung der Risschliscen Theologie. Zeitschrift, 1881, p. 620.

says he, "the existence and absoluteness of God, the Trinity, the preexistence and essential divinity of Christ, &c., all these questions are with me not questions of metaphysics, but of the contents of the Christian faith."[6]

In order to prove his theory relating to metaphysics as the correst one, Ritschl denies the validity of the question as to "Seinsurteile," judgments as to being, and would only allow "Werturteile," judgments as to value. He says: "In Christianity and its theology it does not depend on *being* but on the significance, on *valuation;* not what God, what Christ, what the resurrection *is,* but what value they have for us." One meets these high-sounding, philosophical terms in the writings of Ritschl and his followers again and again. And yet if they are examined in the light of Scripture what do they amount to? Luthardt is of the opinion that you cannot separate the judgment as to *value* from the judgment as to *being.* By way of illustration he refers to Luther's explanation of the second article in the Apostles Creed, that Jesus Christ "is my Lord, who redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature," &c., but what must he *be* in order that he can be this to me? Luther prefixed the following: "I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, &c.," and he knew well why he did so. Who does not see the fallacy of Ritschl's argumentation! What does my judgment about anything amount to unless it be based on an intelligent knowledge of that thing? True, I cannot fathom with my understanding the being of God, of the Trinity, &c., but on this account I do not say these doctrines belong to the category of metaphysics with which I have nothing to do, but I say they are doctrines of divine revelation, and as such I believe and accept them.

Ritschl is correct in saying that the task for the evangelical theologian is to interpret Scripture by Scripture; but listen to the following: "In doing so it depends not only on grammatical knowledge and logical skill, in order to understand the single passages in connection with the whole, but especially on the esthetical application, viz., the art to reproduce from the right view-point the extent, the relations, the altitude (Höhenlage) of the religion of the Old Testament, in order also to understand the documents of Christianity in their original and historical

6 Idem, Zeitschrift, 1881, p. 619.

sense."[7] On this "Lehre und Wehre" rightly remarks: "We decline with thanks such misinterpretation of the otherwise correct principle: 'Scriptura Scripturam interpretatur,' the hermeneutic rule of the 'esthetic application,' which, as Ritschl's example immediately demonstrates, is effected after a wholly incalculable subjective taste and preconceived idea."

Ritschl also speaks about classical and non-classical proof-texts, yet when even a "classical" text does not answer his purpose, he explains it away. Of course, since the entire Old Testament is not to be considered in the support of any Christian doctrine, the church is robbed, so to speak, at one sweep of many precious proof-texts. The "servant" in Isaiah 53, who was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities is, according to Ritschl "likely not a prophetic personage, but a member of the royal family."

One sees with what ease Ritschl disposes of classical proof-texts. His views concerning the Scriptures must necessarily affect every other Biblical doctrine.

II. CONCERNING GOD.

It might be said in the beginning that Ritschl's God differs from the God revealed to us in the Bible, That seems to be saying a great deal, but it is true. His rejection of the Old Testament in the support of Christian doctrines, means nothing less than the rejection of the Old Testament God, the God, who hates and punishes Sin and visits the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation—the God, who has revealed himself through the law to the chosen people as the *holy one;* before whom the seraphim stand and cry out: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory." Is. 6,3.

The God of the Bible reveals himself to us as a distinct personal being. As such he constantly stands before us from the first chapter of Genesis to the last chapter of the Apocalypse. He reveals himself to us by certain attributes. "They are the essence of God itself, regarded under various modes or respects of consideration." We refer here only to such of these as come within the scope of our discussion, viz.: *holiness, justice and love.*

7 Quoted by Lehre and Wehre Vol. XL, p. 283.

Now let us see what Ritschl thinks of these. He writes: "The idea of holiness is in its Old Testament sense, for various reasons in Christianity not legitimate and in its New Testament use not clear."[8] To this Professor Kuebel remarks: "We scarcely consider any other word of Ritschl with such deep suspicion and as fundamentally false."

It is certainly difficult to understand why the holiness of God as represented in the Old Testament should not be legitimate or have no place in Christianity. Ritschl says "for various reasons," but he does not tell us in so many words what they are. He might have done so, but he preferred to have us draw our own inferences, and this, I am sure, is not very difficult after we have become better acquainted with him. He would also have us believe that the idea of God's holiness, which accompanies the Old Testament religion, was "knocked off" in the New Testament. He is especially concerned to get around such passages as lay stress on the holiness of God in contrast with men's sinfulness.

Now holiness and justice are closely allied. Because God is the holy One, he cannot endure sin. The sinner must suffer punishment. "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men." Rom. 1.18. "Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus." Rev. 16:5.

Ritschl would make us believe further that all the attributes of God are concentrated in *love,* and to this end he quotes with much emphasis 1. John 4:8, "God is love". He speaks of the love of God as if by this attribute the very essence and being of God were absorbed. When Professor von Frank of Erlangen protested against such teaching, Ritschl expressed his surprise that a Lutheran theologian should do so, pointing at the same time to Luther by way of justification. But, if the old saying: "Duo si idem dicunt non est idem," applies to any two men, these two are Luther and Ritschl. But right here Ritschl prepares the way for his doctrine on the person and work of Christ. But before we come to that point, it will be necessary to ask what he teaches concerning sin.

8 Rechtfertigung, Vol. III, p. 260.

III. CONCERNING SIN.

Regarding the doctrine of sin Ritschl is a Pelagian. He denies original sin. He says: "Luther's view that the doctrine of inherited sin is revealed in the Scriptures, rests on a false interpretation of some single passages." "That the individual confession, Ps. 51:5, can be no proof for a general doctrinal truth, is not to be doubted." Further: "The expression 'children of wrath,' Eph. 2:3, refers to the active earlier sinning of those, who now as Christians, dare apply to themselves the divine sentiment of grace over against wrath." Certainly a poor attempt to get rid of "by nature children of wrath."

With reference to Romans 5.12, "Wherefore, as by one man Sin entered into the world, and death by Sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned," Ritschl thinks that it can probably never be made clear what Paul's idea was when he wrote that sentence. He is also of the opinion that the dogma concerning original Sin, according to the norm of the old theological School, could not be upheld, for dogmas had to be based on clear passages of writ. And yet when this is done, a work which the old School of theologians did conscientionsly and with great care, he takes exception to the use of such passages.[9]

Luthardt is of the opinion that in Ritschl's view of Sin the last roots of nearly all of his departures from the doctrines of the Church can be found. We are rather inclined to say that the "last roots" of his departure from the doctrines of the Church are found in his rejection of an infallible Bible. For the doctrine of sin is a doctrine of divine revelation and one, who does not accept the Bible as divinely inspired, can hardly be expected to accept its teaching on one of its most fundamental doctrines. Says the Apostle: "I had not known Sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, "Thou shalt not covet." Rom. 7:7. With Ritschl sin is essentially a matter of ignorance.

Such being his views regarding this all important doctrine, what must we expect when we come to his teaching concerning Christ.

9 Lehre und Wehre, Vol. XLI, p. 100.

IV. CONCERNING JESUS CHRIST AND HIS WORK.

We wonder, indeed, what he is going to make of Jesus Christ and his mission on earth. "Lehre und Wehre" says on this point: "If there is no damning guilt of sin, is it only an illusion of the imagination, that God, who is love, could be angry with man on account of sin? If there is no such thing as a separation of God from man, then, as a matter of course it is an entirely wrong and wholly absurd idea that Christ, the Son of God, should have come that through his suffering and death, as our substitute, through his willing sacrifice once made, he might appease the wrath of God on account of sin, and through it earn for us the forgiveness of our sin."

We refer here first to the teachings of Ritschl and his School on the divinity of Christ. Of course, they pretend to hold fast to that doctrine, they also make use of the prevailing terminology of the Church, but they do it with a different meaning. One calls their doctrine on the divinity of Christ a "wicked forgery." Let us hear what Ritschl himself has to say. He writes: "It is an incorrect presupposition that from the New Testament a harmonious doctrine of the divinity of Christ can be detected. In a strict sense the contents of the books of the New Testament are generally not doctrinal. At least in the discourses of Christ we discover no doctrine of his divinity."[10]

First, we are told that for Christian doctrines only the books of the New Testament can furnish the material, and here the statement is made that their contents generally are not doctrinal. Where then are we to look for Christian doctrines? We are told also that in the discourses of Christ no doctrine of his divinity can be discovered. That surely ought to be sufficient to settle the question. One can not but be surprised meeting with such sweeping assertions.

But what about that "wicked forgery"? We have already noticed how, whilst Ritschl seeks to do away with all metaphysics in theology, he himself employs arguments and ideas that are nothing short of metaphysics. In the doctrine concerning the divinity of Christ, he would make us believe that it did not depend so much on the question as to what Christ *is* as to his

10 Rechtfertigun g und Versochnung, Vol. III, p. 378.

worth for us. Strange! As if the question of the *being* of Christ were of no importance. And yet this question has been *the* question in all ages. We call attention to Isaiah 9:6, "His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace," of course, this passage belongs to the Old Testament. But what of Christ's own question, "Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am"? Matt. 16:13. And again v. 15, "But whom say ye that I am"? Why did not our Lord consider this question as belonging to the category of metaphysics? And was not this question *the* question before the Jewish Sanhedrim when Caiaphas cried out: "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God?" Matt. 26:63. And what of St. John's Gospel? Is not the doctrine of our Lord's divinity the silver thread that runs through that entire book? What of those passages: "I and my Father are one." John 10:30. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father, and how sayest thou then, shew us the Father"? John 14:9. And verse 11: "Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very work's sake?" Does Ritschl think that the Church is ready once for all to dismiss this question as belonging to the category of metaphysics, which need not concern us? If so, he is mistaken. He and his School consider it sufficient to say with the catechism: "I believe Jesus Christ to be my Lord." But those other words belonging to these: "His only Son, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost," &c., are "unintelligible formulas." It will be remembered how some years ago Harnack made an attack on the Apostles Creed right at this point. In his lecture, "Das Evangelium und der Gottessohn. oder die Frage der Christologie," one fails to find the Christ of the Bible or of our confessions. He makes a great deal of Christ's consciousness that he is the Son of God. "How he came to this consciousness of his unique relation as Son, how he came to the consciousness of his power and the obligation and task, which lie in this power, that is a mystery and no psychology will solve it." This is the same sort of argumentation which we find with Ritschl. What ever cannot be explained rationally, belongs to the category of mystery or metaphysics. You hardly ever hear men of this school speak of the "mysteries of faith." The fact is *faith* isn't a very important factor in their theology.

Since Ritschl rejects the doctrine of original Sin and the guilt in consequence of it resting upon the sinner, what use is there to speak of Jesus Christ as our Redeemer and of the sacrifice which he made in his own body on the cross in order to make atonement for our sins, reconciling the world unto himself? But what is the significance of Christ's death? His death came as an "accident" in consequence of the faithfulness of his calling. Ritschl is here a Socinian. In fact the similarity between Socinianism and the school of Ritschl is very striking. As far as the fundamentals of the Christian religion are concerned, rationalists of different types and in different ages of the Church, meet on common ground, it is only on minor points and in the way of presenting their ideas, that we find a difference.

Ritschl's theology pierces the very heart of Christianity when it sets aside the whole idea of a vicarious atonement. Luthardt designated Ritschl's theology as "another Christianity." I would go still further and say, that it has no claim to the word "Christian" at all. If that all consoling doctrine of the forgiveness of my sins through Jesus Christ as my divine human Saviour is an illusion, what is there yet in Christianity that can seriously appeal to me! Take away the cross of Christ, in its true Pauline sense, and what sort of a Christianity is there left? Ritschl didn't want to have it said that he had emptied Christianity of its contents, but his theology proves it. He wished to be considered a good Lutheran and even the true interpreter of Luther, yet it needs only a very superficial knowledge of his teachings and the teachings of Luther to see the deep gulf between them. The words which Luther spoke to Zwingli at the Colloquy at Marburg: "Ihr habt einen andern Geist als wir," he would have even with greater emphasis applied to Ritschl.

Before closing this article, I wish to quote Dr. M. Valentine. In his "Christian Theology," (Vol. II. 138 f.) he writes with reference to the Ritschlian theology: (It) "sets aside the whole idea of a vicarious atonement by Christ, and makes forgiveness independent of such provision, and purely an unmediated action of God's Fatherhood. Its contention insists on remodeling the traditional church-doctrine of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice. It repudiates the legal relations and forensic character of justification, and asserts this to be, not an act of God as Lawgiver or

moral Ruler, but only as a gracious Father in simply paternal pardon. It denies that this fatherly Love needs to pay tribute to holiness in connection with remission, and teaches that 'the righteousness of God' to be maintained and exhibited in connection with it, is simply 'His self consistent and undeviating action on behalf of the members of his community' and is 'in its essence identical with His grace.' Christ's 'priesthood' is reduced to maintaining such a character and fellowship of piety with God as to have free and acceptable approach to Him in worship, prayer and intercession—which priestly function was accomplished through his example of sincere and trusting faith in the Father's ever forgiving love."

The most astonishing utterance on the part of Dr. Luthardt in his "Zur Beurteilung der Ritschl'schen Theologie," I find in the following sentence: "He [Ritschl] knows in general, of no personal relation to God and Christ in the proper sense." This was written whilst Ritschl was yet living. Whilst at first one is utterly at a loss to comprehend such a position on the part of a man, a teacher of the Christian religion, yet a little closer thought will satisfy one, that this is but the logical outcome of the combined religious thinking process of the man. With Ritschl the individual Christian is absorbed by the congregation, the "Gemeinde." And right here we see how closely he approaches the doctrine of the Roman church. The individual needs to have no personal relation to God and Christ, if he is in the Church, he is in the ark of safety. The layman in the Catholic church knows in general very little of a personal relation to God and Christ; it is all the relation to his priest. Indeed, Ritschlian ideas are the very opposite of those which Luther proclaimed when he brought the individual soul near to its God. In this individual longing for communion with God, in the agony of the consciousness of guilt before a just and holy One, in the struggle of that soul for forgiveness of sin, the Reformation was born. But these are not the things that concern Ritschl.

Frank of Erlangen had occasion in his day to speak to his students of the popularity of the Ritschlian theology. He told them that the secret of this was not great and could easily be explained. It was a theology agreeable to the taste. What did he mean by this? "Lehre und Wehre" gives the answer when

it says: "There can be no such a thing as repentance and conversion in the sense of the Church. In this theology one knows of no sin and of no grace, of no humble and contrite heart, of no anxiety for sin, of no pangs of conscience, of no new and right spirit, of no peace with God." (Vol. 41. p. 145).

Certainly a religion deprived of all these things, ought not to be burdensome to the natural man. It is easily seen how it may become popular in a short time. Need we be surprised to see how it has spread in Germany almost like wild-fire?

Ritschlian theology has gained quite a foot-hold in England and America. A prominent churchman on refering to this fact lately said, that it was introduced here to a great extent by American students, who had gone to Germany and studied under Harnack. Not a few of these now occupied professors' chairs in theological schools in this country. At the ecumenical conference of Methodists in Canada last year, it became evident that there was a wide divergence of opinion among the delegates of that church on theological questions. Dr. Carroll in an address pointed out the marked change that had taken place in late years in pulpit deliverances. Whilst formerly great stress was laid on the horribleness and the fearful consequences of sin and the boundless mercy of God and the glory of heaven, now a fascinating picture of Christ's love and willingness to sacrifice and the beauty of a moral and Christian life, without the dark background, on which formerly so much stress was laid, were the things emphasized.

But what has the new theology accomplished? What are its results? Alas! even some of its own advocates are beginning to have their eyes opened. Pfarrer Dr. Rittelmeyer of Nuremberg publicly confessed in the liberal organ. "Die Christliche Welt," that the millions of working men and the common people looked with suspicion upon the work of the liberals and that even among the educated classes, the number that had in any way been reached was exceedingly small. In "Der alte Glaube," we read this statement: "The Jatho-contention has made it clear that the whole work of Ritschl, of Hermann, of Harnack and their disciples has passed by the mass of our educated without leaving scarcely a trace."

Do we want that kind of theology in America? In our Lu-

theran Synods it has not yet found a foot-hold, as far as our observation goes. We earnestly hope that it never will. May every one of the ministers be ready to say with the great Apostle: "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed," Gal. 1:8.

Carthage, Ill.

ARTICLE IV.

STEPS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION.

BY PROFESSOR V. G. A. TRESSLER, D.D., PH.D. (LEIPZIG.)

No doubt most of us have been approached more than once with the inquiry, What is the best Bible to buy? The answer is not so easy, for it implies that there are different kinds of Bibles. This is somewhat startling. Yet it is true. There are different Bibles even in Protestantism. Here is a Handy Reference Bible, the Cross Reference Bible, the Chain Reference Bible and the Paragraph New Testament, and many others. Do you say, Oh, that is the same Bible after all? Not at all. They are types, all modern, of new bottles into which the old wine of the Scripture is poured, with the very laudable hope that it thereby will acquire if not a more piquant flavor at least a more attractive form.

Inasmuch as the giving of the true Gospel to men is the ever-continuing and the high present purpose of the Church, we naturally are interested in this flinging out upon the world of all these varied volumes. Nay, we are more than interested. For at once there is opened up to us a vista full of fear. What sort of Bibles are they anyhow? Who makes them? What New Testament Gospel do they tell? Who is responsible for their appearing? What is the motive of their wide dispersion? Who has written the "cross" and "chain" references? Men who believe Christ is the Son of God, or men who, though "ever learning, have never come to a knowledge of the truth?" Whose is the margin and the superscription, the reference and the gloss? Whose brain determined the punctuation and consequent interpretation in cases where originally there was no marking at all, and where a variation of punctuation meant a change in statement? For it is well known that in the autographs, or at least in the most ancient manuscripts, not only is there no paragraphing or even division into sentences, but actually no word spacing at all, so that there are cases where, as for example Collossians

2:18, different words can be made out of the same passage.[1] Who has determined it?

In the indiscriminate flinging broadcast of unauthorized editions of the Scriptures is there not a real danger? Has not the Roman viewpoint a certain medium of weight?—No Bible to be issued apart from the sanction of the Church; that is, the text and notes must have the credentials of a body of men whose first interest is not the profits of selling, but the purity of teaching. For bear in mind the Bibles we have on our desk color our whole view of Scriptures if they are logically followed.[2]

From this general viewpoint, one may apprehend how many elements there are in the proper interpretation of the Word of God and at how much an earlier stage than one imagines such interpretative forces have their beginning.

Not only, therefore, must the whole Church give to this matter of Scriptural interpretation the most careful and constant attention but to us as Lutherans it is absolutely vital. We in the very nature of the case have far and away a greater necessity laid upon us to see to it that "the Word they still must let remain and not a thank have for it." For us the Book itself, in its character and nature, is settled. "The Finality of the Faith" as well as the source of that finality is to us no longer an open question.

Our propaganda is, as I take it, the presentation of the Christ of the Word, through the Word of the Christ. The collects, the hymns, the exposition of our teaching, and the General Synod's recent attestation[3] fix fast the Word in its meaning to us.

This is our interpretation, if you please. It is anti-subjective, anti-naturalistic, and extra-moralistic. That is, we interpret the Word as objective, supernatural and spiritual. But how do we know this? How do we arrive at this conclusion? For just as men get into the New Testament differently, so they get out of it different things. For instance, Prof. Eucken of

1 The Greek may be translated by one division of words, "gloating over things which he hath seen," or by another division, "walking blindly in the air," as it is ἃ ἑωρακεν ἐμβατευον or ἀερα κὲνεμβατευυν. Also Matthew 9:18, is it εἰσελθὼν or εἷς ἐλθων? In Matthew 16:23 shall we read ἀλλά or ἀλλ' ἅ.

2 Fortunately for us and the Gospel, men for the most part do not act logically.

3 See General Synod Minutes 1909, page 59.

Jena gets to the Word through his philosophy, now so much translated and spoken about. Missionary Warneck says the South Sea Animists get their first view of Christ not through a sense of sin but of a savior from *fear,* and thence only, their idea of their sins and of a savior therefrom. The New Testament itself shows how one man gets to the Word through his volition[4] and another through the translation of will into action,[5] and still another through true cognition.[6]

These different attitudes of men in their initial attempts upon the Kingdom of God, make natural other attempts, when they have entered that Kingdom, of apprehending that Word. But there must be a norm by which, under and through sane and demonstrable processes, this same Word shall have always and in all places the same definite message to men. Can we find such basic principles of interpretation? Yes, the Church has already at least in part done so.

The first step to such accredited interpretation is the securing of an adequate text. "The Word Written" depends for its significance on what WAS written. The Church has not been slow to understand this. It has in a general way for centuries, but with a very special emphasis in these last years, put all the wealth of its scholarship at the command especially of the New Testament text. They have ransacked all lands in collecting of manuscripts until there have been found over 5,000 of them, ranging from the tenth century back to the early part of the third. Gregory catalogues 1420 for the Gospels,[7] 514 for the Acts, 515 for the Pauline letters, and 185 for Revelation. This is a very remarkable showing when compared with the manuscript basis of other ancient writings. The tragedies of Aeschyles have but about 50 manuscripts, while much of "Tacitus' Annals" has but one.

The New Testament is in equally favorable light when considered with reference to the small interval of time elapsing between its autographs and the earliest manuscript which we pos-

4 Rev. 22:17, "And whosoever will, let him take."

5 John 7:17, "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine."

6 Eph. 3:19, "And to know the love of Christ that passeth knowledge that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God."

7 Gregory, Text Kritik des N. T., B'd 1, 1900.

sess. The Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts are probably of the fourth century. Thus only 250 years from the time of Christ. But the earliest manuscript of Demosthenes is 1200 years after his death. Plato's Apology 1300 years after Plato. The oldest manuscript of Sophocles is 1400 years after that great tragedian's death. And Euripides' tragedies come down to us separated by no less than 1600 years from the days of the living dramatist who wrote them.

Thus the New Testament stands entirely apart in the wealth of its documentary attestation, both as regards their number and the age of its witnesses.

Neither time nor space permit more than a mere mention of the additional certification given to the text by the early translations made already in the second century to equip the early missionary church which with reckless enthusiasm went North, South, East and West preaching the Gospel, and *always* in the language of the people. The codification of these witnesses, especially the manuscripts, is even to-day the field of hundreds of expert scholars, while still other manuscripts are constantly being uncovered. Since Tischendorf made his romantic discovery of the Sinaitic manuscript in 1859, there has been a succession of advances towards, if possible, a still more solid New Testament basis. The very oldest piece of New Testament manuscript is a leaf from the second century, discovered by Greenfel and Hunt at Oxyrhyncus in 1896 and containing parts of Matthew. Still more remarkable is the find in Egypt of a complete codex of the Gospels, from the fourth or fifth century, now in possession of C. L. Freer of Detroit, Michigan.

Of versions or ancient translations the very finest and oldest copy we have, is the ancient Syriac Testament which was made about 200 A. D. In addition to this, for the first time, we have since 1888 an Arabic translation of Tatian's Diatessaron, to which scholars attach the very highest importance in the certification of the text of the New Testament.

Besides these very valuable new discoveries, one may say with truth that the most valuable of the *older* manuscripts have been really newly discovered. In 1898 for the first time the Codex Sinaiticus was satisfactorily photographed and since then issued

by the Clarendon Press.[8] In 1904 the Vatican Codex was excellently photographed at Milan. Among the versions the Old Latin K, written in North Africa, representing the text of the Gospels used by Cyprian of Carthage in the third century, was published at Oxford in 1886. Hundreds of new and old manuscripts have been examined and catalogued by Prof. Gregory of Leipzig and Prof. Von Soden of Berlin within the last twenty years.

In addition to all this, the early church fathers, through whose copious quotations the New Testament of the first centuries is brought so clearly to our vision, are being edited with critical skill in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum of Oxford, 1886. Thus is seen what great advance has even in the last generation been made in this first step of New Testament interpretation which is the settling and securing of the accurate text written by apostles and their contemporaries.

When once the text is before us on a good printed page, *the next step in ascertaining the meaning which these pages convey, is an intelligent and proper apprehension of the language of the New Testament.* It goes without saying that this is a most difficult and delicate task. Greek in itself is a mine of linguistic subtlety. But then we have come to find out that our New Testament Greek is more than Greek. Since the Rennaissance, New Testament Greek has been studied unremittingly. We need only name Erasmus to understand this. The best brain and heart of educated Christianity have wrought at this point. In the seventeenth century there was a sharp passage at arms between the Purists and the Helenists. The first claimed absolute classic purity for New Testament Greek and "regarded it a sacrilege to hold that the Holy Spirit should dictate a gospel in any inferior style of Greek prose."[9] The Hebraist pointed out the large number of passages which seemed to be entirely made up in Hebraistic style. This Hebraistic view gradually gained ground. In the end it, too, took a position adverse to a real scientific knowledge of the Greek, holding that "the Holy Spirit demanded a select idiom, which the dogmatists soon assumed." But in

8 Wittenberg should have a copy.
9 Angus—Recent Christian Progress, 1909.

spite of this the constantly advancing work of classic philosophy soon proved beyond peradventure that the language of the New Testament was anything but classical, in either style, vocabulary or grammar. Some called it "pigeon Greek."

But in 1822 Prof. Winer published his New Testament Grammar, a work of tremendous erudition, but which while finding and pointing out the many eccentricities of New Testament Greek yet failed to find any principle of organic construction. Then came the study by German scholars like the Schlegels and Herder of Comparative Grammar and the consequent relation of languages. This gradually brought about a change of view. The New Testament began to be studied in its language and expression, not by way of contrast, but by way of contact with others. With this came, after slow tentative investigation, a real revolution in our apprehension of New Testament Greek. We are still in the revolutionary period. But there is no question as to the results.

To Dr. Adolf Deissman, now of Berlin, the New Testament world owes this. He finds, and scholarship is accepting the principle of his "finds," that the New Testament Greek is neither Septuagint Hebrew, nor classic Greek nor yet vulgar doggerel. It is, on the contrary, the Greek language as it was spoken by the common man of that day. The early Aramaic of Palestine soon fell away as Christianity grew into world dimensions. So the New Testament became a Greek book. What Greek was it? Not Attic, Aeolic, Doric or Ionic. The Empire had unified a Greek tongue and caused it to be used for commerce as well as literature. These world Greeks were in business, as canny as a Scot and as thrifty as a German. It was this, κοινη' Greek which the writers of the Gospels used. The view of Prof. Blass of Halle, given out as late as 1894, "that New Testament Greek was to be recognized as something peculiar following its own laws,"[10] has been forever laid aside. The floods of ordinary writings such as copy books, contracts, wills, letters and incidents which have in these very recent years been exhumed prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the New Testament is written in the colloquial language of its time. And there was nothing isolated about it. It was not an esoteric religion and hence needed no

10 1894, Theol. Lit. Zeitung.

esoteric language. Almost numberless expressions of New Testament type are found in current use. New meanings become apparent. New life is added to the translations. Luke 9:2, "Take nothing for your journey, neither staff nor wallet, nor bread nor money," what is meant by wallet? a travelling bag such as ours? Scarcely! But a Greek inscription of the Roman period has been found in Syria in which a slave is speaking of a successful begging expedition in which he returned with 70 bags, that is, begging bags.[11] Thus the admonition is plain, take neither bread nor begging bag. Scores of illustrations of this sort meet us in "Light from the Ancient East.[12]

Deissman shows how with the aid of papyri and inscriptions there is a resuscitated past "from which the common people have suddenly risen again from the rubbish mounds of their ancient cities, little marked towns and villages."[13]

[14]"From whatever side the New Testament may be regarded by the Greek scholar, the verdict of philology based on contemporary texts of the world surrounding the New Testament will never waver. For the most part the pages of our Sacred Book are so many records of popular Greek in its various grades. Taken as a whole, therefore, the New Testament is a book of the people. Hence we say that Luther in taking the New Testament from the doctors and presenting it to the people, was only giving back to the people their own. We enter, perhaps, an attic room in one of the large cities, and if we find there some poor old body reading her Testament, beside the fuschias and geraniums on the window sill, then we feel that the Old Book is in a position to which its very nature entitles it. Think, too, of the Japanese New Testament found by a Red Cross sister in a wounded man's knapsack during the war between Russia and Japan, that was also a grateful resting place for the Old Book.

We go further, and say: this great Book of the People ought really never be published in sumptuous editions with costly engravings and expensive binding. The Egyptian potsherds with gospel fragments, the Pater Noster from Megares, are in their externals more in keeping with the character of the New

11 Expository Times, Nov. 1906, p. 61.
12 Deissman, English translation Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1911.
13 Ex. Times, March, 1911.
14 Deissman, Light from Ancient East, 140-141.

Testament than the proposed double crown Bible and the other editions de luxe bought by rich German godfathers for confirmation presents. The plainer the cover, the more modest the type the coarser the paper, the nearer the pictures come to the style of Dürer or Rembrandt, the more fitly will the great Book of the People be arrayed.

The Book of the People has become, in the course of centuries the Book of all mankind. At the present day no book in the world is printed so often and in so many languages as the New Testament. From the people to mankind at large; historical philology establishes the casual connection underlying this development. The New Testament was not a product of the colorless refinement of an upper class that had nothing left to hope for, whose classical period lay, irretrievable, in the past. On the contrary, it was, humanly speaking, a product of the force that came unimpaired, and strengthened by the Divine Presence, from the lower class (Matt. 11:25; 1 Cor. 1:26-31). This reason alone enabled it to become the book of all mankind.

And so the simple texts on stone, papyrus and earthenware have helped us, firstly, to a knowledge of the Sacred Volume on its linguistic side, and then, by that means, to no small understanding of its most distinguishing characteristics. A new ray of light falls on its history among the nations. The New Testament has become the Book of the Peoples, because it began by being the Book of the People."[15]

Again Deissman says, "A Book from the Ancient East, and lit up by the light of the dawn—a book breathing the fragrance of the Galilean spring, and anon swept by the shipwrecking northeast tempest from the Mediterranean—a book of peasantry, fisherman, artisans, travellers by land and sea, fighters and martyrs; a book in cosmopolitan Greek with marks of Semitic origin—a book of the Imperial age, written at Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Rome—a book of pictures, miracles, and visions, a book of the village and the town, book of the people and the peoples—the New Testament, if regard be had to the inward side of things, is the Great Book, chief and singular of human souls. Because of psychical depth and breadth this book of the East is a book for both East and West, a book for humanity; a book ancient,

15 Light from the Ancient East, pp. 141-2.

but eternal. And because of the figure that images from the book—the Redeemer, accompanied by the multitude of the redeemed, blessing and consoling, exhorting and renewing, revealing himself anew to every generation of the weary and heavy laden and growing from century to century more great—the New Testament is the Book of life."[16]

Undoubtedly we must allow in the above for the enthusiasm which naturally belongs to a discoverer, naturally also we will find other and deeper motives for New Testament life. Yet without doubt the new apprehension and the definite grounds for a truer interpretation of the Gospels and Epistles, furnished us by Drs. Deissman and Moulton and others is a real step in advance which ought to be recognized not only by scholars, but first of all by those whose business it is in life to be the preachers of the Gospel.

If now we have on the one hand the pure first written text of the New Testament, and on the other the key to unlock the language in which that writing is furnished us, *the next step to be taken in securing a proper interpretation can be none other than that of a true and vivid translation.* Each people taking the purely ascertained text and using the skilfully discovered principles of New Testament Greek interpretation, must carry that high and holy thought intended for men over into its own tongue with the greatest possible truth and vividness.

Truth requires and insures, between the final phrase of the translation and the Greek phrase of the original, an absolute quantitative and qualitative likeness of meaning. Vividness requires and insures that the truth thus conveyed shall breathe and move and kindle fire. This in a sort of undefined way the Church has always assented to, and it has therefore been in its best periods a translating Church. Naturally so, because first of new light on the text itself and again on account of the swift and continuous change in a living language vocabulary. An old translation in any really living language ceases to be an interpretation at all, or, as in many cases, rather a falsification than an interpretation. When we read "in the morning shall my prayer prevent thee,"[17] what does the average congregation think, if it

16 Light from the Ancient East, pp. 399-400.
17 Psalm 88:13.

thinks at all? Or are we not guilty of a sin of presumption when we solemnly affirm "I prevented the dawning of the morning?"[18]

Dare we not have a more dignified reading of Romans 6:6, which refers to our most sacred relationship with Christ, than we have by speaking of "our old man?" The student understands full well that it means old self or old nature. Then why not say so?

Shall we translate Hebrews 11:1, "Now faith is the *substance* of things hoped for, the *evidence* of things not seen," with King James, or "Now faith is the *assurance* of things hoped for, a *conviction* of things not seen," with the Revisers; or yet with the twentieth century New Testament, "Faith is the *realization* of things hoped for, the *proof* of things not seen?" For here we have a distinction with a difference. And we dare not be careless in this matter; not according to our theology. For it is the truth of God we are handling, that word "alive and energizing and sharper than any edged sword."

In truth, we must do to-day what the Church of the first centuries did for its age. What did it do? Just what it has always done since then when true to its spirit and alive to its mission and sound in psychology. That is, it conserved its religious influence by yielding its mother tongue of Aramaic and Greek and adopting the language of the people whom it wished to win. It dropped its Greek, but it saved its faith. It lost its Hebrew but it won its way to empire. What a pity that since then we have often been less far-seeing. Our splendid Scandinavian and German fathers have not always been able to see that the saving of the faith to their children and to the world is the royal privilege and task of the Church, and not the saving a language, however tender to the heart and efficient to the intellect that language may be. The Church of the Anti-Nicene fathers put first things first. They thought and fought for one thing, that men might confess with their lips the Word Incarnate, even the Lord Jesus, and believe in their hearts that God hath raised Him from the dead. To do this, they had to interpret the word written. Therefore the translation into Syriac in the East or Latin in the West or Coptic in Egypt. Those were great days in the Church. Its children were great messengers, for they were great transla-

18 Psalm 119:89.

tors and thus they kept the Word ever fresh in their hearts and habits. The Church's advance through the centuries is regularly paralleled by a constant, ceaseless translation of the Church's New Testament. Why? Merely because it is the Spirit's interpretation of the Word.

Therefore the necessity is upon us The age feels it. The Temple Bible, the Readers Bible, the Twentieth Century New Testament and many more, either by fresh translation or wise and pointed paragraphing and allusion, seek to quicken New Testament interpretation. In German the "Probebibel" and new translations by Prof. B. Weisz, Profs. Keutsch and Weiszsacker and Dr. Boehmer have followed one another in rapid succession. A new Spanish revision under way for seven years was completed last summer. And not only are more perfect revisions being made in the languages of the great nations, but the interpretation is still going on by many first translations. In 1910 a first translation of Matthew was made for the French Congo natives. St. Matthew and St. John were newly given to the natives of English New Guinea. St. John published for the tribes of New Caledonia, St. Luke for the New Hebrides and a complete New Testament for 3,000,000 natives of Abyssynia. All this in 1910. The interpretation is going on. And must go on to the end. Not only in printed translation but in those which each student makes for himself when with grammar and lexicon he sits down before his Greek New Testament (this applies also to the Hebrew Old Testament) and seeks the treasures from the depths, treasures thus personally his own.

And, while we do not take lightly to a new turn in some verse which we have learned long ago in the home circle at mother's knee or through father's admonition, yet they are necessities laid upon us. When a new cast is given to some old endeared Biblical phrase, it must come the first time with a distinct shock to the reader or hearer. It is the heart clinging to old word associations that makes the going away of an old translation, however defective it may be, a slow and really painful process. The introduction of a new and perhaps much better translation is thus only accomplished by the lapse of time and the recognition of its merit.

King James' Version, majestic in its gigantic advance over its English-speaking predecessors, must now give way, and

rightly, to revisions made to-day for men of to-day, who know the turns of their mother tongues' present phrasing and who also have the accumulations of several centuries of advanced knowledge in the field of those languages in which the Word of God first came to men.

What is true in English is equally so in German. The Luther translation, which fixed the German language in the hearts of Luther's people in a way unparalleled in history, has had to yield to quickening knowledge. When Luther sent forth from the presses his first edition in 1522, it may be said that he produced at once a nation, a language and a religious revolution. But he did not stop with one simple translation. He himself put out no fewer than eleven editions of the Bible, working at it up to the very year before his death. He knew its value to interpret. All these new translations succeeding one another are no loss, but rather a constant rebirth of the Word. It may be painful. But we must yield the words for the sake of the Word. To a Lutheran the material is always above the formal. The formal word is there only that the material Word may come to us, that the material Word may live in us.

After all, if we are unwilling to change our translation when new knowledge of the original is heaped upon us as it now is, and when the very life of our present language causes a constant change in the old meanings of words, then we are untrue to the very principle of the Reformation. Luther spent years to fit himself to put the Bible into the hands of the people so they could get its meaning.

If then we insist on an outworn translation made without access to the materials now in our hands, and made when our own languages were not really the tongues of to-day, then where is our superiority to the Roman Catholic? He prefers the Latin because it is a "holy language" and has the sanction of centuries of Church usage. We deny that claim and we plume ourselves on the Word in the tongue of the people, while at the same time we may use so antiquated a type of that tongue that our position differs from that of the Romanist not at all in principle, but only in degree.

We need always to have the logical courage of our Evangelical and Protestant convictions, and we want to and are under solemn obligation to keep our Bible fresh as language allows, so that God

may speak to the man who will be spoken to, with perfect clearness and a distinctness undulled by anything at all. All our words, we yield them all as a treasure trove to God that He may tell us of Christ and the cross, just as He wants to tell us. What better things can best words tell, than things which make the angels glad, the very things of God!

So, honoring the old translation, we go on to the new with an utter unreserve of faith and love, ever impelled by the Spirit of truth towards the perfect fulness of the Word of Life.[19]

But no translation, however excellent, can in all places give a transparently clear understanding of the truth to be conveyed. As a consequence, the text being found, its language understood, and a translation made, the student yet finds himself in constant quandary as he earnestly strives to know the truth intended. The Apostles understand this. Peter, speaking of his "Brother Paul" says, "Wherein are some things hard to be understood." (Most students will agree with Peter in this matter). *Therefore, unless one wants to wander after every will o' wisp, he must find principles through which he shall be at least fairly successful in making exact and clear that which else is obscure or ill defined.*

Our countless commentaries are proof that these principles have not been easily discovered. Merely to name the varied methods of interpretation is to pass through much dry and barren land.

There was the Rabbinical interpretation of the Jews which transposed words into letters and letters into figures, thus losing all life in mere arbitrary and fanciful procedure.

There is the allegorizing of the ancient Origen and the modern Swedenborg, which, disregarding absolutely the primary and ordinary meaning of words, attach to them all manner of fanciful speculation. To these interpreters the Word has a "natural," "spiritual" and "celestial" meaning. I fear we are too "natural" to understand the "celestial," too little "celestial" to quite get the value of the "natural."

Here is the Pietist and the Quaker, who, casting all rules to

19 Tressler—*Lutheran World,* March 22, 1911, "The Making of the Bible."

the winds, follow only "the inner light." Thus he finally becomes his own oracle, a lamp unto himself.

There is the Rationalistic method of accommodation, which aims finally to relegate into the background all the supernatural, counting it a mere accommodation to the credulity of the times.

Here is the speculative theory of comparative religions, which, by a negative criticism, divests the narrative of historical value and resolves our New Testament truth into a mere co-partnership with other faiths and unfaiths.

We may add to this last of failures also the Dogmatic method of understanding our New Testament, by which a doctrine takes first place and compels the warping of alleged proof-texts in order that they may fulfil a task which was never given them of the Holy Spirit. This method inverts the true order of things, making doctrine the foundation of the Word, instead of the Word the foundation of the doctrine. In this case we have not exegesis, but eisegesis, not a reading out but a reading into. Lutheran theology being so broadly scriptural in its basis, does not need this strained exegesis.

Lutheran theology rests on the Word of God and not the Word of God on Lutheran theology. Indeed in a very real sense the Reformation was based on New Testament interpretation and the right of the individual self-interpretation. If this gave rise to the undue ascendency of reason, that has been once for all killed by Kant, "whose philosophy left reason impotent to judge of Scripture."[20]

A sanely spiritual analysis is the final solution. Technically we call it the grammattico-historical method. It puts us in the position of the writer and his auditors, asks us to live in their atmosphere of religious and secular thought and seeing the true picture puts us in possession of it. This demands both an intellectual and spiritual endowment. Specially that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, may give unto us a spirit of wisdom and revelation to the knowledge of Himself. Of course neither history nor grammar can ever fill the interpretative necessities of the New Testament. The Tübingen exegetes were quite correct when they insisted that there could be no proper Biblical interpretation apart from the historical founda-

20 Jacobs—N. T. Ex. Christian Progress.

tions. This is well enough in itself, but to it there should be added the supplementary principle that Scripture is really a spiritual message to the soul, a principle which in a one-sided way was urged by both Schleiermacher and Ritschl and which must ever be dominant in the Church.

These combined principles taken together with a proper modicum of confessional solidarity, have brought forth New Testament interpreters like Tholuck, Neander, Meyer the elder, Weiss, Godet, and now Sanday and Theodore Zahn.

These men find beneath the historico-grammatical principle a corrollary directive for that principle that was discovered by the Great Reformer. "What assures me that the Scripture is the Word of God?" asks Luther. Answer, "God must say to thee or thine heart, 'this is God's Word else it is still undecided.' Thou must be as certain that it is the living Word of God as thou art certain that thou hearest and even more certain, for on this alone must thy conscience rest."[21] Here we have the interpretative witness of the Spirit.

Now what is the objective fact to which the Spirit witnesses in the Word, and which makes it the Word? Luther says, "dass es Christum treibt," that it deals with Christ. Dorner states that the deciding principle according to Luther, as is well known, is this, whether it is occupied with Christ."[22] Now this principle of Luther may not be final in answering the question of admission of books into the canon, for the New Testament canon is settled and is not the matter of our discussion, but this principle of Luther's certainly is final and normative as a principle of interpretation. It is this: "What is the Scripture's message of Christ?"

"Herein agree," says Luther, "all the genuine Holy Books, that they all teach and exhibit Christ. This indeed is the right manner to test all books, if one sees whether or not they present Christ. For all Scriptures witnesses to Christ (Romans 3:21) and St. Paul will know nothing but Christ."

If thus we may consider Christ as the center in determining what goes into the canon, undoubtedly Christ must be the center in the determination of the ultimate principle of that which is to

21 The Bible, its Origin and Nature, Dodds, p. 39.
22 History of Protestant Theology, Vol. I, p. 251.

be deduced from Scripture. This principle is a perfectly safe one and has nothing in common with that now somewhat outworn cry, "back to Christ," the purpose of which is merely to eliminate the Apostles and their substantiation of Jesus as Lord. For we know that a real "Charisma" was given these same Apostles that they might officially reveal and interpret Christ. So that Paul could say, "I have the mind of Christ."[23] They thus indeed fulfilled in name the promise "Lo I am with you alway."

Yet when all these processes which have been indicated are seen and their varying principles of New Testament interpretation uncovered, it yet remains true that the Word is greater than any and all. The Word of God is not bound. The chief force of it is not as an authority determining our belief, but as a vital power "restoring the soul."

So for a true interpretation we need to be strengthened with might by His Spirit through the Word. The Word is not merely the words. But through the words Christ is to be made and is made manifest. He then is the successful interpreter of the New Testament who with an intelligent apprehension of the wise plans of procedure initiated by godly men of the past and present, can by personal assurance make men to know Him Whose Spirit quickeneth through the Word.

Springfield, Ohio.

23 I Cor. 6:13.

ARTICLE V.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.

BY CHARLES W. SUPER, LL.D.

Until near the close of the nineteenth century many students of the New Testament held the opinion that it was originally written in an esoteric or sacred language undestood by the initiated alone. While this might have been true of the Epistles it is not easy to see how it could be applicable to the Gospels as they were addressed quite as much to non-Christians as to Christians. Christ came to call, not the righteous, but sinners to repentance. When He began His ministry He had no disciples. Language is spoken and written to be understood. It implies not merely utterance but comprehension. Saint Paul had a clear perception of this fact. It is evident from what he wrote in the fourteenth chapter of First Corinthians that there was a controversy among those addressed about the language that should be used in preaching. He says: "What good shall I do, if I come to you and speak in tongues unless my words convey some revelation, or knowledge, or take some form of preaching or teaching?" "There is, for instance, a number of different languages in the world; and not one of them fails to convey a meaning. If however, I do not happen to know the language I shall be a foreigner to those who speak it, and they will be foreigners to me." The Corinth that Saint Paul knew was only about a hundred years old. It had been rebuilt by Caesar and settled by Roman veterans and the sons of freedmen. But there was likewise a strong Greek element among the inhabitants, and many other nations were represented. As is always the case with a heterogeneous population, its reputation in the matter of morals was very bad. There was, however, a vigorous Christian community in the city early in the first century. It is probable that the controversy referred to by the apostle was between those who spoke Latin and those whose native language was Greek. The Greeks always exhibited a marked aversion to learning any other tongue. The epistle does not decide which language shall

be used in worship; but it insists that it shall be conducted in an orderly manner. The words spoken shall be such as conduce to edification. There must be no strife or confusion. That Paul was deeply interested in the Corinthian Church is evident from the fact that his two letters taken together are the longest that he wrote and contain the most minute directions for recent converts.

The importance of being understood was strikingly exemplified by the rise of some of the minor, chiefly Methodist, sects, in Pennsylvania at the close of the eighteenth century. The preachers of the parent denomination used the English language. while the Lutherans and Reformed employed the High German. Dr. William Nast is regarded as the founder of German Methodism and he did not emigrate to America until 1828. There were many persons who did not understand the one language at all and the other but imperfectly It was among this class of people that the United Brethren and the Evangelical Association was formed. Otterbein was an educated man. It is doubtful whether he ever intended to separate from the Church of which he was a minister. But events took their own course. Many of these early preachers were illiterate, but they were in earnest. By their zeal and self-denial they made many converts. Few people will listen to preaching which they do not understand. It must come down to their intellectual level, if it is to make an impression. When a religion consists of mere ritual and ceremony like the orthodox Russian the language used makes no difference. It is not expected to influence anyone's conduct. Protestants have generally taken their religion too seriously to be satisfied with mere formalism. The effect produced upon many Pennsylvania Germans was amusingly illustrated in a case that came under my personal observation. In the winter of '60-1 I was teaching a country school in Juniata county. It came to pass that a native German preached in my school-house one Sunday. He necessarily spoke in High German. After the service one of his auditors remarked to a group of men of whom I was one that the speaker used such poor German as to make it difficult for him to be understood. This man simply exposed his ignorance; but he represented the point of view from which many persons regarded the services of the Church. To produce any effect on such people and to provide

them with spiritual food it was absolutely necessary to use the only dialect they could understand. Although most of them were fairly familiar with the phraseology of Luther's Bible the practical application of its truths had to be made in a language that came closer to them if it was to produce any effect. It grates harshly on the ears of an educated man to hear any language "murdered" in its grammar and its pronunciation; but the number of persons who suffered from this cause in this country a century ago, so far as the German was concerned were a small minority.

The conditions in the entire eastern world from the time of Alexander's conquests until well on to Mohammed's time seem to have been without a parallel either before or since. It is probable that most of the peasants used their native dialect. In the cities and towns this may also have been true to some extent. But in addition a great many persons must have known Greek besides. Most of the cities in Samaria were virtually Greek. In Lystra the crowd used the Lycaonian tongue when they cried out that the gods had come down to them in the likeness of men. Yet it is noteworthy that they called them by the Greek names Zeus and Hermes, although this may be a translation into terms the reader could understand. The Latin inscription on the cross was doubtless a mere recognition of the Roman official language. If it had been intended solely for information the other two would have been sufficient. The well known historian Flavius Josephus, was born in Jerusalem about A. D. 37. He did not learn Greek in boyhood; but the fact that he half apologizes for the omission is evidence that his case was unusual. He does not seem to have been outside of Judea before he was twenty-six by which time he knew Greek. Nor was he ever in any country where this tongue was native unless we consider Alexandria such a one. He tells us that he wrote his "Wars of the Jews" in his native Aramean, but immediately translated it into Greek with competent assistance. It is probable that a native aided him in matter of style. At any rate his Greek is irreproachable. The Roman educator, Quintilian, who was a contemporary of Josephus spent all his life in Rome. He recommends that his young countrymen be taught Greek systematically before Latin. Diodorus, surnamed the Sicilian from the land of his birth, flourished in the first half of the second cen-

tury. Greek was still the language of his native city although it had long been incorporated into the Roman empire. The future historian, however, learned Latin in early life so that he became hardly less proficient in it than in Greek. When he set himself to write his history of Rome in the preparation of which he had spent many years he chose Greek as the medium although the Roman empire at the time embraced virtually the entire known world. Still more remarkable is the case of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. He was a Roman of the Romans, born in the imperial city and a member of an illustrious family. He is not known to have been on Greek soil during his whole life. It is the usual experience of men that their most secret thoughts, their communings with self, take shape in the tongue of their childhood, because they are generally more familiar with it than with any of later acquisition. The philosopher-emperor does not record his meditations in the official speech of his native land, but in Greek. He evidently felt that through this medium his inner consciousness most truly revealed itself, although his countryman, Cicero, had taught Latin to speak eloquently and felicitously the language of philosophy and morals. One more case of a similar nature will suffice here where many might be cited. Dion Cassius was born in Bithynia about A. D. 150. He became a Roman official and later a senator. He conducted legal pleadings in Rome for many years and must have been hardly less familiar with the Latin language and its literature, by that time far from being considerable, than with Greek. Yet he wrote his extensive Roman history in the latter language.

There are several points of similarity between the career of the two modern standard translations of the Bible and the originals of the New Testament. But there are also important differences. In a sense Luther was the creator of the New High German. He himself tells us how he proceeded. However, as the language of the German chancellery dealt chiefly with political affairs it must have furnished him with the form rather than the substance of the speech he employed. Many of his terms evidently come from some other source. His translation, like the Greek of the New Teestament, became the basis on which subsequent theological discussion in the vernacular was built up. The Romish Church, however, from the first persistently refused to recognize it. Although the Septuagint was thoroughly famil-

iar to the writers of the New Testament, it did not provide its entire vocabulary. Neither the Septuagint nor the New Testament exhibits the same unity of style that is so marked a characteristic of both the German and English translations. Luther appears in almost every verse of the former and the entire work bears the stamp of his overpowering personality. When we consider the magnitude of the undertaking and the obstacles to be overcome the conviction is forced upon us that we have here the most remarkable achievement in the annals of literature. Luther's education like that of his coadjutors was conducted almost entirely in the Latin language; and while he never wrote it with elegance he was fluent in it with tongue and pen. The unique merits of his work become particularly evident when we remember that until the appearance of Lessing, Germany can not be said to have produced another writer who had at command all the resources of the German tongue while Latin continued to be the language of scholarship long after his time. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were neither grammars, nor dictionaries, nor commentaries, nor other helps worthy of the name for the study of either Greek or Hebrew. The printed page so closely resembled manuscript as to be hardly distinguishable from it. The Erasmian text was almost the only circumstance that was favorable to the translator. In view of these difficulties and of others that might be enumerated the wonder is not that Luther made mistakes but rather that he made so few. On the other hand, the English language was fully formed before King James' translators entered upon their task. Besides, the Latin never had the vogue in Great Britain which it attained in Germany, and the translators had several good models for their version. That there were so many men engaged upon the work was a drawback. In view of this fact it is a good deal of an enigma how they attained such a remarkable unity of style, a characteristic that is almost always lacking in works that are due to collaboration. It has recently been maintained with some show of reason that the translators turned over their product to Sir Francis Bacon, the greatest intellectual force of his time and that he revised it from beginning to end

There are some hundreds of words in the Septuagint that had not previously been written down by anyone, and there are many in the New Testament that appear for the first time. They were

doubtless in common use. When we ask where they came from we have no answer. Children learn to talk from their early associates, who in turn learned in the same way, and so on nobody knows how far back. All languages were at first only spoken. In the time of Christ there were very few written languages; at present there are not many. When Wulfila, about A. D. 380, undertook to translate the Bible into the oldest dialect of the German now known he had not only to reduce his mother tongue to writing but even to invent an alphabet. Many people speak one or more languages without being able to write, and sometimes more correctly than those who have acquired the art. It is not necessarily a sign of a narrow intellect if one has a limited vocabulary. Illiterates make use of one word in different senses where an educated man employs several. Our familiar vocable *make* is current in more than a hundred different significations. There are less than nine thousand words in the Hebrew Bible including proper names. What a variety of matter it deals with and how many different thoughts it expresses, often with the minutest shades of meaning! It gives us history, prophecy, laws, proverbs, prayer and praise. It is plain that both the Seventy and the writers of the New Testament used some words in a sense which they did not have in the classical authors. They were spiritualized and applied to specific conditions; but the general structure of the language is the same.

We have in the Latin word *testa* a familiar instance of the process by which a word that was originally considered vulgar passed into reputable speech and displaced its patrician brother It means a "pitcher, jug, or any similar vessel of baked ware." It was also used to designate a potsherd, and still later was applied to the skull. At the next stage of the evolutionary process it came to be employed to designate not only the skull but the head, and *caput,* the proper term, was disused altogether. Hence we find it in some form in nearly all the Romance languages taking the place of this word. When accordingly an Italian says "testa," or a Frenchman "tete," unless he is acquainted with the history of the term, he is not aware that it was originally no more respectable than our "calabash" sometimes playfully said of the head. At the present time no one hesitates to employ the word "pluck"; in fact it could not be easily dispensed with. Yet in 1827 Sir Walter Scott apologized for

writing it because it was a "blackguardly word." *Noddle* is now eschewed as low. In old English, however, it occurs frequently to designate the back part of the head or the head as a whole. There are at least seven hundred words in the authorized version of the Bible that are now regarded as obsolete, or have a different meaning from what they had three hundred years ago. For most of these others have been substituted in recent versions.

The ancient Greeks like the Jew were a roving people; perhaps more so. Owing to this fact Greece was more thinly populated during the first Christian centuries, if not earlier, than when it was free. Both Greece and Palestine were small countries; both were infertile; neither was capable of supporting the increasing population, to say nothing of the frequent and devastating wars that drove the inhabitants abroad. Some times victorious autocrats forcibly expelled the residents of a place or transplanted them at will to another. The Greeks however, differed in one important respect from the Jews. When the latter migrated it was generally by families so that wherever they settled they founded new homes. On the contrary family life hardly existed among the Greeks. The able-bodied men often sold their services as mercenaries to the highest bidder leaving their wives and children at home. The Jews considered themselves a peculiar people, as did the Greeks, but in a different sense. The latter did not try to proselyte. Their pre-eminence was a matter of birth; a man could not be a Greek unless he was to the manner born. The Jews tried to make proselytes. Christ testified to their zeal in this regard, but its effects were of more than doubtful value. With the former nationality was the important factor; with the latter, religion. The Greeks were less bigoted than the Jews. That many of the first Christians were Greek is evident from their names as reported in the New Testament and elsewhere. There does not seem to have been among the church fathers a single Jew. The Jews were the chief enemies of the new religion. The Greeks were inquisitive, keen-witted and tolerant. When anything new was brought before them they wanted to examine it; if a new doctrine, to hear it discussed. On the moral side their ideas were very lax. The story of the woman taken in adultery, found in Luke and John, illustrates the Jewish attitude of mind toward the class to which

she belonged. Most of the Greeks were concerned with private immorality only in so far as it led to public scandal.

It is now admitted that a knowledge of Modern Greek is an important aid to a comprehension of that of the New Testament. I may here call attention to a custom of long standing that still prevails in Greece. In the lexicon of Mitsotakis the words are marked "written" and "colloquial," by which designation the author means that the latter do not belong to good usage, that is, usage sanctioned by a self-constituted literary aristocracy. On some pages of the volume more words are marked colloquial than are marked written. Here we have undoubtedly the same principle of selection and exclusion that prevailed more than two thousand years ago, a principle that is, moreover, recognized to a greater or less extent in all languages. When W. C. Bryant was in charge of *The New York Evening Post* he kept hung up in the editorial room a list of words numbering about sixty which writers and reporters were forbidden to use. Most authors have an antipathy to certain words and phrases and never employ them. The Greek and Roman purists went further and carefully avoided all words not found in the standard literature, thus ignoring the well known fact that living languages are in a constant process of change. The New Testament writers betray no knowledge whatever of the classical writers; yet they knew Greek well. We are perhaps not even justified to infer that the terms used by some and not by others are localisms. They were probably an integral part of the current speech and simply did not happen to come into the mind of the writer, or were not necessary for what he had to say The classical Greek, for example has no word for *will.* The concept implied in the term can be expressed, but it must be done by means of a phrase. The New Testament uses *thelema* frequently and *thelesis* once. These words are correctly formed from a genuine Greek root.

What has been said above of Wulfila is true in an eminent degree of the Homeric poems, except with this difference: the latter embrace a vocabulary of more than eight thousand words, perhaps the entire Greek language of their time, while of the Gothic Bible only about three thousand words have been preserved, as most of the translation has been lost. They were not written down until long after they were composed, but transmitted orally from generation to generation. Greek is a com-

paratively pure language and therefore different from all modern languages, their vocabulary being in a continual process of enlargement from loan-words. In the New Testament, besides the proper names, there is not over a score of words borrowed from the Hebrew; such was the marvellous resourcefulness of the Greek. When called upon to set forth the new doctrines it was fully adequate to the task. The rapid spread of the Greek from very early times was owing to its merit, to the circumstance that it bore a message the people wanted to hear. Its dissemination was not due to its being the bearer of a new religion like the Arabic; nor to its being the official language of a strong government like the Latin. Government by Greeks was everywhere a failure. Neither did their religion have a priesthood to whose interest it was to conserve the language that embodied its "sacred oracles." It was a noble tongue and the depository of all human knowledge for many centuries.

Although the Jews of the Diaspora kept in touch with their co-religionists in Jerusalem, they forgot their language to a considerable extent in the course of time. Wherever they went they usually found that the Greek had preceded them. In order to provide a bond that should hold together the widely scattered communities a succession of scholars turned the Old Testament into Greek between 330 and 150 B. C. It has already been mentioned that the citations from the Old Testament found in the New are from their version. But as these citations are not literal, it is evident that they were made from memory and addressed to persons who were familiar with it. Manuscripts were not often in private hands. The case of Philo the Alexandrian Jew is particularly illuminating. He spent his entire life trying to make the Gentile world, but particularly the Greeks, familiar with the religion of his people. He seems to have had a good deal of influence on John's gospel, as the Logos-doctrine of the two writers has many points of similarity. Yet it is doubtful whether he fully understood the Old Testament in the original. So far as any influence upon the Greeks is concerned Philo's labors were in vain. To a Greek trained in the classical authors the style of the Septuagint was a serious drawback. One does not need to be a profound Greek scholar to be able to recognize its defective character as a translation. It is not only inaccurate, but the diction is harsh, sometimes even to uncouthness.

Although there is some difference in the merit of its different parts, it is generally conceded that none of the translations were made by native Greeks. That the Pentateuch ranks highest in literary merit is not to be wondered at since a plain narrative presents few difficulties. That the Prophecies and the Psalms stand lowest was to be expected owing to the extreme difficulty of translating from one language into another the highly figurative imagery in which poetry and especially the poetry of the Bible is expressed. Everybody knows that most persons, without being very familiar with a foreign language, will prefer to read its masterpieces in the original rather than trust to a translation, even when they feel incompetent to make a translation themselves Yet many Jews trusted to the work of the Seventy to be the bearer of the religion of which some of them cherished the original texts with such scrupulous care.

Our knowledge of New Testament Greek has gradually been becoming more thorough by reason of the better acquaintance with the language of the era in which it was written, made possible by the discovery of numerous inscriptions of all kinds that have within recent years been unearthed in the East with almost startling rapidity. For a number of years past nearly every day has brought to light some new evidence. Then too the gradual development of Modern Greek out of the Koine or common tongue of the olden time has for a score of years been studied by competent scholars. It is not too much to say that the next generation will be in position to comprehend the social conditions of the first Christian centuries with a completeness that would have been considered impossible half a century ago.

Athens, Ohio.

ARTICLE VI.

THE MINISTER AND MODERN THOUGHT.[1]

BY REV. EDWIN HEYL DELK, D.D.

A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

I am glad that you have phrased my subject as you have. To have asked me to speak as a theologian on modern thought would have imposed a technical and professional task beyond my powers. The theologian must not only indicate the content and significance of any science and discipline as related to theology; he must know the processes and the technique of such sciences in order to properly value and schematize the whole religious problem. The preacher has just as important, but a more modest intellectual problem in the discovery of what the scientist, philosopher and historian have made sure in modern belief, and in the use of the accepted materials as the background and the atmosphere of all thinking and preaching. He must know the few large conclusions of modern thought and so relate them to the fundamental and permanent elements of religion that his preaching shall be vital and addressed to his contemporaries in education and culture. The minister may be no less a student, but he need not be so much a technical scholar as the theologian in order to fulfil his function.

The minister must do his work in his own age. He can not preach to past generations, nor can he make his appeal to men of the future. He is to be a herald in his own times. Not to know, then, what *his* age is thinking, its concerns, its interests in religion, theology, science and social philosophy; its beliefs concerning Biblical criticism, comparative religion, the ethical teachings of Jesus and the application of Christian morality to the economic regime, is to live in an intellectual vacuum so far as influencing one's contemporaries is concerned. Not to be influenced by these contemporary points of view is to lose connection and vital touch with one's age. Of course one can go on

1 Address delivered to the students of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg.

grinding away at the thought—problems and investigations of a past century. There are doubtless dogmas and controversial questions of confessionalism that can be debated to the end of time, but they are not the inspiring, immediate, vital problems of the modern scholar and leader in religious life. Such absorption and isolation of interest sweep one out of the main current of present day problems and leave the student stranded on the bank of a once vigorous stream.

To deny that modern thought has any new truths to offer is to deny the presence and leadership of God in thought and life. It is a kind of atheism. The gradual unfolding of truth, the progressive discoveries in astronomy, chemistry and biology, the patient investigations in anthropology and primitive beliefs, the gradual realization of democracy, the world-wide religious movements tending toward fraternity and the federation of the forces of Christendom are as real revelations of truth and the ways of God as the promulgation of the Mosaic law on Sinai or the Acts of the Apostles.

May I venture to say, in all courtesy, that the three years you spend in a seminary is a time largely separating you from the real, busy, contemporaneous world of thought and action. It is one of the limitations of many of our American seminaries, in distinction from foreign theological schools, that ours are out of touch with our universities and university life. What is gained by our privacy of study and concentration of curriculum is lost in breadth and contact with the thought and activities of a great modern university and with men of other professional studies. It is peculiarly important, then, for us to keep informed, through literature, at least, as to the assured knowledge and beliefs of all those disciplines which modify theological systems.

Modern thought, it is true, has no significance or standing save as it roots itself in older thought. A belief is not true simply because it is modern; but on the other hand a belief is not true because it is ancient. Conservation and progress are both essential notes in the scholarly temper. To be wholly either a conservative or a progressive is to fly wide of the mark of a healthful development in thought and life. The conservative temper is needed to hold fast to those assured truths which are of unquestioned worth in society, science and theology; but the progressive or radical temper is just as important, for it goes to

the root of things and lays bare the new truths which have been discovered in the investigation of literature, history and life. In one sense there is nothing new under the sun; in another sense all things are new by reason of the modern point of view of the abiding truths. The modern doctrine of evolution was *speculatively* anticipated and held by the ancients. Anaximander. Plato and Aristotle among the Greeks; Augustein, Erigena, Berns and Cusa in the Medieval period of history; Descartes, Leibnitz and Herder in modern philosophy; Kant, Schelling and Hegel, each in his own way believed in a development from lower to higher forms of the physical, social, institutional world. But it was by *intuition* not by *ascertained* facts that they reached their point of view. The practice of historical criticism is as old as Biblical study. Astruc, Eichorn, Colenso were higher critics long before the term was coined by modern scholarship. The Christian consciousness based on Christian experience, all through the later Middle Ages was made a point of departure in the valuation of Church dogma. Schleiermacher a hundred years ago made his immortal contribution toward such a theological system. The significance of comparative religions was recognized as early as the eighteenth century by du Perron. Max Müller in the nineteenth century gave us the famed translation of those Eastern Scriptures which afforded us the first bases of comparison, in English, with Christian thought. The social problems which bulk so large to-day in applied Christianity are as old as Plato's *Republic* and Sir Thomas Moore's *Utopia*. It is the further sifting, revaluation and additional knowledge which the modern scholar has brought to these older beliefs which present the problem of theology in a new light.

I wish to have you avoid a common misunderstanding on the part of the reactionist in theology. We must make clear the distinction between the fundamental material of theology and the contributary factors in the interpretation of the basal facts of Christianity. The primal Christian faith in God as the creative holy Person, the universal Father of mankind; in man as a sinful and severed child of God, capable of response to the Father's redeeming love; the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the world; the establishment and propagation of the Kingdom of God among all men; the gift of eternal life to all those who receive Christ as Saviour and Lord; and

the endless and heavenly life to be enjoyed after death by all His faithful servants—these cardinal and permanent beliefs of the Christian creed are inviolable and untouched by any and all modern interpretations of reverent and assured criticism. But as to the *method* and duration of the creative process; the origin of man's sinful nature; the nature of the union of the divine and human in the person of our Lord, the exact *theory* of the atonement wrought by Jesus Christ; and the character of the eternal reward meted out to various men—modern thought through science, historical criticism, philosophy and ethics has a modifying and illuminating word to say. The central objects of our faith remain, but a different interpretation of them has been forced upon us by the researches and conclusions of scholars in the various realms of thought.

There is another distinction which must be kept in mind in order to think clearly and avoid unnecessary contention with men who have not moved with the progress of intellectual and moral life. Men have confused the *source* of authority in religion with the *seats* of authority in religion. There is but one source of authority in religion—God. But He has given a threefold expression and commission to human life in the revelation of religious truth. He has revealed Himself in nature and in history. That revelation has come to us through men, in a Book, or books to be more accurate, which record His visitations and will for mankind; He has revealed Himself in individual consciences and experiences, some of which do not appear in a canonized group of writings, and he has revealed Himself in a religious society—the Church to whose authority He has committed the primal Christian truths and through whose communal life He has spoken His will. A clearer and fuller explication of these seats of religious authority will be given later, but it is essential in this initial chapter of our discussion to present this distinction and put ourselves in the proper attitude towards those who claim infallibility in all things—for a Church, a Book, or an individual Christian experience. God only is properly true and infallible. It is almost needless to point out that any denominational confession must be justified on other grounds than its antiquity or correspondence with the point of view of its age. The wise and humble framers of our Confession recognized that they could only formulate their "testimony"

of faith for their own age, and in good Protestant fashion bequeathed the right to coming generations to restate the Christian truths as the later age might see them. Confessions are not "the Gospel." The Bible is not "the Gospel," but contains "the Gospel." We insist upon our Protestant heritage of free investigation of the Scriptures in the light of all modern knowledge. Luther's was not the end, but the beginning of liberty in the application of history, reason, and Christian experience to the interpretation of the primal truths of our holy faith.

Let us consider some of those results of modern investigation which we should at least know, though some may refuse to apply them to our earlier theology.

EVOLUTION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS.

The first contributive factor in the interpretation of theology is our knowledge of nature. Let us be open minded and candid and we shall see that every theology unconsciously accepted the known science of its day—the prevailing world-view of phenomena, and incorporated it into its scheme of religious thought and writing. It would require too much space to illustrate this generalization, but from the earliest religious writing until now the contemporary knowledge of nature and man has formed the background, but not the substance of theology. Theology then must necessarily be modified in its form of expression by that knowledge of nature furnished by the scientific belief of the age. The earlier conceptions of the method of creation, the dualistic force in nature, the nature of man, have all undergone changes in the history of theological science. The unitary Nature of the force and method of creation by which God works and reveals Himself has modified all theology which shall persist and claim the allegiance of modernly educated men.

One has but to recall the earlier cosmogonies of Babylon and Assyria, the early Semitic modifications of the Assyrio-Babylonian traditions, and these Hebrew transformations in our New Testament idea of the universe to see how influential the gradual discovery of the facts concerning the earth's structure, growth and relation to the solar system has been in giving the setting to the permanent truths concerning God, the creation of worlds and man. The transition from the Ptolemaic to the Copernican

theory of the universe was the most momentous shift of scientific belief. When men came to believe that our earth was not the center of the universe, was not a flat plane around which sun and stars revolved, that the heavens were not a curved dome with windows through which the rain poured, that there was not an abode of the dead below the earth's surface, and that there were various superimposed stages above the sky reaching up to a throne, the background of belief in the creation method was changed. Not only the theologians but the scientists of that transition period of thought bitterly opposed the new view. But now we accept the new knowledge as a part of our theology. The later contributions concerning the limitless reach of space in which our universe floats, and the endlessness of time in which God has been at work, and is at work, in the perfecting of His world-plan have contributed mightily in the modification of our ideas of creation and providence. No longer do we think of the creation process as covering only six ordinary days, we do not base our chronology on Bishop Usher's computation as to the age of the human family. What is true in the sphere of astronomy and geology is true also in the spheres of biology and anthropology. The Hebrew tradition of how man was made has also been modified by later scientific research. What La Place, Kepler and Lyell did for us in astronomy and geology, Lamarck, the elder Darwin and Malthus began in biology and anthropology. The intuitions and guesses of the old philosophers and naturalists were subject to the rigid investigation, first of Wallace and Charles Darwin who simultaneously published the results of their studies on the origin of species. Darwin in 1859 gave to the world that book which laid the substantial foundation for all the later work for the theory of organic evolution. Evolution and Darwinism are not one and the same thing. Darwin, Lamarck, Wallace, Mendel, Weisman and De Vries and other contemporary investigators have offered varied explanations of the forces and factors of organic evolution, but however much they may differ in emphasis of the factors, they all agree upon a belief in a general advance in animal life by the transmutation of species, by reason of resident forces, acting upon environment and reacted upon in turn by the external conditions. Out of this "struggle for existence" came the fittest to survive. It is true that this

theory was once but a hypothesis. Every scientific truth was once held as a mere hypothesis. The belief in organic evolution, including the appearance of man, for the overwhelming majority of scientific men has passed out of the stage of hypothesis and has become the *working theory* of science. To quote a name here and there of some lonely man of eccentric or conspicuous character as opposed to the evolutionary theory of descent does not disprove our main contention that the theory of evolution is now accepted by the overwhelming majority of scientists whose opinions are worth anything on such a subject. Prof. Kellogg in his "Darwinism To-Day" has fairly and fully presented the objections of the one or two first-class biologists who still are looking for another explanation of how the various species have arrived in the order of animal life. It must be remembered that the men holding this belief in organic evolution vary in their interpretation of the physical factors and processes. There are found men holding varied philosophical beliefs, theists, materialists, idealists, Christians and agnostics who are evolutionists. The so-called "resident forces" include for many men a spiritual, vital, directive force in the group of agencies. Wallace and Le Conte are positive in their declaration that without a great, original, immanent first cause which has planned and now directs and energizes the whole procedure, biology can offer no rational or sufficient explanation of evolution. But just now we are not discussing the full explanation of the theory but its world-wide acceptance as a world-fact with which the theologian and preacher of to-day must reckon and adapt. A careful reading of such articles on evolution as appear in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Brittannica*--the most authoritative work in the realm of general knowledge, and the article on evolution in the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*—the best known and most widely used work in the modern minister's reference library, will convince any unprejudiced mind that the theory is here to stay and is unquestioned by the group of editors selecting representative specialists in the various sections of thought. As another concrete proof of the universal acceptance of the theory among men who count in biology, I offer this fact: that, so far as I can learn from a wide sent questionaire, there is not a college or university of the first-class in our country, or any European

country, where the theory is not either taught in course or is assumed in all teaching. Here is a typical answer I received from President David Starr Jordan, LL.D., of Leland Stanford University, one of the leading biologists of the United States: "There is no question as to the fact of evolution, the derivation of existing forms of life from earlier and different forms through natural processes. There is much question as to the relative value of the factors involved—mostly these four—heredity, variation, selection and segregation: especially the third." In reply to my second question: "Do you know of any first-rate universities or colleges where the theory is not taught?" he says, "No, there is none. A large number have special courses on the subject." He refers to Kellogg's *Darwinism To-Day* and Thomson's *Heredity* as the best two books for an up-to-date and popular explication of the theory. It would weary my hearers to quote from other men, holding commanding positions in university life, who are fully committed to a belief in evolution as the only rational explanation of the rise and progress of animal life. Wallace's latest book on "The World of Life" is the best popular expression of a theistic interpretation of the theory. Here the preacher is brought face to face with an undeniable situation. What will he do? What has the average theologian and preacher done in the past? I regret to say he has usually fought every advance in science, sought to minimize its significance, or played the part of the obscurantist while younger men convinced of the truth have become alienated from theology and the Church. This breach between the university and some theological seminaries is the most patent factor in deterring many of our best students from entering the ministry. Evolution, so long as we understand it to be God's *method* of creation, is as much Christian as the older belief in the instantaneous creation of man out of nothing or the dust of the earth. Prof. George Parke Fisher, one of the most conservative of Christian apologists writes in his new edition of "Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief," p. 444: "No theory of evolution clashes with the fundamental ideas of the Bible as long as it is not denied that there *is* a human species, and that man is distinguished from the lower animals by attributes which we know he possesses. Whether the first of human kind were created outright, or as the second narrative in Genesis represents it, were formed out of inorganic material, out of the

dust of the ground, or were generated by inferior organized beings, through a metamorphosis of germs, or some other forces,—these questions, as they are indifferent to theism, so they are indifferent as regards the *substance* of Biblical teaching. It is only when, in the name of science, the attempt is made to smuggle in a materialistic philosophy, that the essential ideas of the Bible are contradicted."

The real problem before us is to see how this doctrine of evolution must be related to the permanent elements in Christianity if we are to have a theology which shall command the respect of modern scholars and the informed public.

Theology proper is in most happy correspondence with the basal necessity of a theistic conception of evolution. Deism, on the one hand, places God in an attitude of transcendence which practically leaves nature to the operation of secondary, or natural, causes only. Pantheism, on the other hand, so identifies the being of God with nature that all distinction is lost in an impersonal imminence which nullifies all personality in God and man. Evolution as rationally conceived calls for a spiritual, personal, vitalizing, directing intelligence which is forever working and perfecting its creation. This being we call God. It is a remarkable fact that one of the most commanding present-day philosophers, Bergson, in his *Creative Evolution,* comes to practically this conclusion, though he stops short of designating the super-conscious power—God. St. Paul lends himself to this imminent activity of God in the principle expressed by his profound words: "In Him we live, and move, and have our being;" God "is in all, through all and above all."

As touching theology it gives us a vaster and more impressive scheme of development. The process is a vital unfolding in its main historical current of a goal realized in the individual man, the human race, and the Kingdom of God. It was this aspect of the evolutionary process which John Fiske, in his "Destiny of Man," set forth with such commanding skill.

The influence of the evolutionary theory upon anthropology is the point which will require the most delicate adjustment. This paper is not the place to develop any of these constructive adaptations of evolution to traditional theology but it would be disingenuous to avoid the evident implication which springs out of the new belief of the method of creation of man to the tradi-

tional interpretation of Genesis. If man's ascent was from a lower order of animal life, then the story of "the fall of man," as interpreted by theologians of the pre-evolutionary epoch, must undergo revision. Without relinquishing any of the sinfulness of sin, or even the doctrine of original sin, the so-called "fall of man" is a theory which must be re-examined both from an exegetical and philosophical stand-point. "The fall," on a careful examination of the opening chapters of Genesis, is by no means what it was currently supposed to be. It was rather the emergence of an innocent but ignorant creature into the full light of moral vision and ethical determination. It was the conscious, willful choice of a lower animal desire as over against a fuller communion with and obedience to the divine will speaking in the conscience of the emancipated man. For an exegetical and theological interpretation of this newer point of view, I urge upon my reader a candid study of a great book—"The Christian Doctrine of Man" by H. Wheeler Robinson (T. and T. Clark). How sin and the curse of sin entered human life is not identical with the *fact* of sin, or even the doctrine of "total depravity."

As touching the supernatural note in theology, President Garvie has this to say in substance in his article on Miracles in the latest edition of *The Encyclopedia Brittanica*:. "The doctrine of Evolution instead of increasing the difficulty of conceiving the possibility of miracles decreases it; for it presents to us the universe as an uncompleted process, and one in which there is no absolute continuity of the phenomenal or perceptible side; for life and mind are inexplicable by their physical antecedents, and there is not only room for, but need of, the divine initiative, a creative as well as conservative co-operation of God with nature."

As related to the Incarnation, the theory of Evolution is in strict accord with the Christian conception. The Incarnation is that fresh and unique irruption of the divine life of the Godhead into human history which is personalized in Jesus Christ. For a full and illuminating explication of this idea, I refer to *"The Ascent of Christ,"* by Griffith Jones, and the short but suggestive paragraph at the close of the article on Evolution in the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.* It is too soon even for a master mind to attempt the formulation of a complete Christian theology in the light of Evolution. Indeed I see that it is easy to overestimate its possible and necessary modification

of traditional theology, but that some constructive minds are called to this task is beyond question. One great, controlling idea it has stimulated in all theological as well as philosophical thinking, i. e., the immanence of God in the whole continuous and endless creative process. It has corrected that conception of God which separates Him from an active entrance into all human nature life. It has broken down a false dualism—the barrier between the divine and the human. It has shown us that a kindred life, a common life, a spiritual life, forever builds the human and divine; that there is ultimately but one spiritual nature—in man, sinful, repentant, aspiring, redeemed; in God, holy, constant, loving, self-sacrificial, forever cleansing and lifting humanity into communion and likeness to Himself.

HISTORICAL CRITICISM AND THE BIBLE.

Historical Criticism, no less than science and the philosophy based on the discovered facts of nature and anthropology, must be reckoned with if the modern teacher hopes to be a guide in the twentieth century. The inductive method applied to Biblical studies is inevitable. Just as the *a priori* method used in the study of nature has been superseded by a first hand study of the facts, so the facts of scriptural history, authorship, date of writing—must be studied not from the standpoint of authority, or what we think they ought to be, but as what they really were and are. The inductive method which was applied in geology, astronomy, anthropology and general history is now applied to all literature and religious expression. It is no longer a matter of choice; it has become inevitable to the modern mind trained in university life and the scholar's habit.

To confuse historical criticism as a *method* of bibilical investigation with the *results* announced by certain higher critics would be a wrong to truth and the uninformed public. I have no patience with those speculative, naturalistic critics of the Protestant camp, or those ultra-Modernists of the Roman communion who, carried away by some personal, subjective, fantastic theory of literary origins, tear to shreds the genuine and authentic deliverances of prophets and evangelists. But, on the other hand, I have no more sympathy with those timid literalists, holding to some mechanical theory of inspiration, who will not enter into a

free and frank study of the various books of the Bible themselves, and seek to prevent others from entering into the kingdoms of light. Such men are infidel to the Protestant principle. They are quite as much foes of the Bible and theology as the iconoclasts they attack. The material for aid is all around us. Reverent scholarship has been at work for a quarter of a century doing constructive work in Biblical criticism. There is now spread before not only our preachers but also our laymen the results of such biblical study. It is not only in the great religious encyclopedias, such as the *Biblica, Hastings, The New Schaff-Herzog,* but in the one volume editions of the same publishers, that the materials and results of modern criticism are brought to the consideration of every religious reader. Our ambitious and conscientious Sunday School teachers do not restrict themselves to denominational "lesson-helps" in the study of the Bible. They find in the appendices of their "Teachers Bible," in current religious literature, in modern preaching the material and attitude which sets them to thinking upon the fundamental problems of the authorship, the character, the purpose, the meaning, the time of writing and the relation of one sacred book to another. The writer or teacher who ignores this free and frank investigation of the Scriptures can not be a guide in our day and is likely to prove an obscurantist where he should be a leader in all truth. My own conception of Higher Criticism as related to the fundamental truths of Christianity I have tried to state in my little book *Three Vital Problems.*

There are critics and crtitics. With the philosophic presuppositions and results of some higher critics I am at widest variance. I find that many of the names of our great Lutheran writers and scholars of Germany are used to bolster up a reactionary attitude by a few American protagonists of the let-alone policy—a policy which Lutheran masters abroad utterly repudiate. Whether it is ignorance or fear which causes these fiery apologists to misrepresent the position of such men as Zahn, Seeberg, Beth, Grutzmacher, Hauck and Ihmels, I do not know. If these men do not practice the method of historical criticism as applied to theology, the Bible, Church History and Symbolics, then they have no method at all. To say that none of these great conservative masters do not professedly or by implication write from an evolutionary, inductive, psychological point of view

is to confess one's failure to grasp the whole background and the canons of their dialectic. Seeberg is typical of the group. He writes in the preface to his work on the history of doctrines: "Nor is it to be forgotten, finally, that Dogma is perpetually subject to ecclesiastical and theological interpretation, which proposes the *forms* suitable to each age, which can and do express the ancient *content* in the new forms, and which furthermore seizes upon and preserves the religious experience peculiar to its own age in the harmony of the ancient faith." In the foot note to this paragraph he says "This is in some sense true of the valuable thoughts of nearly all the leading theologians of the last century, e. g., Schleirmacher, Ritschl, Hofman, Frank." As for the general position of these men, Seeberg gives recognition to every science under the sun (see his "The Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion.") He accepts various conclusions of historical criticism, and his teaching on the Godhead has been regarded by able theologians as Unitarian, or at least as a form of Modalism. Zahn accepts and uses all the canons of historical criticism, though with results different from Harnack's. Ihmel's chief work is on Christian certainty which presupposes recognition of Christian experience, and he utilizes the results of historical criticism. Grutzmacher, a "modern positive," does the same thing, though his emphasis on Christian experience is perhaps less than Ihmels. Beth, like Grutzmacher, is a disciple of Seeberg; his chief work is on evolution, which he favors, and he is the ablest theologian in Germany in the natural sciences, fitted as no other is, to discuss the relations of theology to science. It is well for us to know that there are such writers and to read their works. But the truth is that some of them have been overpraised as theologians and thinkers. In my humble judgment Seeberg has produced nothing in theology which excels Fairbairn's *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology,* and his *Philosophy of Religion.* In the technique, material, style, and mental poise of English and American scholars we find as great, and as sure group of guides in purely theological writing as is afforded by any country.

There are certain accertained facts resultant from historical criticism which are generally accepted and which have modified theology. First, I would place the phenomonon presented by the action and reaction of the contemporaneous beliefs of the nations

with which Israel came in contact in her historical and theological development. On the whole she protected the cardinal beliefs in God, righteousness, sin, forgivenness and Messiahship from pollution. But that her writers adapted myth, and legend and allegory to her own ends; that her knowledge of the nature, character and will of God was progressive; that there was a struggling advance in moral ideals and practice, that the ideas of immortality, Satanic power, demonology and sacrificial cults were partly an inheritance from other peoples, in the common teaching of every modern writer on Jewish history and thought. Secondly, We must reckon with "The Documentary Theory" in Old and New Testament literature. It is a twice told tale that no longer do scholars attribute the writing of the Pentateuch to Moses. That much of the material may have been furnished by him is probable. But that the early chapters of Genesis, the traditional date of much of the legislation and the Temple cults, the description of Moses' death are divided from both earlier and later sources than was at first supposed is now self evident to every informed reader of biblical criticism. Modern research has made plain that there are at least three stages of Old Testament history which vary in character and historic accuracy. We find in the first chapter of Genesis early traditions of creation, either from Babylonian or prehistoric Semitic tribes adapted to the monotheistic belief of Israel. The ages described were marked by myth, allegory and primitive ideas as to the method of creation and the origin and distribution of tribes and languages. The second period—the patriarchal was bathed in an atmosphere of legend. The core of the stories was historic, but the note of legend and romance gave an idyllic and patriotic halo to the early partriarchal life of Israel. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, were actual personages, but their biographies move in the glow of an heroic idealism. From the time of Israel's settlement in Cana the gathering of historical data for religious purposes began. The art of writing had been known for a thousand years before in Babylonia, but it is sheer presumption to say that definite written records were kept of the patriarchal or early period of Israel's history. Every later century added definiteness to the sacred writings. True, we can never hope to clearly demonstrate the various sources which were utilized by the writers and redactors of the Old Testament,

but the readjustment of place and date and author does not destroy the value and significance of Old Testament teaching for the student of Christian theology.

In New Testament criticism the documentary theory has now its place. This is not the occasion to go into an explication of the priority of Mark's gospel, the core of Hebrew or Aramaic logia preceding and incorporated in Matthew's gospel, nor the sources mentioned by Luke in making up his report of the words and doings of our Lord. That the oracular and dictation theory of writing has disappeared and that the method of the historian's careful compilation from tradition and earlier documents has succeeded to the earlier theory of compilation goes almost without saying. The note of individualism is so strong in the synoptic writers that no theory of verbal inspiration is longer tenable. It is now clearly seen that St. John's gospel makes a different approach to the facts of Christ's life from that of the synoptic writers. History is not John's primary motive in reporting the words and deeds of Jesus. He gives us a theological interpretation of the facts, the words and person of our Lord. He acknowledges that he writes with a distinct theological purpose —"these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." Two memorable accounts of Socrates have come down to us. Xenophon in his Memorabillia recites the bare, outward facts and sententious sayings of the great teacher. Plato in his dialogues expounds the core of Socrates' teaching and suffuses the person of his Master with his own beautiful idealism. Something of the same interpretive character, the words and life of Christ receive in the writing of His devoted disciple, the author of the fourth gospel. Xenophon is no truer than Plato, but without the latter we should never have had the true portrait of Socrates. There is always a metaphysical, a supernatural background to every personality, and only a John with a soul akin to that of his Lord could rightly estimate the person of Christ. It is because the higher criticism has made clearer just such distinctions, limitations, insights and predictions in St. John, St. Paul, St. James, that theology owes an unspeakable debt to modern scholarship. It has set theology free from that tyrannous literalism and false idea of inspiration which made all attempts at the adjustment of theology with modern thought in history, science, and philosophy either impious or

revolutionary. It has taught us that the language of the Scriptures is fluid, pictorial and contemporary. It is true that we are not now in a position to project finished systems of theology, as writers of an earlier age did when they unhesitatingly used texts from any and all parts of the Bible to sustain the most abstruse doctrines of theology. The cocksureness of systems has been humbled in the light of the various values and meanings of the texts. The apriori or speculative method of theology has been greatly modified by the modern point of view. Prof Borden P. Bowne in his *Studies in Christianity,* says: "There will always be need of theology, but its field will be very much restricted in the future. The elaborate deductive constructions of the past will be abandoned as outrunning our data, and our knowledge, if not our faculties. But the theologian will always have the function of formulating our Christian ideas and adjusting them to the current stage of thought and knowledge. In this way our ideas will fit harmoniously into the existing intellectual and social order, and will have their proper influence. But the results thus reached are never to be stiffened into an orthodoxy which if any man hold not he shall without doubt perish everlastingly, or made into an article of the standing or falling of the faith. These results are relative to conditions. They have varied greatly in the past; they will vary greatly in the future. In few, if any departments of theology has finality of conception been reached. For instance, the problem of eschatology has hardly been rationalized or moralized at all, and awaits its adequate discussion. This, however, does not mean that everything is at sea, or even that anything of much importance is at sea; for still and all the while the Church believes in God the Father Almighty, in the Son, our Lord, in the Holy Ghost, the forgiveness of sins, in the Kingdom of God on Earth, and the life everlasting; and this is all that is essential for faith or practice."

III. CHRISTIAN CONSCIOUSNESS.

The third requisite for effective preaching is Christian experience. Without this first hand consciousness of Christian truth, trust and triumph, a man remains a mere echo or sounding-board of religion. Christian consciousness has its intellectual, its emotional and its ethical forms. Never has the mind as mind

been so thoroughly studied as to-day. Not only do the objective facts of science, history and literature furnish the phenomena and material of belief, but the processes of knowing, the nature of the emotions, the will, and the religious instincts are a component part of our beliefs and faith. There is a revealing *source*—God. There are *truths* to be imparted—by history and prophetic voice. There is a *receiving and apprehending mind*—mankind saved and unsaved. It is perfectly apparent that man's mind conditions the reception of the revealed truth. A mind in a low stage of development, a mind which has a half knowledge of the world in which it lives, a mind basely tainted with greed and lust of all kinds, a mind untouched by the grace of God, disturbs the revealed truth and can not become a true medium through which the divine nature can speak and shine. And further, the truth so apprehended and conditioned does not become a real possession and effective force until it is translated into personal experience. It is at this point that most men fail in the religious life—pre-eminently required by the preachers of the Gospel. The human is the channel of divine communication. God's revelation has been progressive because man has slowly been prepared for the reception of more sublime spiritual and moral truth, but in every age it is truth revealed in man and appropriated by man. This gives Christian experience which is the final and commanding authority in our lives. The Bible, the Church and the Reason are all channels or seats of authority in religion. The crux in the theological debate has been the false exaltation of one or another of these seats of authority. Certainly the final appeal in religious belief can not rest on any one of these factors divorced from the others. The Christian truths existed and were taught before the various gospels and epistles were written. The Church rejected, and accepted, sometimes arbitrarily, the various treatises that make up our present Bible, and she has always insisted upon interpreting the book which she has canonized. But in the final analysis the Biblical truths and the Church's Creeds and Confessions must be made real and vital by their personal revaluation and be experienced as religious facts before they command and compel the soul to submission and action. Knowledge must be made faith. The outward authority must become an inward authority before the reason and the heart are aflame

with light and holy zeal. It is from this inner spirtual citadel of the mind, conscience and heart that the questions of revelation, inspiration, conversion, regeneration and the eternal life receive their final interpretation, and ultimate illumination. The final appeal is made to the Christian consciousness. The attempt to corral all of Christian evperience under the head of Ritschlianism is futile and displays a most pitable ignorance of the history of theology. All through the mediaeval and modern period of theological history, though the infallibiliy of Bible and Church has been preached, there have always stood clear-eyed and honest champions of the necessity and right of Christian experience to interpret and enforce the truths of our holy faith. Schleirmacher stands first among our Protestant theologians in the explication of this point of view.

Christian experience does not claim to be the sole authority. It declares it is dealing with objective and revealed truth. It is not mysticism, nor rationalism, but a vitalism, a spiritual vitalism that proves and weighs the truth by a life lived in and for God.

Christian experience is not isolated or individualistic to the point of excluding the communal experience. Here is where Martineau and his school of thinkers break from the great teachers of the historic Church. Personal experience, just because it is personal, must be supplemented and balanced by other personal experiences in order to group the *whole* human spiritual experience. Here appears the value of the Church and the general creed. But however valuable the communal experience, it is still true that truth to become commanding must be judged, accepted and lived in a person in order to command and enthrall his soul. It is this fact which makes theology a progressive science and religion a life.

IV. COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

The time is not far past when the great ethnic faiths were looked upon not only as false religions but were considered inventions of the devil. Later they were accounted for as the work of crafty, ambitious priests desirous of gain and of keeping the people in subjection. Still more recently they were looked upon as degenerate forms of earlier Biblical revelations. Now all these

conceptions have been left behind by modern students of the ethnic faiths. Religion is recognized as an universal instinct and possession. Man is incurably religious. God has not left any people without some measure of spiritual power and truth. It is said he who knows but one language knows none. If this is true in the study of a language, it is doubly true in the study and appreciation of Christianity. Christianity and the ethnic faiths possess in common a characteristic which illumines and confirms the value of religion in general and makes Christianity to shine forth as the world's supreme faith. The world's great religions find their first common possession in the fact of evil and sin. No two may interpret the phenomena alike, but all recognize that in life there is a great open sore. The cry of moral misery and limitation and dissatisfaction arises over all the earth. The world is out of joint. Hatred, greed, evil-mindedness is the common stock in trade. The need of propitiation and sacrifice appears in all the higher forms of world-religions. From ancient Asia and Babylonian, from Confucian and Zororastrian, from Buddhist and Roman the pathetic smoke of altars and bleeding bodies proclaims the sense that sin calls for some sort of expiation.

The worship of some super-mundane power however vague, grotesque and autocratic appears in all religions above the grade of the lowest. The power may be merely malignant in character, it may be deficient in personality, it may indeed be revolting to our modern, ethical sense, but the sense of a first cause or causes is ingrained in the human mind and heart. In a lecture which has already transgressed the limits of your patience it is impossible and indeed unnecessary for me to characterize the various ethnic faiths. My purpose is simply to urge upon you the value of studying Christianity as related to the partial and imperfect faiths of other religions. Certain great differences are obvious. Confucianism presents a remarkable ethic without any attempt to postulate God. Brahmanism, which is practically pantheism, destroys the personality of God and man's supreme spiritual experience is lost in an unconscious Nirvana. Buddhism recognizes the woe, pain and evil of life, but has no plan of real redemption. Mazdeism makes the fight between good and evil an eternal conflict, with no conclusive triumph on the part of either of her dual gods of light and darkness. Mo-

hammedism is overloaded with fate—God is autocratic and aloof with no throb of fatherhood. The absence of any certainty that life has a permanent value is the canker at the heart of heathenism. Pessimissim is the hidden note and unconscious attitude of all the faiths untouched by the Christian spirit. They are deficient in a sense of the higher world unity made possible by a belief in the universal fatherhood of God. Consequently the truth of the brotherhood of man is either veiled or becomes an impotent dream. Their great desideratum is a power to redeem from sin—a redemption of the individual and society accomplished by a divine incarnation. Christianity is the only religion of redemption. Jesus Christ is the unveiling of God, the holy, loving Father of all men. Jesus is the ideal man. Jesus is the empowering personality which gives to our holy faith its vital effectiveness First through Jesus Christ has the value of every individual soul become manifest.

The recognition of these likenesses and differences between Christianity and the ethnic religions gives to the preacher and the foreign missionary the key to the understanding of and the method of approach to the mind and heart of the world's religions. Not with a crushing ridicule, but through an intelligent sympathy must we enter into a man's faith and seek to bring the fuller light of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ.

V. SOCIAL WELFARE AND THE KINGDOM.

Christianity has a social message. It contemplates a kingdom of God. It proposes a redemption of society and the state as well as the redemption of the individual. Christianity offers the power and a method of realizing the goal of the social philosopher and economist. The most illuminating sentence I know of in social philosophy are these words of John Stuart Mill; "The social problem of the future will be how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labor." The first historical steps in securing liberty for the slave and serf of the classical and mediaeval period were the sense of personal worth, the gradual liberation from the thralldom of a political and social impotence, the emergence of the proletariat into conscious struggle for place and power in the

State and the industrial solidarity of the world's workers. As political and social liberty were slowly acquired, a larger participation in industrial control became the goal of the leaders of the labor movement. The labor movement with its trades unions, Marxian Socialism, the co-operative and profit sharing program of economists, the great modern movement for the democratic control of government and the attempt to socialize all productive and distributive agencies of the State cries aloud for some ethical and religious power which will make possible the plans of the social philosophers. This situation is a fresh challenge to Christianity. As in each and every age the open-eyed disciples of the Master responded to the world's dominant cry for aid in the solution of common problems, so the leaders of our faith have been quick to set forth those principles and that spirit of Jesus which are for the healing and inspiration of the social movement. In our age the ethics of Jesus have been recovered. His moral teaching was overshadowed by theological discussions. No doubt the discussions and battles over strictly religious dogmas were inevitable and necessary in order to arrive at the limitations of theology, as well as at the essential Christian truths. Whatever praise or condemnation we are inclined to mete out to Harnack one great debt we owe him. In his showing of the accretions of Christianity through the Hellenization of dogmas, Roman institutionalism and the Lutheran additions of the thirteenth century he has worked back to and laid bare "The Gospel." He has shown that not only the Roman Catholic Church but Protestantism also in the seventeenth century, and groups in the various reform churches to this day, have placed *gnosis* above *pistis*. In not a few instances an orthodox rationalism has been the test of regularity rather than faith, i. e., trust in the divine Lord. From this thralldom of a benumbing confessionalism modern scholarship has led the open mind of the twentieth century into the enjoyment and power of the primitive, vital Gospel of Jesus Christ. Gnosis shall have its true place in the future but it will not usurp the place of pistis. We have seen by aid of the history of doctrines that the pure Word has been subject to philosophic and dogmatic forms of expression which have taken out of the realm of effective theology and preaching the original doctrines which express the permanent truths of Apostolic days. The present age's call and dilemma are not theological but social.

and woe be to the Church if she fails now to make application of the spirit and principles of Jesus Christ to modern industrial and social problems. The menace of Mormonism, the strife between labor and capital, the congested city with its poverty and vice and drunkenness, the false ethics of our Nietsches and Schopenhauers, the half-baked schemes of a materialistic socialism, the exasperating ostentation and power of plutocracy, legislative corruption and deadening secularism must be faced and conquered by a new race of Christian prophets and saints. We must not only proclaim the kingdom of God, but must insist upon the application of the tenets of that kingdom. The kingdom of heaven must first of all be within our leaders but they must hasten also to actualize, in an objective society—in commerce, in industry, in politics, in social life—the law of justice, love and brotherhood. The new democracy can only be made possible through education—a Christian education which has the personal, dynamic Christ of history and life as the transforming agent. No mere vision of truth in nature and man, or in Biblical studies, no contribution of Christian consciousness or comparative religion, no social theory or humanitarian devotion, alone or combined, work the miracle of a kingdom of heaven. Only the spirit and sacrificial life of Jesus Christ shining in the heart and guiding the battle for righteousness can or will usher in that age of equity, comfort, peace and joy which now fascinates the brain and faith of God's noblemen. The Church is not fully alive to this social service. Many men once satisfied in the Church have grown indifferent to her because her energies and program lag behind the age and its need. I wish in closing to echo the words of the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Michigan:

"The religion of to-day has grown and expanded until it finds the walls of the home in which it was born too narrow and confining for its spirit. And it bursts out of doors into the open fields of intellectual research, moral welfare and social service, while the Church stays indoors, absorbed in the reek of her incense, the bustle of her rites and the preaching of her orthodoxies. * * * *

"There are multitudes of men and women to-day longing and seeking after a first-hand experience of the 'gospel as the power of God unto salvation.' They want a religion alive with the

sense of a living and present God, and therefore efficient in dealing with physical and moral evil, disease and sin. * * * *

"The Church is bound to become more hospitable to the new spirit of religion. She is already being more and more impregnated and possessed by the best mind of the age. She is relating herself here and there to the great movements and tides of the spirit. More and more prophets are heard in her pulpits, pleading for and proclaiming the larger righteousness of economic justice and social equity, as distinguished from the narrower righteousness of merely personal respectability, the righteousness of the kingdom as distinguished from the righteousness of the solitary individual. Brave spirits are steadily carrying her banner forward to the forefront of the real battle."

Philadelphia, Pa.

ARTICLE VII.

THE DISCIPLINE AND WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY REV. C. W. HEATHCOTE, S.T.D.

The Middle Ages present views of the Church which no other age has known. It was a period in the history of the Church in which phases and conditions were so varied as to make it unique in every particular.

It was a time when veneration and reverence for God were shown to a remarkable degree. The Church, however, laid too much stress on the externals of religious life. A religion based on externals could not bring about true repentance nor give the proper conception of duty and piety.

Later efforts were made by various leaders and writers of the Church to inculcate the idea of true piety, but they only met with partial success. The teachings of Bernard created intellectual and spiritual revivals and made a deep impression upon the Church, quickened the conscience and uplifted many people, but the Church never got away from the observance of externals.

The necessity of worshipping good angels was deeply impressed upon the people of this time. They were taught to fear Satan and his host of evil spirits. That demons brought misfortune, plagues, disease and suffering to the individual and community were the common views of the time. If the good angels were adored, the worshipper would be protected from the ravages of the evil powers. In time every village, chapel, church and cathedral had its tutelary angels which were worshipped and supplicated for help and blessing.

Good men and women were canonized as saints, and wonderful stories were elaborated setting forth their deeds of mercy. Miracles were attributed to angels and to saints. The relics of saints and martyrs were eagerly sought after and their possession imparted miraculous gifts. Each Church had its patron saint and collected as far as possible all the relics which belonged to that saint.

More devotion and homage were given to the Virgin Mary

than to any other saint. She was exalted and venerated because she was the Mother of the Christ, and recognized as the queen of the saints. She was praised in the hymns and highly exalted in the liturgical service. Charms, which were worn in her honor, were regarded as efficacious in warding off disease. Prayers were also said to her.

In urging the worship of saints and martyrs the Church was establishing more firmly her authority, power and influence over the minds of all classes of people.

The Church was rapidly becoming the recognized head not only of spiritual and also of temporal affairs. By the thirteenth century her power in temporal affairs was well nigh absolute. By her command kings were removed, nobles were punished and governmental policies were dictated. Rich and poor, the strong and weak alike, realized her absolute power. As a result of this power she developed a penitential system which was far-reaching in its effects. This system had its good as well as bad qualities. The Church, with such tremendous power, was able to work the penitential system with wonderful success. It had the tendency to keep down sin in a community, quickened the conscience, and encouraged fasting. However, it was soon seen that the penitential system did not inspire true religious ideals. The sale of indulgences brought freedom to the rich to do as they pleased.

To enforce such discipline as it deemed necessary, the Church established the systems of excommunication, the anathema and the interdict. To be excommunicated from the Church was considered the worst calamity which could possibly happen, and all made every effort to escape it. The anathema, which invariably accompanied excommunication, was also greatly feared. The interdict was a terrible mode of ecclesiastical discipline, which always accomplished its purpose. Kurtz says, "Till the interdict was removed, the Church bells were silent, worship was celebrated with closed doors, and only priests, beggars and children under two years of age, received at burial the rites of the Church. Thus a whole district was made responsible for the sin committed or tolerated in it, and seldom did the people long brook this painful state of affairs. Yet all this while ecclesiastical discipline, which Petrus Lombardus had described as *contritio cordis*

confessio oris and satisfactio operis, continually declined in moral earnestness."

As the Church continued to pursue this religious policy the spirit of false religion was developed. Excommunication on the one hand and indulgences on the other showed the inconsistent policy of the Church. The effect of discipline, which was to be accomplished by excommunication, was undermined by the sale of indulgences.

It was seen during the Crusades what an illogical policy the Church pursued. Those who enrolled to fight in the Crusades, though they may have been guilty of the vilest crimes and consequently subject to the discipline of the Church, yet received so-called plenary indulgence which permitted them to go unpunished. Those who gave large sums of money toward the Crusade movements received special blessings and indulgences.

The continued sale of indulgences led to hypocrisy and falsity in worship. It was also one of the causes which brought about the Reformation.

The disciplinary policy of the Church was carried to such an extreme that "the ordeal" was instituted. It was a violent means of torture to test an individual's guilt or innocence. If he was able to endure the suffering and pain without a murmur he was judged innocent. The ordeals of fire and hot water became the common ways of detecting heresy, especially during the terrible Inquisition period.

The Church during this time used every means possible to advance its power in spiritual and temporal affairs throughout the world. The authorities at Rome were truly diplomatic in their dealings with the different kingdoms. The Church on the whole was very anxious to preserve peace and harmony among rulers and people so that its worship and religious development might not be hampered. The influence of the priests in this direction was powerful.

There were times when the papal authoritiees sanctioned war. They encouraged the Crusades as righteous wars against the Saracens, whom they considered heretics. The Church, which was the guiding and influential power of the Crusades, at their close found she held undisputed sway in the temporal affairs of Europe.

Though she exerted every influence to preserve peace and har-

mony among the various kingdoms of Europe, yet she never hesitated to incite nations to war to strengthen her position.

The Church laid much stress upon giving as an element of worship. It was taught that through self-sacrifice, merit would be attained. The rich established hospitals and monostaries throughout the land. The middle classes practiced self-denial in order to give to the poor. In the earlier days there was no organized forms or method of dispensing charity. To give systematically came very much later.

Those who gave large amounts for benevolence were promised by the Church that at death they would escape purgatory and enter at once into eternal bliss. Upon holidays large gifts were distributed to the poor, blind and helpless. Those who gave lavishly were lauded enthusiastically by the priests and the crowds.

This period was the great ritualistic age of the Church. The hymns and liturgies show the beauty and majesty of the ritual. The service was rendered in the Latin language, which was peculiarly adapted to it. So much stress was laid on the ritual side of the service that the preached word was crowded out. Sermons were only preached two or three times a year, usually on Christmas, Palm Sunday and Easter. The result was that the mind was impressed with the beauty, glory and pomp of the mass, but the soul was starved.

The fact that preaching was becoming a lost art among the priests of the Church alarmed the leaders of the period. Evils had arisen which the beautiful ritualistic service could not offset. The leaders of the Church realized that preaching had to be restored in order to create a healthy moral sentiment. In the latter part of the thirteenth and in the beginning of the foureenth centuries there arose a new era in preaching. Much of the preaching previously and at this time was done in the Latin language, but this was ineffective as the majority of the people were unable to understand it. When the preaching was done in the language of the people it was appreciated by them. That the people were hungry for the gospel message was shown by the large numbers which attended the services. The strong and effective preachers of the age were those who preached plain, practical and simple sermons. The people were not interested

in theological controversies but delighted to hear the simple story of the Christ.

The revival of preaching, however, did not succeed in giving to the preached word the chief place in the service. The ritual remained the dominant factor. Many of the priests were unable to write sermons or to preach, and hence they laid great stress on the liturgical service. Yet there were many among the clergy who devoted their entire time to preaching and went about from place to place preaching the Word.

It was not until the Reformation was well under way that the preached Word was given the chief place in the service. This is the plan followed in the Protestant Church of the present time. Since the Reformation period regular preaching service has been established in the Catholic Church. The ritual is conducted and chanted in the Latin language and the sermons are preached in the vernacular, although the sermon does not receive the chief place in the service.

In order to intensify the disciplinary and worshipful life of the Church, seven sacraments were instituted as follows: baptism, confirmation, the Lord's Supper, penance, marriage, ordination and extreme unction.

Baptism was recognized as a sacrament of the utmost importance. Great stress was laid upon infant baptism. The Church held that the proper place to have the child baptized was the house of God. This sacrament was the seal of the new covenant. The Church authorities recognized it as a sacrament taking the place of circumcision. The Church councils sanctioned baptism as absolutely necessary for salvation. When the babe was baptized the priest baptized it into Church membership. The Church compelled the parents, through the authority of the sacrament, to have the children properly instructed and trained in the doctrines of the Church. They were required to have them taught as soon as possible the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, etc. They were required to send their children to the Church for instruction at an early age. This was the secret of the Church's power during the Middle Ages. It took care of the child, taught and trained it in the principles and doctrines of the Church, and it never departed from those teachings.

The sacrament of confirmation was greatly emphasized on ac-

count of the vows and disciplinary effects. It was administered when the child became twelve or fourteen years of age. Up to this time the child was being properly instructed and trained. The sacrament of confirmation brought the young into full membership in the Church.

A sacrament which brought manifold blessings to the recipient was the Lord's Supper. The view of the Lord's Supper which predominated during the Middle Ages was that of transubstantiation. Inasmuch as the Eucharist was regarded as highly efficacious in bringing blessing and in averting evil, the Church authorities made it compulsory on every member of the Church to partake of it.

The sacrament of penance occasioned the establishing of the confessional as one of the strong institutions of the Church. It continues thus to this day. The sacrament of penance gave the priest untold power. He had the right to forgive sins whether the confessor was in earnest or not. The secret of the whole system rested in good works and the outward observance of the laws of the Church. This viewpoint was another cause which led to the Reformation. According to reason and scripture no priest has the authority to forgive sins. When one makes a confession in a penitent spirit a minister of the Church of Christ and by His authority may declare the entire forgiveness of his sins in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The sacrament of extreme unction was administered to the sick and dying and it was thought to bring special help to them. The Reformers rejected extreme unction as a sacrament, but urged every pastor to visit the sick and dying, and bring them the consolation and comfort of the Gospel

The sacrament of ordination was a special function of the bishops. The modern Catholic Church continues to hold this view. In the Protestant Church ordination is not looked upon as a sacrament but as a sacred rite of the Church. The manner of administration varies in the Protsetant Churches.

The Church of the Middle Ages strongly urged the members to marry. They believed the marriage state promoted happiness and the observance of higher moral standards. However, the clergy were not permitted to marry. The verdict of history shows that much immorality prevailed among the priests prior

to the Reformation and this was another cause which led to the Reformation.

In order to intensify the zeal and godly living of the worshipper, the torments, punishments, horrors and terrors of hell were magnified in a way unwarranted by Scripture.

The Church taught that souls which were not eternally damned went to Purgatory. It was claimed that souls could be prayed out of Purgatory, and people paid large sums of money in order that masses might be said for the deliverance of their souls from this abode into Heaven. Heaven was pointed out as the goal of the worshipper. It was recognized as the abode of the blessed. To attain it more stress was laid upon a religious life of externals, formalities and good works than upon faith, love, devotion, and service which are the essentials of true religious living.

Philadelphia, Pa.

ARTICLE VIII.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I. IN ENGLISH. BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

The Harvard Theological Review (July) opens with an article by the celebrated philosopher, Rudolph Eucken, of the University of Jena, on the question, "What is driving men to-day back to religion?" He sees a deep undercurrent of religious longing in the mighty tide of material progress and prosperity. "The demand is unmistakable for more depth of life and for the establishment of profounder inner connections than our visible existence affords. * * * All the splendor of the external successes of civilization cannot hide the fact that it does not satisfy the whole man with his inner needs." "Again, men crave more love and more solidarity in the human race than modern civilization affords, and that, too, is driving men to religion." Since the present state of civilization is intolerable because of its mere human culture, "in all deeper souls to-day is stirring a demand for an inner uplift of human nature, for a new idealism. And this demand will necessarily have to seek an alliance with religion." The nature of religion Dr. Eucken does not define. He leaves the reader in suspense.

In the same Review, Dr. George Trumbull Ladd, of Yale University, discusses the question, "Is Faith in God Decadent?" He reviews the changes in theological conceptions which have taken place in recent times through the advances of science and philosophy, and concludes that the great fundamental truths pertaining to God and to man's immortality are still firmly fixed. But in spite of a new and improved conception of the Divine Being, there is not a corresponding faith in God as the Redeemer of humanity. The needs and desires of the present are obscuring the future and the unseen. Unrest possesses the world. "If we look the civilized world over, we may note everywhere a more or less clearly conscious apprehension of important and somewhat awful political and social changes, impending and not for long to be delayed. The faces of an incalculable host of human beings, some wan with hunger and disease, some pale with anger

or despair, some flushed with anger and hatred, some lighted with the dawnings of a new intellectual and moral experience or with expectations of a coming victory, are seen gathering for a determined assault upon the political, economic, and social, and even upon the legal and religious forces that for nearly two thousand years have held the world of civilized men under their control. With enormously increased vigor and portent the lower and the lowest ranks of democracy are coming to the front in human affairs. Observers are dividing themselves in opinion as to the result into schools of optimism and pessimism, and, as to the method of dealing with the problems which this rise of the democracy creates, into schools of co-operation, of civilization, or of armed resistance to the very end. Some anticipate the vast improvement, and some the utter destruction of existing institutions, when Socialism succeeds—as it now seems destined to succeed—in carrying through its avowed plans. Some rely on education, some on the laws of that vague and uncertain thing called 'social science,' and some on the police and the army. Religion relies on God,—but not as an abstraction, or as a blind mechanism, or as an absentee spiritual force, but on a Living God, immanent in and operating through all the economic, political, and social forces for the redemption of mankind."

The Princeton Theological Review (July) has as its chief article a discussion of "The Church and the Social Question," by William Benton Greene, Jr., of Princeton. The Church must take one of three attitudes toward the social problems. First, some hold that the Church ought herself, as an institution to undertake to solve them. This is her mission. She should turn her preaching stations into social settlements, should go into politics, should initiate reform movements. Rauschenbusch, Macfarland, Reginald Campbell and others maintain this view. Second, some hold that, while normally the mission of the Church is individual and religious, she should meet the present social crisis by attempting practically what the first party proposes. "The ship is going down, and we must turn to—crew, passengers, officers, pilot, all,—and man the pumps." Third, some hold that the mission of the Church "is primarily and characteristically individual, and it is above all religions It contemplates saving men from sin rather than society from poverty,

making them new creatures in Christ Jesus rather than surrounding them with opportunities for education and culture."

It is maintained that the more acute the social crisis the more earnestly "should the Church devote herself to her own special and spiritual mission to individuals. It is thus that she will best meet the crisis and redeem society and bring in the kingdom."

Our author ably defends the last or third position, which most of us believe to be the only tenable one. The following is a brief summary of the argument:

1. The transcendant importance of religion, whose chief function is to realize our consciousness of God. Not only does religion transcend all other interests in life; but all else depends on it—art, science, philosophy, morality. *The* supreme need is a revival of religion, which shall elevate and transform the activities of men.

2. The Church has no time for anything but its own immediate and specific objects. Its great business is to preach Christ as the world's hope. We are not to study science in order that we may understand Christ, but we are to study Christ that we may understand science. The opposition to the Church as the promoter of a supernatural remedy for sin is pronounced. It is held that she should no longer preach the gospel of the atonement and regeneration, but what Macfarland calls "the great gospel of Labor and the great gospel of Socialism and the gospel of Anti-Tuberculosis and the gospel of the Fraternal Orders."

3. The Church is disqualified for what is called social service, by the complexity and consequent difficulty of it. The problems of poverty, of labor and indeed every department of social science are exceedingly difficult, requiring the most exact knowledge and the most thorough training. In these days only a specialist can hope to compass any one subject or line of work. The theologian has his own particular task which leaves no time for other and equally difficult work.

4. History confirms the position that the Church should limit herself to her specific task. Up to the time of Constantine the Church as a society kept aloof from political and civic affairs, and was consequently spiritual and progressive. Under Constantine a radical change took place. The Church was lifted to the throne of empire. She became the reformer of society and ceased to be the regenerator. Before she became aware of it, the

Spirit had been grieved. Our Lord refused to deal with social, economic and political problems, except from a moral point of view.

5. The relation of the minister to social service may be summarized as follows:

a. "Movements for social reform" are to have his sympathy and intelligent support as an individual man and Christian; but he has not the time nor the expert knowledge to assume the leadership in such work. He will lose his pre-eminence as a minister if he give himself to anything that interferes with his specific work.

b. In the pulpit the minister should not allude to any merely economic question like the conduct of railroads by the State or by corporations. Concerning social questions he should discuss only the principles underlying them, "but he ought not to refer them to particular persons or movements," and should refrain from denunciation of men who do not see as he does.

c. "In the case of sins explicity forbidden in the Bible, such as the social evil, drunkenness, extortion, the duty of the minister is clear and simple. He ought not to be any less direct and emphatic than the Word of God itself." Yet the minister must be constantly on his guard against becoming only or chiefly a reformer or agitator. Regeneration rather than reformation should be his aim. The Gospel rather than the Law should be the burden of his preaching.

"The Place of the Christian Minister in Organized Society" is the theme of an article in *The Reformed Church Review* (July) by the Rev. A. O. Reiter. The minister ought to have a specific place in society like every other man; but in these days of social unrest, he is expected to do nearly everything except what was once supposed to be his legitimate work. One wants him to be the conductor of a gymnasium, another wants him to provide a moving picture entertainment. Some good people have invented all kinds of guilds and leagues and societies for him to manage and to keep alive. The minister himself is often too anxious to take up with every new fad, in order to galvanize a languishing congregation into new life. He has also failed to learn that a division of labor is the way of success in the commercial world, and, therefore, he tries to do everything himself.

In its primitive state society had few competent leaders, and consequently priest and prophet and later the minister combined in their respective offices many functions. But this is neither possible nor desirable any longer. The minister can no longer be a magistrate, a school teacher, and a physician as well as preacher for very obvious reasons. Why should he allow himself now to be overburdened, distracted and prematurely worn out by endeavoring to do things for which he is not fitted and which actual unfit him for the service which he ought to do.

"The one true sphere of the Christian minister is the Church." He must know God and men. Amid the fire and smoke of the world's maddening activities he must have a vision of God, and help men to keep alive a sense of his nearness. The pulpit is the minister's throne from which should go forth the mighty influence of the Gospel to mold every worthy cause and movement, and to inspire men to do their best in their respective callings in life.

He must not try to do everything that pertains to Christian activity. He cannot "serve tables" any more than the apostles could. And why should he, seeing that his work is more important and that there are many Stephens who can serve tables better than he?

The Methodist Review (July-August) has an article on "The Psychology of the Pulpit" from the pen of Prof. W. J. Davidson, of the Garrett Biblical Institute.

First, "The Task of the Pulpit" is very great, but often not realized by the preacher. The task lies partly in the *objective* of the pulpit. Its message must be delivered not for the sake of the subject, but for the sake of the object. This is "the redemption of society" and hence is world-wide. The preacher must not only seek to save men, but must save them that they may serve. To win men, the preacher must know men, and must learn to adapt his message to all classes. He must be a great student in order to understand what men are thinking about. His preaching ought to be thoughtful and filled with seminal ideas, but it must not lack the evangelistic tone. The task of the pulpit is also conditioned by what may be called "the method of the mystic pioneer." "He is to *feel* and *see* the Infinite."

Second. "The Bearing of Psychology on the work of the Pul-

pit" is most important. Psychology is fundamental and introductory to logic, esthetics, and ethics. "Psychology gives us estimates of fact; ethics, estimates of worth." Psychology is vitally related to theology because it must be verified in the preacher's own consciousness, in order to be effective.

In an introductory note to an article on "The organic unity of the Old Testament" by Dr. Thoelstra, the editor of *The Bibliotheca Sacra* (July), Dr. G. Frederick Wright says: "This lecture * * is but one of the many indications of the return of the Old Testament critics to the maintenance of conservative views. The critical views of Kuenen are no longer maintained by his successors at Leyden. The all-too-prevalent Wellhausen assumptions are being now more and more discredited in the Fatherland, and it is to be hoped that his British and American followers may have their eyes opened to the anachronism of still maintaining his views of the Pentateuch. To continue to impose them upon the Christian public as the incontrovertible results of scholarship is coming to be little less than criminal."

The American Journal of Theology (July) contains an article by Prof. T. G. Soares, of the University of Chicago, on "Practical Theology and Ministerial Efficiency" in which he lays down a large programme for the training of the future minister in the theological seminary. Practical theology is concerned in making a ministry efficient in three respects: (1) in the effective presentation of a spiritual message suited to the needs of the people and of the times in which the minister lives; (2) in the organization and administration of the Church in its wide and increasing activities; (3) in the leadership of the Church as an educational enterprise.

In respect to the first of these, the endeavor involves three elements of study: (a) the message; (b) the psychological study of humanistic presentation; (c) the technique of sermon preparation and delivery. The preacher must be taught that the message is to be religious. He must preach religion and that religion must be the religion which he himself experiences. He must be the exponent of religious conviction and the interpreter of religious life. All the great material of preaching is at his disposal, provided he can make it his own. In the presentation

of his convictions he must keep his hearers in mind, and must study and know them from a psychological point of view that he may compel them to hear, to feel, and to act. The technique of preparation has been already well worked out in our seminaries, while that of delivery should have been acquired at college. But as long as the latter is so generally wanting experts in public speaking should be secured to assist the professor of practical theology. It would be of great value to have an instructor personally visit the men in their student pastorates and help them on the basis of an observation of their actual procedure.

Church administration is the second great field of ministerial service. Beside the usual care of souls, the minister is to oversee the "thousand activities, clubs, societies," &c., &c., so that they may all be "touched and beautified by the spirit of religion." In some communities the Church must do everything that is done "for the better life of the community from cleaning the snow off the sidewalks to nursing babies, from helping the farmers raise better corn to opening the eyes of the people to the glory of art." Who is sufficient for these things? Some of these things can be learned in the seminary; but every student should have actual practice as assistant in a well-organized Church.

The leadership of the Church as an educational institution is the third great activity for which the minister is to be fitted. The Church is responsible for the religious education of its people, and the minister must be able to provide it either himself or through competent teachers. "The religious educator must know the process of the development of the psycho-physical organisms, the development of the moral, educational interests of childhood and youth, the real nature of the material of study, and of the activities and plays which he employs. He must know the experience of competent workers who have been experimenting in this field, and must then intelligently do his best to assist the educational process, and note as carefully as he may the results that seem to be possible of measurement."

In *The London Quarterly Review* (July) Principal Garvie makes some judicious observations in regard to "One World, One Gospel, and One Church." The World's Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in June 1910 and the First Universal Races Congress in July 1911 teach us two great truths. The latter tells us that mankind is one in nature, and ought to be one in moral

sentiment; the former tells us that this oneness can only be, and ought to be, in Christ. "Humanity is ceasing to be an abstraction, and is becoming a reality; the solidarity of humanity is proving itself not a phrase, but a fact." Exploration, business, commerce and multiplied other interests have brought the most distant parts of the world into close contact. No great event in any nation is without influence on the world. "The coal strike in Great Britain is being felt not only in European lands, but is affecting the commercial interests of Japan." A dispute concerning an African dependency may threaten the peace of the world.

The material conditions for a united humanity are already present, though the unity is hindered by prejudices. Science proves the physical unity of the race. Society is now being regarded as organic. Men must be mutually helpful. The most thoughtless and the most selfish can not ignore or evade the social problems. These great facts make for the favorable work of the Church in her mission to the world. The Church must add to the economic and moral sentiments now drawing the world together the religious sanction in order that there may be a true and lasting unity. "The quickest way of making mankind one is by offering all men one gospel, bringing all into one kingdom, joining all by a common faith to the one Savior and Lord. The missionary movement completes all these tendencies towards the solidarity of mankind."

But has the Church a universal Gospel to offer to all men? The Edinburg Conference seems to give an affirmative answer. The ancient faiths and civilizations are being influenced by Christianity. Yet, on the other hand, the situation is full of peril. "If the other European influencees should get the start of the Christian, a great opportunity may be lost, from our human standpoint, even irretrievably lost. European science and philosophy may overthrow the native religions only to impose the darkness of materialism or agnosticism. European civilization may break up the moral order, and be powerless to offer any higher moral guidance. Japan is already realizing the danger of a morality lacking the inspiration of religion. If Confucianism loses its hold on China, without a more adequate moral code gaining control, who can conceive the moral chaos? The unrest in India among the educated youth indicates its need of a moral

idea vitalized by religion. * * * What the whole world would be if the material resources and intellectual treasures of Europe were appropriated by other continents, Asia and Africa, without Christianity, who would dare to conjecture?

One problem in connection with evangelization is exercising the minds of the advocates of missions. Take it for granted that Christianity is the absolute religion; but are all the differences which have sprung up among the various sects amid the conditions of European society to be transplanted to Asia and Africa? The universal gospel of missions can not be adapted to all lands unless it be stripped of mere local and temporal forms in which Christian faith has been more often buried than enshrined. Nor will the universal gospel be reached while the Churches are divided.

But how is this unity to be realized? In Canada the Methodists and the Presbyterians have failed to agree as was hoped. In South Africa the union movement has failed utterly. The serious mistake is being made in endeavoring to arrive at uniformity instead of unity. "As a Congregationalist, the writer would urge that modern scholarship confirm the contention of Congregationalism that the Church of Christ is to be recognized in every local congregation, that for the essential functions of the Church it is complete in Christ's presence and operation by his Holy Spirit." Congregationalism in its inclusiveness and not in its exclusiveness, corresponds to New Testament teaching. The old name, Independency, gives a false and wrong emphasis. The individual congregation may not assert its rights against the claims of the universal Church. All congregations must find unity in love. "All organizations of the past have their justification, if they expressed the Church's life, and accomplished its tasks. To-day no polity can claim to be exclusively legitimate. Each has its value. * * The spirit still lives and works in the Christian Church." The Church must ever adapt itself to new conditions. "To maintain ancient traditions and venerable conventions is not fidelity to principle, but distrust of the guidance and guardianship of God's Spirit in man's progress, and so neglect of opportunity and failure in duty. So inspired and so adapting themselves, the Churches seem likely to maintain their variety. But that need be no hindrance to unity, if the spirit of Catholicity, based on the recognition of the one Church of Christ, the

spiritual body, in each and all congregations, becomes prevalent and dominant. Thus without the enforcement of a uniformity which would only produce further division, the one Church of Christ may advance with the one Gospel to the conquest of the one World for the Kingdom of God."

The Hibbert Journal (July) contains in an article on "Conformity and Veracity" an earnest plea from the Rev. E. W. Lummis, of Cambridge, Eng., concerning the restoration to the Church of England of all those who are now excluded from her ministry by the Act of Uniformity passed just 250 years ago. At that time about 2500 ministers were lost to the Church. The ground of their exclusion was their unwillingness to subscribe the new Paper Book, which many of them had had no opportunity of examining. They could not accept some things which they knew were in the new book, and hence their consciences would not allow them to remain. Mr. Lummis, who is probably "liberal" in his theology, would like to see the ban removed so that a large number who love the old Church may be able to work in her ministry.

There are three ways conceivable in which this may be done. "The first is a revision of the liturgy, and the concessions of a somewhat larger discretion than now exists in the omission of particular passages." "A second way would be the carrying into law of a declaratory act, carefully worded, to make clear that the recitation of the liturgy does not actually imply a personal avowal of belief in every statement it contains." "Thirdly, it might be possible to have these wasted men for the Church by establishing in the common sense of the Church itself a conviction that the words of her liturgy are not meant to declare any personal opinion, or to bind the intellect within a narrow hedge of doctrine; that their whole value lies in their appeal to faith, hope and love, those weightier matters, beside which doctrines and forms are idle things."

We venture the opinion that the common sense of the Church will do no such preposterous thing. Whatever remedy may be necessary, it will come by-and-by through the disestablishment.

In the same number of *The Hibbert Journal,* M. M. Pattison Muir, a Fellow of Cambridge, discusses "Dogma and Science" in quite an off-hand fashion declaring them to be irreconcilable.

"Theological method is scientific method standing on its head with its feet in the air. The two methods cannot be reconciled. Like right-handed and left-handed gloves, one cannot be superimposed on the other. We have seen some theologians vainly striving to draw right-handed gloves on their left hands." The author asserts that "theologians distil facts from dogmas. Men of science distil theories from facts." "Scientific method and theological method have nothing in common. Scientific theories and theological dogmas differ fundamentally in their meaning, their functions, their influence. * * To live in the world of theological dogmas is to live in a world of unrealities. The scientist welcomes change; the theologian dreads it.

This article is like all half-truths full of error. Theology is certainly a science in that it is a systematic classification of facts, many of which, however, are beyond the ken of physical science. To some men no facts exist beyond those which can be analyzed in a laboratory. The rejection of a divine revelation leaves men in darkness and to hardness of heart. The things of God are foolishness to them, because they must be spiritually discerned. They have no spiritual organ—faith—and hence in their blindness they cannot see the plan of grace.

II. IN GERMAN. BY PROFESSOR ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, A.M., B.D.

The tendency in all branches of the theological sciences is towards a clearer definition of issues. In every school of thought the investigation of details continues with unabated vigor, but the controversies among the schools are no longer waged over the minute details. The debates have come to center upon the broad, general lines of difference. This is a wholesome change from the conditions of the near past and has introduced a far more agreeable tone into the theological discussions of the present. Honest effort is being made at least to understand the point of view of the opponent. And not infrequently the discussions deal specifically with the difference of view-point rather than with the object viewed. The general differences among the schools are brought more clearly to the front, and the chief scene of battle is among the prolegomenary principles. This is due to the fact that men have come to realize more fully how large a part is played in all the processes and conclusions of the

investigators by the personal equation and the philosophical presuppositions. Perhaps we may look forward to the time when theological controversies shall be relegated entirely to the sphere of epistemology. This has long since been the case with dogmatic theology, and now in all the other branches of theological science there is an unmistakable tendency in the same direction.

Several recent productions in Old Testament branches of theological research may be regarded as decisive steps in the direction of clarifying the issues in that department. In the field of Old Testament Introduction there has been a highly instructive literary controversy during the past few months which will enable the unprejudiced student to judge impartially of the relative merits of the two leading schools in that sphere. The contest was short and dignified. The antagonists have operated not through pamphlets and articles but through books. They have not stopped at petty details but have reached fundamental principles. Their literary deposit is well worth the study of any one who wishes to inform himself about the general current of theological thought concerning the Old Testament.

It is a well-known fact among American readers that for a considerable number of years Professor Cornill's Introduction to the Old Testament has been the most widely read book on that subject, especially among university students. It has passed through six German editions and has long since been translated into English. When, therefore, in 1910 Professor Sellin of Rostock issued a book with the same title, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament,* Cornill regarded it as a challenge calling for action on his part. Accordingly early this year he published his *"Zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament."* This is a book almost as large as Sellin's *Einleitung* and consists of a critical negation of 26 views advocated by Sellin. This attack by Cornill did valuable service for Sellin in the way of securing a wide reading for his book. Nevertheless Sellin could not remain silent under Cornill's criticism and so he has replied with another book of the same title as Cornill's attack, *"Zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament,"* and of nearly the same size. In these four books the student has the material for complete orientation upon all the important problems of the Old Testament, together with the latest arguments on both sides of each question.

Nothing is plainer from a study of this material than that the difference between Cornill and Sellin in their interpretation of details rest upon a fundamental difference in the principles which they employ, a fundamental difference in their conceptions of the course of Old Testament religion. At the same time this learned discussion of the experts can leave no doubt that Old Testament science is undergoing at present vast and important changes. Cornill is in rather strict accord with the Wellhausen conception of Israel's religious history, whereas Sellin speaks of this as "the old Wellhausen theory," and claims to have passed beyond that theory to a conception that is more in conformity with the facts, especially those of very recent discovery. For many years Cornill has been the chief interpreter of the Wellhausen theory, introducing and popularizing it among the students, and a whole large school of distinguished scholars has grown up about that theory. Now Sellin arises and stoutly insists that the Wellhausen construction rests upon a faulty philosophy, does not explain the facts, and is thoroughly antiquated. Is there any basis for such a claim? A general survey of the positions occupied by busy Old Testament scholars of to-day would seem to indicate that there are very good reasons for Sellin's claim.

Wellhausen's influence has practically ceased, and for two reasons. In the first place his conception of the course of Israel's religious history was based upon an antiquated philosophy of history. It is an open secret that the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen method of Old Testament interpretation proceeded originally from Wilhelm Vatke. Now Vatke's Biblical Theology was published in 1835 and based entirely upon Hegel's philosophy. Wellhausen himself did not deny either his dependence upon Vatke or his Hegelianism. He insisted upon construing history so as to make it accord with the constant rhythm of thesis, antithesis, synthesis. And in this he has been followed by his chief disciples through the three and a half decades that have passed since the first appearance of his *Prolegomena.* Even Stade in his recent *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments,* (begun in 1905, second volume by A. Bertholet in 1911) takes as his fundamental idea the thought that the origin and content of Israel's religion can be traced entirely to their changing circumstances of locality and their growth in power. The

God of Israel is largely the outgrowth of Israel's struggle with the Canaanite deities. The demonism and fetishism of the "primitive religions" culminates in the Jehovah of David. This construction of Old Testament religion is purely the speculative evolutionism of Hegel's philosophy of history and has an exact parallel in the theory of New Testament history put forth by Baur and his Tübingen school half a century earlier. For more than thirty years now the Old Testament investigators have been operating with the problems suggested by the Wellhausen theory. And with what results?

The first problem which the scholars began to consider was the pivotal assertion of the Wellhausen school that the prophets of the eighth century, Amos, Hosea, Jeremiah, and so forth, were the real founders of Israel's religion and the originators of its body of law now written in the Pentateuch. More than two decades were given to the thorough investigation of this question: the relation of the eighth century prophets to Moses. A large and constantly increasing number of scholars engaged in defense of the view that these prophets made no pretense whatever of founding a *new* religion but regarded themselves simply as reformers who bore the commission to protest against the immoral and irreligious conditions of their times and to summon the people of their day *back* to the religion which had been established among them in the early history of their nation. The proofs for this view are to be found in such works as König, *Die Hauptprobleme der altisraelitschen Religionsgeschichte* (1884); Orelli, *Die Urreligion Israels* (1885); Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer* I (1888); Oettli, *Der Kultus bei Amos und Hosea* (1895); Sellin, *Beiträge zur israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte, Bd. I* (1896); Giesebrecht, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes* (1901). The arguments gained weight with each new publication, for the evidence was cumulative. Gradually the disciples of Wellhausen began to realize their error. In his Old Testament Theology of 1905 Stade hints plainly at concession, and in 1907 Volz, one of the most energetic representatives of the Wellhausen ideas, changes front entirely and enters the lists for the Mosaic origin of Israelitish religion, *Mose. Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung über die Ursprünge der israelitischen Religion.* Since then a large number of other scholars, among them Bäntsch, Stärk, Benzinger, and

even Gunkel and Gressman, have emancipated themselves entirely from Wellhausen's influence and have given up the evolutionistic construction of the history of Old Testament religion. So that we may to-day regard the historicity of Moses, the Mosaic authorship of the law, and its priority over the prophets of Judaism, as thoroughly established.

Having arrived at essential agreement as to the proper historical relation between Moses and the prophets, scholars have set about answering the question whether the beginnings of Israel's religion and cult can not be traced back scientifically beyond Moses to the patriarchs. Disciples of Wellhausen, such as Stade, Kautsch, and Marti, have insisted that the patriarchs shared the religion of the Semites in general, that they looked upon stones and trees, streams of water and holy hills, as the homes of special deities, and that they stood therefore upon the low stage of religion characterized by fetishism and polydemonism. Not only does this view overlook the undoubted fact that Abraham began a new religious epoch when he separated himself from his home and kindred for reasons of religion, but it may even be seriously questioned whether the "primitive peoples" and the Semites in general contemporaneous with Abraham occupied such a low stage of religious development as is here assigned them. This Ed. König points out rather emphatically in a recent article in *Die Reformation* entitled *Neuere Hauptschritte der alttestamentlichen Religionswissenschaft.* But this whole question concerning the religion of the patriarchs and the original form of Israel's religion still occupies a prominent place in the forefront of Old Testament investigations. A masterful effort at the solution of the problem in its various aspects is made by König in his *Geschichte der altestamentlichen Religion,* 1912. König is a stout advocate of the view that Israel's worship of Jehovah originated with the patriarchs, not full-blown indeed, but at least in its essential elements of henotheism. And while there is as yet no general consensus of opinion among Old Testament scholars in favor of this view yet the constant trend of the conclusions is in that direction. Ethnology, archaeology, and textual criticism, are steadily leading us beyond the Wellhausen hypothesis.

For just this is the second reason why the influence of Wellhausen has ceased, the obverse side of his mistaken philosophic

presuppositions: his theory does not serve to explain the facts unearthed by recent investigations, especially by the excavations. No one can well deny the ingeniousness and relative justification of Wellhausen's criticism for his time. Critical acumen and a fine sense for the play of historical forces united with Wellhausen's brilliant powers of presentation to make him a leader among scholars and to commend his views on the course of Israel's history and on the age of Old Testament documents. But the inviting structure which he raised thirty years ago is thoroughly antiquated now. Our entire conception of the religious and cultural development of the ancient Orient has undergone a change in the course of the last three decades, and this has brought about a decided alteration in our understanding of Israel's religious and cultural history. It is no great discredit therefore to Wellhausen himself and no serious charge against his school of followers that his cunningly devised theory has been rendered obsolete by the progress of Old Testament investigation. Rather is it a cause for general gratification that scholars have been able by continued artful use of pen and spade to force open more of the secrets of the reluctant past and to pour in light upon new fields of knowledge. And it must be admitted that very much of the stimulus to the investigations along these new lines is owing directly to Wellhausen's hypothesis. The artful edifice has broken down under the weight of time but there is still much work to be done in carrying away the ruins. The historical background in which Wellhausen viewed the development of Israel consisted of Arabian poets of pre-Mohammedan times, Mescha stones and so forth. That the historical background for Old Testament scholarship of to-day is a very different one is manifest at once from the frequent use that Old Testament scholars to-day must make of such names as Taanach, the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, the code of Hammurabi, and the constant reference to Babylonian and Egyptian civilization. The work of the archaeologists in Palestine, Egypt, and the Mesopotamian Valley goes steadily forward and the conclusions from their finds are hard to escape. A whole new world of thought has opened up before the investigator. The religio-historical construction of the Kuenen-Wellhausen school was satisfactory enough in its day but it has failed in all its parts to satisfy the

requirements of the rapidly progressive Old Testament sciences. It has failed as signally as Baur failed when he applied the same speculative scheme to the religion and literature of the New Testament.

This decline of the Wellhausen theory concerning the history of Israel and the origin of Israel's religion has begun to entail its consequences in the sphere of literary criticism. In fixing the age and composition of the individual literary sources of the Old Testament, Wellhausen was influenced largely by his preconceptions of Israelitish history. The recent progress in our knowledge of the ancient Orient is certain therefore to bring about a revision in the literary criticism of the Old Testament. For there is always a close relation between the literary history and the religious history of a people.

Already the change has begun. From various quarters the Wellhausen division of Old Testament sources is called into serious doubt. Current periodical literature as well as the latest books leave no doubt that a decided transition is in progress in the sphere of the literary criticism of the Pentateuch. The use of the divine names can no longer serve as an undisputed criterion of sources. Nor can the variation in the name of the third patriarch be regarded as an absolutely safe guide for the division of documents. This forsaking of the Wellhausen position as to the origin of the Pentateuch has proceeded much more rapidly in Holland, England, and America, than in Germany. Still the signs of the times in Germany point in the same general direction. They may be seen in such standard works as Kittel's *Geschichte des Volkes Israels* of which the first volume of the greatly enlarged second edition has just appeared. Sellin (in the two works mentioned above and in *Die Theologie des Gegenwart*) and König (in various recent works and now most recently in an article *Ein Blick auf die neueren Kämpfe um die Religionsgeschichte Israels* in the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* of Sept. 6, 1912), also support the contention that the Wellhausen scheme of literary criticism deals too sparingly with the older sources from which the chief streams of the Pentateuch take their rise. And yet these older sources are the most trustworthy evidence of the antiquity of Israel's true religion. Sellin thinks that the entire criticism of the Pentateuch is in need of complete revision and that this revision will

show many portions to be much older and much more complicated than we to-day might dream.

One step in this direction of revision is a recent book by Prof. Eerdmans of Leyden, *Die Komposition de Genesis,* 1909. Until the appearance of this book Eerdmans was known as a strict follower of Wellhausen. But he introduces this work on the composition of Genesis with the words: "In this treatise I renounce the critical school of Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen and oppose myself to the general modern hypothesis concerning the origin of the documents." He first takes up the question concerning the Priest-code in the book of Genesis. Step by step he seeks to refute the arguments usually employed to prove the existence of such a code and its post-exilic origin. Then he turns his attention to the prophetic narratives in Genesis and argues that it is utterly impossible to maintain the customary sharp distinction between the elohistic and jehovistic sources of the narratives. His positive arguments need not concern us here. Suffice it to say that his work is a classic witness to the fact that the Wellhausen theory of documents in its present form has failed permanently to satisfy one who has hitherto been its earnest advocate. Eerdmans may be regarded as the herald of a thorough revision along the whole line of Pentateuchal literary criticism. Other books of recent date voice the same general dissatisfaction with the critical hypotheses now in vogue, especially with the four-source theory. Such is the recent book by Wilhelm Möller, *Wider den Bann der Quellenscheidung,* 1912. Such also are the publications of Ad. Zahn, Rupprecht, et alteri. But this work is still in its beginnings, at least so far as German scholarship is concerned.

Eerdmans has also applied his iconoclastic efforts to the book of Exodus, *Das Buch Exodus,* 1910. Eerdmans is a scholar whose writings receive a reading, and while the great majority of German scholars refuse to endorse either his method or his results, yet he has not passed unnoticed. He has suggested real problems for the literary critics. For he has shown them that the final word on the form of the Pentatuch has not yet been said, and already they have returned to work over the entire problem anew.

Eerdmans receives warm commendation in an incidental notice of his work in an article in the September number of the

Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift. The title of the article is *Naht ein Umschwung in der Pentateuchkritik?* and this question the author, Johannes Dahle, answers with a very emphatic affirmative.

In this connection attention may also be called to a work by another Dutch theologian. Dr. A. Troelstra, a Reformed pastor at the Hague, publishes in Dutch, a series of lectures delivered at the University of Leyden, entitled "The Organic Unity of the Old Testament.". The first of these lectures has been translated into English in the July number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra.* Troelstra also attacks the position of the Wellhausen school with reference to the literary composition of the Old Testament. It is a significant fact that these two scholars of Leyden should thus follow in the tracks of Kuenen and prepare the antidote for his errors. But it is a sign of the times.

While the facts which we have pointed out seem to point very directly to the dawn of a reconstruction period in the history of Old Testament science, yet it can not be denied that the Wellhausen school has had a permanent influence in this sphere. It is clear that the old Hengstenberg-Keil conception of the Old Testament has passed forever. Theologians all along the line recognize to-day the right and duty of historical criticism as applied to the origin and religion of Israel and their literary documents. It is the permanent merit of the liberal critics that they brought this right and duty to the clear knowledge of all parties, and to Wellhausen and his school in particular is due a large measure of the stimulus to the positive reconstruction which happily is now the order of the day.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN, ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

Daily Meditations upon the Epistle Lessons of the Church Year. By Rev. F. Hammersten. Translated from the Swedish. Pp. 635. Price $1.50 post paid.

This fine volume is a valuable addition to the devotional literature of our Lutheran church in the English language. It contains a "Meditation" for every day of the year. Each meditation is based on a brief passage of the Gospels or Epistles. They are all short, seldom covering more than a page and a half, and ending with a brief prayer of a single sentence or two embodying the personal and practical application of the truth emphasized.

The author, Rev. F. Hammersten is a well known minister of the Church of Sweden, and is Court Chaplain. The "Foreword" has this to say of him and of these "Meditations": "Sincerely pious, of a deep spirituality, and strictly Lutheran in his doctrinal conceptions, he unfolds, simply and clearly, the cardinal tenets of our Christian faith. The attentive reader, whatever his progress in the Christian life, will not fail to find the instruction, admonition, or consolation of which he may stand in need." From our examination of the volume we believe that these earnest words of commendation are well-deserved, and can heartily recommend it to all who realize the need of such a help in their private devotions. The quiet, thoughtful, and prayerful, reading of one of these brief meditations each morning could not help but prove a very profitable and stimulating spiritual exercise. They might also be used with great profit in connection with family prayers.

In these days of strenuous living, prevailing worldliness, and a nervous haste after earthly good and the pleasures of this life, we all need more than ever to begin the day with at least a few minutes of quiet thought on spiritual things, and an upward look towards the hills from whence cometh our help. The daily use of such a manual will be a great assistance in this by tending to concentrate the mind, quickening thought, and stimulating devotion.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

The Lutheran Sunday School Hand Book. By Rev. J. R. E. Hunt. Pages 291.

This book is rather a novelty in this day of insistence on the

things that make for church unity and the pushing into the background of the points of denominational difference. This book insists on the Lutheran point of view and, indeed, the point of view of the General Council. A very good statement of the principles of religious teaching is given—the work of the schools, the justifications and duties of the officers, of the teachers, are treated and a rather short summary of the elements of educational Psychology closes the book. Most of this would apply to any Sunday School, but the Lutheran point of view is kept to the fore.

The difference between Lutheran Sunday Schools and other Sunday Schools is due:

1. To the differing attitude to the baptized child. The Lutheran regards him as regenerate, but to be trained in Christian Grace and to develop a strong Christian character. The other Sunday Schools regard him as unconverted and endeavor to convert him.

2. The Lutheran Sunday School must lay strong emphasis on Luther's Small Catechism and endeavor to lead the child to the catechetical class of the pastor. The author is afraid that most Lutheran Sunday Schools are woefully remiss in this respect.

3. The stress laid on the authority of the pastor and a corresponding lowering of the authority of the officers and the teachers. The pastor "is to speak as the oracle of God." He "should have the authority in saying what books and literature shall be used." He "has the right and duty to see that only genuinely sound literature be used." The teacher apparently must confine himself strictly to the text book furnished in his work.

FRANK H. CLUTZ.

HORACE WORTH COMPANY, BOSTON.

Moral Leadership and the Ministry. By Edward E. Keedy. Pp. 200. Price $1.25 net.

This is the author's second book in a somewhat similar line. The first one was published in 1902 under the title, *The Naturalness of Christian Life.* Of that volume the *Outlook* said at the time, "This book from one of the younger ministers of the Congregational body, is for substance of thought and form of expression such as to create high expectation of future products of his studies."

The promise thus referred to is well fulfilled in this new book. It is full of virile thought expressed in a good, vigorous English that makes it fairly tingle with life and inspiration. Mr. Keedy maintains that religion, meaning thereby the Christian religion,

has all the qualities necessary to make those who profess it, especially its ministers, a very superior class of persons morally and spiritually, who would thus naturally come to be recognized as leaders in the communities in which they live. He also maintains, however, that the ministry has largely lost, or failed to gain, this moral leadership which is their natural heritage, and their exalted privilege, as well as their sacred duty, because they do not well exemplify in their characters and lives the truths and principles of the gospel which they preach, and especially because they are too largely lacking in that spirit of self-surrender, and self-sacrifice, and heroic devotion to duty, which are prime requisites to all moral leadership.

The closing chapters on *The Power to Constrain and Lead, The Leader's Program,* and *The Training for Leadership,* are a ringing call to the ministry to show more of the heroic, martyr spirit, which is really essential to success in all great enterprises, and which is displayed by multitudes of men in purely secular business, but of which the work of the Christian minister is more worthy than any other work in which men can engage. To be recognized and accepted as a moral leader the minister must not only preach the truth but he must so live the truth which he preaches as to convince men that he is sincere, and earnest, and that he is motived in his work by an all-consuming passion for goodness and righteousness, and for the salvation of souls and the glory of God.

Mr. Keedy may sometimes be a little extravagant in his statements, and his fondness for epigrams makes him a little obscure occasionally, but certainly no true minister can read this book without a sense of spiritual quickening, nor without a desire to be more worthy of his high calling and his grave responsibility.

We quote a single paragraph from Chapter V, pages 146 and 147, "Teaching and preaching are conditioned as to force, as well as to content, by personality. A sermon is the transcript of a person. Every genuineness acts with its own weight. No bad man can really preach. That is he cannot transform life by what he declares. Solomon is the standing warning of the futility. The remedy for ineffective preaching is to glorify the life. The sermon is no weightier than the preacher. The office no greater than the officer. The message no weightier than the messenger. The force of Jesus' words was in himself. Preaching is but an incident to the minister's work. To live the truth is that to which he is called."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE GRIFFITH AND ROWLAND PRESS, PHILADELPHIA.

Miscellanies. In two volumes. By Augustus Hopkins Strong, D. D., LL. D. Pp. Volume I 494. Vol. II 504. Price per volume $1.00.

Into these two volumes the venerable president of the Baptist Theological Seminary at Rochester, New York, has gathered a large number of addresses, sermons, and essays, delivered or read on various occasions during the last twenty years or more.

As announced on the title page Volume I consists chiefly of Historical essays and addresses. While these will be of interest chiefly to Baptists they will not be without interest and value to the members of other denominations. Especially is this true of those which deal with educational problems, particularly as related to our theological seminaries.

Volume II is made up almost entirely of sermons delivered on various special occasions, and addresses to the graduating classes of the Rochester Theological Seminary from 1900 to 1912.

Both volumes are characterized by Dr. Strong's well known vigor of thought and clear and forceful style. Considering the size and make-up of these two volumes they are a marvel of cheapness.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

MASPETH PUBLISHING HOUSE, NEW YORK.

The Philosophy of the Future. By S. S. Hebberd. Pp. 251.

This is apparently not Dr. Hebberd's first essay in the philosophical line. On the title page he is credited with the authorship of "Philosophy of History, The Secret of Christianity, The Science of Thought, etc." Some very complimentary notices of his "Philosophy of History" are quoted on the advertising pages.

In the "Preface" to this volume on "The Philosophy of the Future," Mr. Hebberd informs us that it has cost him "more than half a century of toil and the loss of most things that men chiefly desire." On every page it bears evidence of wide reading, and of familiarity with the various systems of philosophy which have had their vogue in the past as well as with those that are claiming our attention today.

It is rather startling to find a man undertaking, in a duodecimo of 250 pages, to overturn all the philosophies both of the past and of the present, and to build up on their ruins a new "Philosophy of the Future." Nothing less than this, however, is the task to which this author soberly and confidently sets himself.

The principle on which he relies for success in his under-

taking is announced in the very first paragraph of the book, which is as follows:

"The principle upon which I seek to found a new philosophy is this: the sole essential function of all thinking, as contrasted with feeling, is to discriminate between cause and effect."

This principle is then applied in turn to the solution of the problems of "Causality," "Abstraction and Relation," "The New Realism," "Space," "Time," "The Concept," "Judgment," "Induction," "The Existence of God," "Freedom," and "The Demonstration of the Soul's Existence," in as many chapters. The whole course of the discussion is marked by the mangled remains of Plato, and Aristotle, and Spinoza, and Descartes, and Kant, and Hegel, and Hume, and Hamilton, and Leibenitz, and Lotze, and a host of others of more or less fame either in the past or in the present, down to and including Bergson, one of the latest to loom large above the horizon. This may sound a little sanguinary, but as nearly every philosopher who has ever written has been like a man playing at ten-pins, with the systems of all his predecessors and contemporaries for pins, and has claimed to make a "ten-strike" with every ball rolled, why not Mr. Hebberd?

How far Mr. Hebberd is correct in his premises, or justified in his conclusions, can be determined only after a careful reading and study of his book, and even then there will likely be a wide difference of opinion. The difficulty we have found is a lack of clear definitions and processes of reasoning. Take the very "principle" on which he founds his entire system, that "the sole, essential function of all thinking, as contrasted with feeling, is to discriminate between cause and effect." Nowhere is there a clear statement of the author's notion of causality, or exactly what he means by discriminating between cause and effect as the "sole, essential function of thinking." It is difficult, therefore, to follow his discussions, or to test the validity of his principle as he applies it to the solution of the problems taken up in the successive chapters.

That Mr. Hebberd himself is assured of his success, however, is evident from many passages like the following:

"Thus we have reached a theory of space and time which seems to answer conclusively all the objections ordinarily urged against their reality. And I now add as a decisive confirmation of this theory the fact that *there is no other theory.*" Page 87, under the discussion of "Time." The italics are in the book.

"Thus we have unravelled those two intertangled perplexities that for thousands of years have made the concept a subject of constant dispute and uncertanity." Page 111, under "The Concept."

"But against this advancing tide of scepticism we have now

presented an impregnable defense. First we have shown that the deterministic arguments all spring from a sophistical denial of causality, by reducing it to a mere sequence. Second, that the four positive proofs of freedom all depend upon and derive their cogency from a proper interpretation of the causal principle." Page 184, from the chapter on "Freedom."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

EATON & MAINS, NEW YORK.

Historical Setting of the Early Gospel. By Thomas Cuming Hall, Professor of Christian Ethics in Union Theological Seminary, New York. Pp. 171. Price 75 cts. net.

This is a very interesting and helpful little book. It is evidently not intended for scholars so much as for the average Bible reader and student. The style is simple and direct. Yet the book is as evidently the result of much scholarly reading and research, and the average pastor will find in it much that will help him to a better understanding of the Gospel and the Gospel message, and to a right understanding and interpretation of the other early Christian literature.

No one can understand or interpret such a movement as the founding of the Christian church, without a knowledge of the time and circumstances in which it took place, nor understand and interpret such a body of literature as we have in the New Testament without knowing its "setting," the conditions under which it was written. Such a knowledge this book aims to give in seven chapters with the following titles, "The World Then and Now," "The Political World of Jesus's Day," "The Economic World of Jesus's Day," "The Religious World of Jesus's Day," "Christianity and Economics," "Christianity and Politics," "The Church in the House." There are two additional chapters on "The Changing Gospel Hope" and a "Summary."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

The Recovery of the Ancient Orient. By Robert William Rogers, Ph.D., (Leipzig), Litt.D., LL.D., F. R. G. S., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary. Pp. 57. Price 25 cts. net.

In the "Foreword," Dr. Rogers informs his readers that this was the Phi Beta Kappa address, delivered by him at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., on June 17th, 1812. The address is an interesting account of the beginning and progress of the excavations in Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, and of the new light thus thrown on the history of Greece. The work is well done, as would be expected from one who is as familiar with this subject as Dr. Rogers, and who has written as much on related topics.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

Egypt to Canaan, or Lectures on the Spiritual Meaning of Exodus. By A. H. Tuttle. Pp. 286. Price $1.00 net.

The title of this book is sufficiently descriptive to give a good idea of its contents. It consists of sixteen sermons, or "lectures" on the Exodus. They are expository in form and the general purpose, as stated in the preface, is "to draw from Israel's pilgrimage the divine meanings which will help us to interpret the mysteries of our own." The work is admirably done.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

The Apostles' Creed, An Examination of its History and An Exposition of its Contents. By Henry Wheeler D.D. Cloth. Pp. 200. Net price 75 cts.

Dr. Wheeler has done good work in this little volume, which sets forth the history and the contents of the universal creed of Christendom. The thought is clear and the language lucid. The treatment is scholarly and devout. The Christian layman will be edified by its perusal quite as much as his pastor. Indeed, the volume was "not written primarily for scholars, but for the mass of intelligent people who in public worship reverently recite the Apostles' Creed as a confession of their faith."

The Creed can not be valued too highly. It is an epitome of Christian teaching, that has found an abiding place in public worship, and has done much in various crisis periods to preserve the faith of the Church.

Dr. Wheeler finds no fault with the Creed. He accepts it, loves it, and explains it with reverence. As far as I can see he is in accord with our common faith. On the descent into hell he does not quite reach the comprehensive view of the Lutheran Church. To him the article means that "while his (Christ's) body was buried in the earth, his spotless soul went into the habitation of holy and pious souls till the time of his resurrection." This is true, but not the whole truth. The Scriptures plainly teach that he preached to the spirits in prison—the spirits of men and evil spirits, proclaiming no doubt his complete victory over all evil.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Synoptic Problem. By Doremus Almy Hayes, Professor of N. T. Interpretation in Garret Biblical Institute. Cloth. Pp. 87. Size 4 1-2x7. Price .35 net.

In this little book is compressed the result of the perusal of many thousand pages. Christian pastors will be glad to have this *multum in parvo.* It states fairly and clearly the Problem and its difficulties, the greatness of which are felt by all scholars,

and which has called forth many treatises. A single example of the immense amount of work done in this field appears in the volume, entitled "Studies in the Synoptic Problem," which was published in 1910 and embodies the labors of a Seminar formed in the University of Oxford. It met nine times a year for sixteen years!

No satisfactory explanation of all the differences and coincidences has been reached nor is any such in prospect. Our author says: "We are thankful for all the differences there are in the Synoptists, as far as these bear testimony to the multiform impressiveness (of Christ's personality). We are thankful to believe that the substantial historicity of the synoptic narratives has not been shaken by any research, and that it has approved itself through all the Christian centuries."

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Some Moral Reasons for Belief in the Godhood of Jesus Christ. By George P. Mains. Cloth. Pp. 88. Price 35 cents net.

This is a very useful little book in the line of popular apologetics. It presents a moral and a historic argument for the Deity of Jesus Christ. It finds the New Testament to be a reliable story. It shows the impression made by Christ on his immediate disciples, sets forth his sinlessness, his oneness with God, and his unique teachings. All this leads to the inevitable conviction that he is exactly what he claims to be—the Son of God. His age and environment alone were inadequate to produce such a Person. The Christ of History can be none other than the Christ of God. This conclusion is emphasized by the Historic Results and the Abiding Power of His Personality.

We commend this book to those who may be skeptically inclined. Pastors and other Christian teachers will find in it a means of strengthening doubting Thomases.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Religious Education in the Home. By John D. Folsom. Pages 190. $0.75 net.

A plain straigtforward statement of the results of child study and psychology as applied to the religious side of a child's life. There is none of the technical language or "jargon" that make many a treatment of these subjects almost a sealed book.

Parents who wish that their children shoull grow up in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord" will find it a good guide —probably much simpler to read than to follow, since reading is easier than living. The chapters take up the methods by which children may be led in the right way, and follow their growth, but the influence of the parents' lives is recognized as the moulding one.

F. H. CLUTZ.

Dynamic Christianity. By Levi Gilbert. Pages 403. $1.50 net

The editor of the Western Christian Advocate feels very deeply the recurring and reiterated charge that the church is losing its power. In this volume he gives his diagnosis and his remedy. It is a call to the simple life religiously. He believes that in the multiplicity and complexity of our present life we are losing sight of the essential in the variety of small interests, that we are scattering ourselves on so many different interests that our energy is dissipated, that in running after the new we forget the tested and proved.

"There must be a return to the clear recognition that the religion of Christ depends for its effectiveness and triumph upon a divine, super-naturol power, defying all naturalistic explanations. Christianity is the religion of power. Its earliest apostles were to be endued with power from on high. That pentecostal endowment is the indispensible requisite of the Church in every age. That power, proceeding from God through Christ and creating its own specific product has manifested itself through the centuries in the re-creation and radical transformation of human lives. It is mysterious, inexplicable, but undeniably real, self-attesting—an emanation from the Almighty."

We must each gain a vivid realizing sense of the presence of the indwelling Christ and then with a purified vision and a true standard we will live lives of power.

F. H. CLUTZ.

The Underworld and the Upper. By Charles A. Starr, with an Introduction by William Jennings Bryan. Crown 8vo. Pages XVI-253. $1.00 net.

This is a short account of the lives of some of the men converted at the Jerry McAuley Water Street Mission and the Hadley Rescue Hall. There are perhaps thirty of them, men who were down and out, a few victims of drink, most of them drinkers and some of them desperately criminal. The stories tell of them before and after conversion and the change is marvelous. They did not all become saints at the very first, but every one held out. It is worth noting that every man took a decided, open stand for his Saviour at once after he accepted him. These accounts make us long for the time when the power shown may be turned against the sources of so much that is told of downfall and wretchedness; drink and gambling are the two most insistent.

F. H. CLUTZ.

The Theology of a Preacher. By Lynn Harold Hough. Pages 269. $1.00 net.

Dr. Hough has recently become pastor of the Mount Vernon Methodist Episcopal Church of Baltimore. The title of this volume has somewhat perplexed the reviewer since first looking at it, and yet he has not been able to find a better. It does not fit in with the mental picture of a theology. The book is not large—only about 200 reading pages and the publishers have been generous in type and margin. There is not a reference nor hardly a quotation. The stately and sonorous latin derivations that are so much a part of the subject are conspicuous by their absence. In the chapter on "The God of the Preacher" the heads are—"is a Person;" "is the Author and Upholdere of all"; "is a God of complete and perfect knowledge"; "is a God of flaming ethical life"; "is a God of infinite love"; "is a God with boundless richness of life."

In reading, it strikes you that it is exceeding well done and then that much thinking and much living lies back of this little book. It reads easily and fluently, but before long you feel how much it has been compressed. Page after page you will not find a word you could omit without changing the meaning. There is no hesitancy. The subject has been thought upon until the superficial has been all cut away and only the essential left and, hence, the result is clean cut. The steps have been carefully araanged. It might be used almost as a syllabus.

Dr. Hough knows the New Theology and has sympathy with it, but he sees no reason why it and the facts of the old Theology should not dwell together. The philosophy and metaphysics of the old Testament do not mean much. He is an active man among men and the supreme test of his theology is that "it shall be human," shall meet the tests of actual life and experience. The preacher must have lived it himself and so be able to make other men live it—"Not what academic faults can you find with it? but How does it work as a key to life? is the penetrating question."

"The preacher-theologian rejoices as he approaches his tasks. He has an experience which meets his deepest need. He has a message which will speak to every mental and emotional and moral and spiritual outreach which has a place in the lives of his people. He has a world-view which interprets all of life about the commanding personality of the Son of God and his sacrificial death—a world-view which conserves and expresses all which is called for by the great interests of the life of the race."

Dr. Hough believes that every living, thinking man must work out a proclamation of his Theology and this is his.

F. H. CLUTZ.

SHERMAN, FRENCH & CO. BOSTON.

The Rise of the Modern Spirit in Europe, A Story of the Pre-Reformation Age in its Social, Scientific and Literary Aspects. By George S. Butz, Ph.D. Cloth, pp. 293. Price $1.25 net.

This book is composed of lectures delivered at Lancaster, Pa., in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States on the Foundation of the Swander Lectureship. An appreciative foreword is contributed by Dr. Richard, Professor of Church History in the Seminary.

The era covered by these lectures is that of the Renaissance and Humanism, when the mind of man received a marvelous quickening with the glorious final result of the Protestant Reformation. "It was an age," our author says, "of *genesis,* when new energies were born and set in motion! it was an age of *renascence,* when old forces that had long lain dormant or inert or passive, suddenly revived and became intensely active; and it was an age of *synthesis,* which gathered up into itself and transmitted to the coming ages, under new forms, the best spiritual and cultural elements of two distinct eras of civilization, the ancient Classic and the mediaeval Christian,—in fine the elements the fittest to survive in the fierce struggle for supremacy of opposing and inimical cults, systems, tendencies and ideas, at the commencement of the modern age." The modern European spirit, in which of course America shares, is contrasted with the ancient order "in the social, scientific, and literary spheres."

The purpose of the author is to present a-bird's-eye view of a vast movement in history. It was impossible for him to do more than this within his prescribed limits. He presents his matter under five general heads: The Dawn of the New Era, The Renaissance in Italy, Humanism: Its Glory and Its Shame, Humanism in Germany, and The Complete Emergencies of the Modern Spirit.

A vast amount of material is pressed into a brief compass, but so intelligently is this done that the chapters are coherent and lucid. A very extensive Bibliography is appended showing the rich field from which the author gleaned. His thorough study of his subject is evident on every page. The style of composition is fine and pleasing.

The book is handsomely gotten up, and very cheap at the selling price. It is a stimulating and informing volume which deserves a wide circulation.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. NEW YORK.

Biblical and Theological Studies by the Members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary, published in commemora-

tion of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the Seminary, 1912. Cloth. Pp. 634. Price $3.00 net.

The essays included in this stout volume are not the product of the recent centennial celebration; but have been gathered, if we mistake not, from the Theological Reviews. At all events the first essay is Dr. Patton's inaugural address delivered several years ago. But this volume is nevertheless worth while, both for its contents and for the assurance of the orthodoxy and ability of the Princeton Seminary Faculty.

Dr. Patton's article on "Theological Encyclopaedia" outlines his topic under three heads: Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis. The first includes 1. Rational Theology (Science of Religion, and Philosophy of Religion); 2. Scriptural Theology (Higher Criticism, Lower Criticism, Exegesis, and Biblical Theology); 3. Ecclesiastical Theology (Church History, Church Organization, Church Work and Worship).

The second head, Antithesis, includes, 1. Polemic Theology and 2. Apologetic Theology. The third head, Synthesis, includes 1. Ethics, and 2. Dogmatics. The discussion is on the whole sane and sound. The trend of it may be seen from the following paragraph:

"Give us the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ, then Sin, the Atonement and Justification follow; and you have a Dogmatic and Systematic Theology. But eliminate the Incarnation, and then your religion is an emotional morality connected with the name of Jesus, of whom you still speak in the language made sacred by long use and early association; but in its last analysis it is a moral philosophy in competition with other moral philosophies, and defended by a theistic metaphysic that has to cope with another metaphysic which denies God, or makes no distinction between him and the works of his hand."

Dr. Patton's article is a suitable introduction to the volume, covering a wide range of theological thought—critical and practical, embracing philology, exegesis, history, biography, apologetics and dogmatics. There are fifteen essays in all, giving evidence of fine scholarship and humble Christian faith. In so large a volume one might hope to find a discussion of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which has never received adequate treatment especially in comparison with the works on the Person and the Work of Christ.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA CO. OBERLIN, O.

The Higher Critical Quandary: A Correspondence with Drs. Briggs and Driver. By Harold M. Wiener, M.A., LL.B.

This pamphlet is a reprint of the correspondence between Mr.

Wiener and the editors of the International Critical Commentary, touching Dr. Skinner's denial of the importance of variant readings in the text of Genesis in the latter's volume on that book in the series. The controversy is one which would have to be referred to a jury of textual specialists for an adequate judgment as to its merits.

H. C. ALLEMAN.

CENTRAL PUBLISHING HOUSE. CLEVELAND, O.

The Antiquity of Hebrew Writing and Literature, or *Problems in Pentateuchal Criticism.* By Alvin Sylvester Zerbe, Ph. D., D.D. 8 vo., pp. xxiv, 297. $1.50, postpaid $1.62.

The title does not adequately describe the contents of this admirable volume. It is true, the author's thesis is the antiquity of Hebrew writing and literature which he maintains in an erudite discussion of the origin and advancement of the Hebrews generally, and of the linguistic possibilities in Moses' age in particular. But that statement by no means compasses what the author has here given us. For example, in the first two chapters he has given us an admirable digest of the positions of the traditional and the critical schools. A little later follows a chapter on the origin of the scientific alphabet which would make an admirable reprint in itself. In his chapter on early Semitic inscriptions he assembles in brief form the contributions of archaeology in that field from the Moabite stone to the Samaria ostraca. Not less thorough is his historical discussion. More facts are collected here with regard to the origin and history of early Hebrew literature than in any other single volume of which we have knowledge. Whether we are satisfied that Prof. Zerbe has established his thesis or not, we are sure that whoever absorbs the contents of this volume will be informed on the subject. If the minister could have but one book on the subject, How We Got the Books of Moses, we should recommend this one.

H. C ALLEMAN.

FLEMING H. REVELL CO. NEW YORK.

The Religion of Science, The Faith of Coming Man. By James W. Lee, Author of "The Making of a Man." Cloth. Pp. 304. Price $1.50 net.

The purposes of this book is "to point out that no fresh reasons have been discovered in the nature of God, or in the nature of man, or in the nature of religion to make it necessary for the

preacher of the present day to live in any the less intellectual commanding quarters than he formerly occupied." Science must not be limited to a discovery and orderly arrangement of mere physical and material phenomena. It must include in its perceptions all facts—material, mental, moral, and spiritual. The universal experience of mankind confirms Christianity, and the true scientist can not and will not ignore it. Investigation will disclose at the center of things, not a blind force, but a Living Person, whose manifestation to men is Jesus Christ.

There never was any conflict between science and religion properly understood; but only in recent times has it become clear that science is the hand-maid of religion. The pretensions of the former to exclusive rights to human respect have yielded to the saner position that science is a process of thought, an attempted explanation of the relation of things. Science, therefore, in its broadest scope, must include an investigation of the deepest experiences of the soul. In the progress of its investigations, its ablest students have found that religion is not a fancy, but a great, undeniable and blessed fact, and that its purest form is to be found in Christianity, the absolute religion.

Mr. Lee writes in a thoughtful, convincing manner, and his book will strengthen the convictions of the Christian reader.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Dry Dock of a Thousand Wrecks. By Philip I. Roberts, with an introduction by John Henry Jowett, D.D. Cloth. Pp. 212. Price $1.00 net.

This book is a vivid record of some of the good work done in the McCauley Water Street Mission, which for about forty years has been the scene of an unremitting spiritual activity in rescuing and rehabilitating the vilest of sinners, especially the victims of strong drink. It is conceded by the best medical doctors that drunkenness is much more a moral than a physical disease. Hence, recovery is possible only through the regeneration of the heart. The remedy offered to the poor human wrecks which drift into the mission is a crucified and loving Savior. The well-told chapters and the photographs of men, now clothed and in their right minds are a convincing testimony to the power of divine grace to rescue men from the "horrible pit." The book is a strong apologetic of the Christian faith, and deserves a wide circulation.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

THE WESTMINSTER PRESS. PHILADELPHIA.

The Man with a Conscience. By Charles Roads, Author of "Abnormal Christian." Cloth. Pp. 233. Price $1.25 net.

This is a timely book in that it lays strong emphasis upon right living in the varied relations of life in these complex days. It shows the character, the functions, and the need of conscience. What one is to do amid the perplexities of real and apparent duty must be determined by the lofty standard of right as it appears in the Scriptures and in the life of Jesus, interpreted and applied by conscience. We all know in a general way what is meant by conscience; but its definition is not easy. We have found the following the most satisfactory: Conscience is the attitude or the action of the mind in the domain of morals.

Dr. Roads applies in a most practical and searching manner the principles of conscience to a multitude of the phases of life —personal, political, family, social, business. He holds up the Golden Rule as a norm in our dealings with others. The acceptance and practice of this rule would settle many of the ills of life

J. A. SINGMASTER.

FORBES & CO. CHICAGO.

Lame and Lovely, Essays on Religion for Modern Minds. By Frank Crane. Cloth. Pp. 215. Price $1.00.

This charming little volume, from the pen of one of our most popular essayists, is really a collection of lay sermons, in which there is not a dull line. The title is derived from a saying of Charles Lamb and is the subject of one of the essays, the gist of which is that our imperfections and lapses draw us nearer to one another. The essay on "The Universal Creed" is full of sound sense. It consists of such things as this: A belief in the difference between right and wrong; Happiness is conditioned on doing right; Development of one's Personality is a man's first duty; He must be strong, clean, brave, loving and ready to serve. "On Going to Church" has the right ring. "First the Church is the oldest organization on earth. It antedates masonry; no family tree has roots so deep; no existing dynasty is so venerable. It is comforting to get hold of something that has stood through the centuries. In my little meeting-house I claim membership and unity with that Church, whose altar-fires Moses built in the wilderness, whose services were held in the Catacombs of Rome in the reign of Nero, whose lofty cathedrals grace Milan and Cologne, and whose weekly gatherings still take place in every

city and hamlet of the world." Church-goers according to Mr. Crane, are the best people in the world, and he wants them as friends and companions for himself and his children. The Church develops the religious feeling and keeps alive "one's idea and feeling of God."

Nearly fifty practical topics are touched and illuminated by Mr. Crane in his inimitable and epigrammatic style.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

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